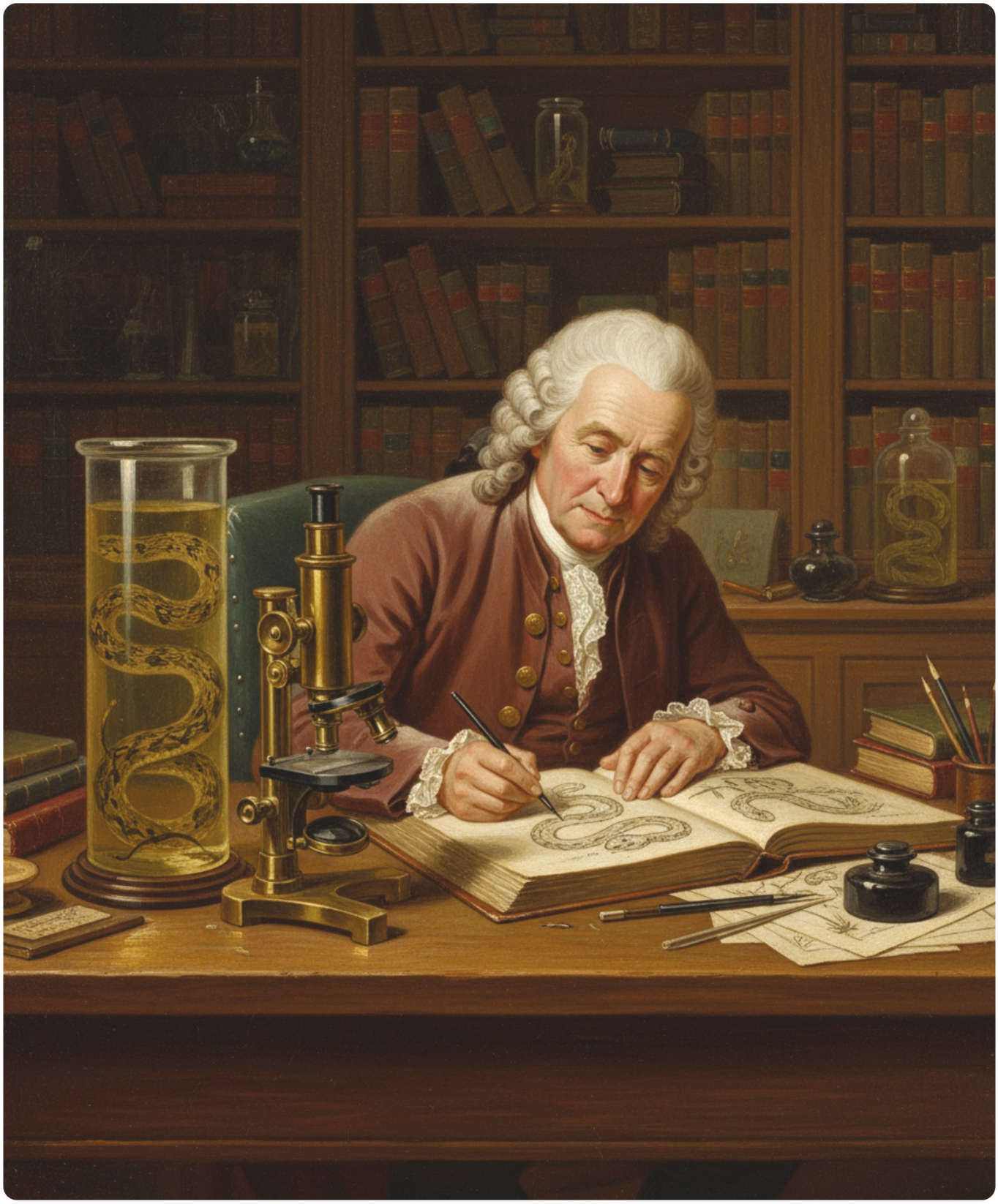
Wahlgreniana 5

Tracing Amphibians

Primary Sources in the Herpetological Works of Linnaeus and His Disciples



Esteban Lavilla & László Krecsák

Tracing Amphibians

Wahlgreniana **5**

Tracing Amphibians:
Primary Sources in the Herpetological Works of Linnaeus and His Disciples

Esteban Lavilla & László Krecsák

International Society for the History
and Bibliography of Herpetology
www.ISHBH.com

2026

Wahlgreniana is named in honor of Richard Wahlgren (1946–2019), a founding member and first Chairman of the *International Society for the History and Bibliography of Herpetology*. Without Richard's tireless dedication to ISHBH, the society could not have made it through its early years. *Wahlgreniana* is a series of book length works complementing the ISHBH journal, *Bibliotheca Herpetologica.* Books in this series are published on an irregular basis and are sold separately from ISHBH subscriptions.

Esteban Lavilla: Unidad Ejecutora Lillo, UEL - Conicet, Fundación Miguel Lillo. Miguel Lillo 251 - 4000 Tucumán, Argentina; eolavilla@gmail.com.

László Krecsák: 2051 Biatorbágy, Jókai Mór str. 14, Hungary. lkrecsak@gmail.com.

International Society for the History and Bibliography of Herpetology
© 2026 ISHBH, Esteban Lavilla & László Krecsák
All rights reserved.
Printed on demand by IngramSpark global distribution network
Layout & design by Breck Bartholomew

ISBN: 979-8-234-09728-6 (hardcover)

www.ISHBH.com

About the Cover: The title page features an artificial intelligence (AI)-generated image of Carl Linnaeus in his office, studying a viper and drawing it for inclusion in *Systema Naturae*. This image was created to bridge historical reality—Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae*, the cornerstone of zoological nomenclature that has shaped the course of zoology since 1758—with the focus of this issue on primary literature sources for amphibians and reptiles, and with AI, a transformative technology of our era that profoundly impacts the future of zoological and herpetological research.

Our aim is for the image to merge past and future, reflecting our passion for historical zoology, our admiration for the great naturalist Carl Linnaeus, and the countless hours devoted to tracing and cataloging the primary sources studied and cited by Linnaeus and his disciples in herpetological and zoological publications. At the same time, it points toward the promising future of modern technology supporting Linnaean and herpetological research.

Contents

Abbreviations vii

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction 1

List of abbreviations used by Linnaeus 13

Primary Sources 19

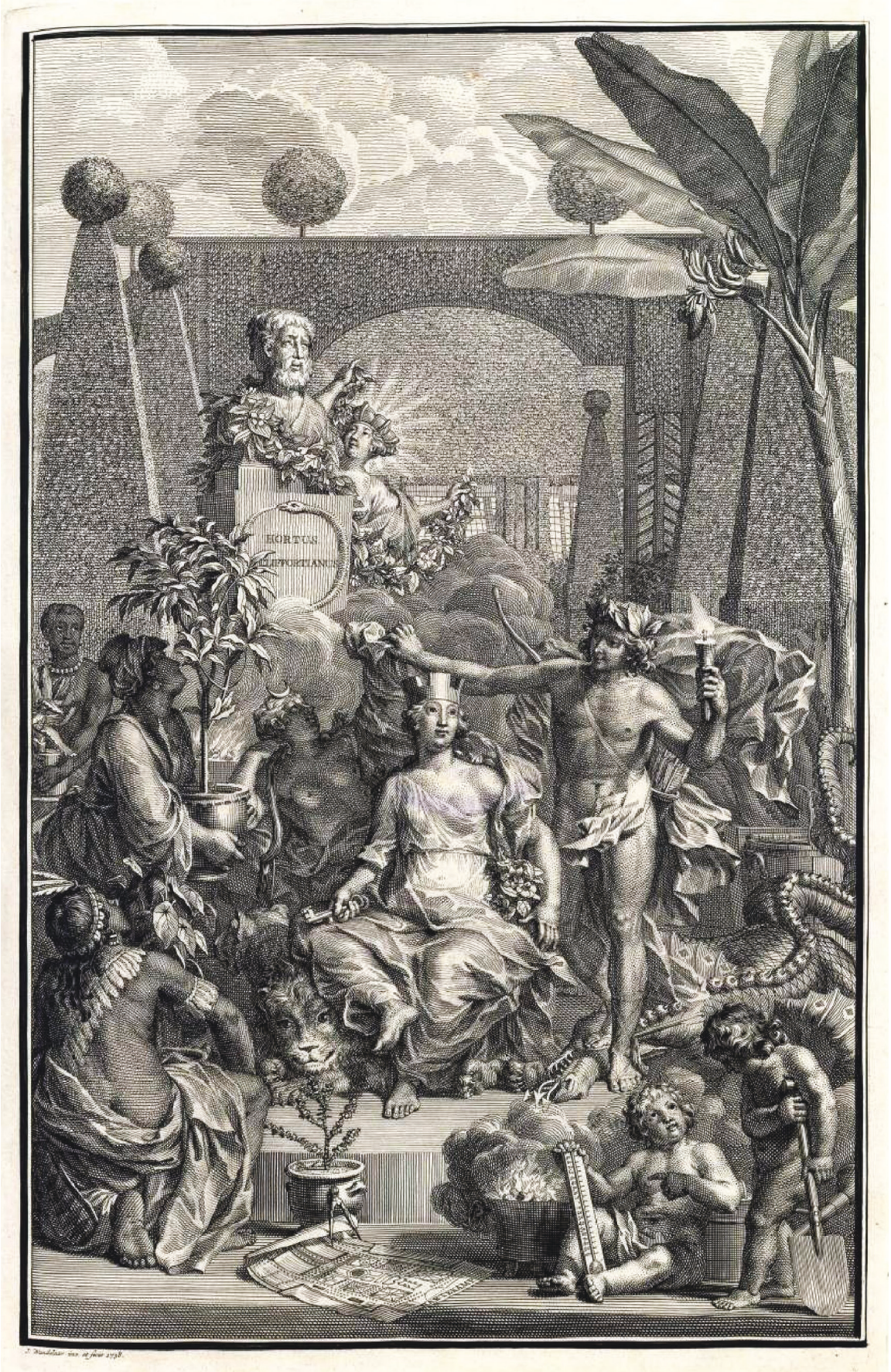
References 199

Abbreviations

SN: *Systema naturae*
SN10: *Systema naturae* Ed. 10 (Linnaeus 1758)
SN12: *Systema naturae* Ed. 12 (Linné 1766)
MAF: *Museum S:ae R:ae M:itis Adolphi Friderici* (Linnaeus 1754)

Acknowledgments

The compilation and analysis of the works included in this study began several decades ago. The references examined here were made possible through the generous support of numerous librarians and colleagues. Special thanks to Christine Bonnefon (Bibliothèque centrale, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, France), Wolfgang Brunnbauer (Library of the Natural History Museum in Vienna), Lynda Brooks and Gina Douglas (Librarian and Linnaeus Link Co-ordinator, The Linnean Society of London), Eva Nyström (Swedish Linnaeus Society), María Angela Prieto (Biblioteca de la Fundación Miguel Lillo, Tucumán, Argentina), Maria Asp Romefors (Centre for History of Science, The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Stockholm), Torsten Schlichtkrull (The Royal Library, Danish National Library and Copenhagen University Library – Faculty Library of Science and Medicine), Dione Seripieri (Biblioteca Museu de Zoologia, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil), and Helen Wade (Reference Librarian, National Library of Australia) for their invaluable assistance. We are also deeply grateful to our colleagues Kraig Adler, Erik Åhlander, Santiago Castroviejo-Fischer, Juan Daza, Rafael de Sá, P.P. Langone, Raymond F. Laurent (†), Julio Alejandro Laspiur, José Manuel Padial, Gustavo José Scrocchi, Paulo Emilio Vanzolini (†), and Richard Wahlgren (†) who generously shared their knowledge and resources. A heartfelt thanks to Aaron Bauer for his critical reading of an early version of this manuscript and for offering insightful and constructive suggestions, and to Breck Bartholomew for his tireless editorial work.



Frontis from Linnaeus, 1737 *Hortis Cliffortianus* by Jan Wandelaar (1690–1759) depicting Apollo casting of the veil of ignorance from Mother Nature. The face of Apollo is said to be that of Linnaeus. Image from the Biodiversity Heritage Library.

Introduction

Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), ennobled as Carl von Linné in 1761[1], is arguably the most famous Swedish scientist and one of the foremost naturalists of the 18th century. He is widely recognized by biologists as the founder of binominal nomenclature, with groundbreaking publications such as *Species Plantarum* (Linnaeus 1753) and *Systema Naturae*, 10th edition (Linnaeus 1758), marking the starting points of modern botanical and zoological nomenclature, respectively.

Herpetologists—particularly taxonomists and systematists working with taxa described in the 18th century—face the challenge of navigating the distinctive citation style of these early publications, especially those of Linnaeus. With over 200 valid amphibian names (e.g., Krecsák 2025a,b; Krecsák & Bauer 2025), consulting at least one Linnaean publication is unavoidable in almost any comprehensive systematic review.

Linnaeus's class *Amphibia* included not only amphibians and reptiles but also several groups of fishes classified under his order *Nantes*. In this study, we focus exclusively on sources for amphibians and reptiles; therefore, the term *Amphibia* should be understood to include both groups.

Readers face not only the challenge of deciphering the abbreviated citation style of early publications but also the difficulty of locating the correct edition of a 15th–18th century book, as Linnaeus often abbreviated works published in multiple editions, sometimes with altered text or different languages.

Our aim was to collect and analyze all references to *Amphibia* (referred to as primary sources) in the herpetological and zoological publications of Linnaeus and his disciples, and to determine the edition used based on evidence from Linnaeus's private library and the library of the Academy of Uppsala.

Linnaeus's binominal abbreviations

One of Linnaeus's most important contributions to systematics was the development of binominal nomenclature (Choate 1912; Stearn 1959; Heller 1964; Krecsák et al. 2025a). A parallel development can be observed in his use of binominal abbreviations for books, analogous to the binominal denomination of plants (Heller 1957, 1964, 2007).

Before Linnaeus, authors employed a variety of mononominal and polynominal abbreviations when referring to books. Among the earliest to systematize such practices were Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624) and John Ray (1627–1705), who included bibliographies and lists of abbreviations in their works. For a review of these early systems, see Heller (1964, 2007).

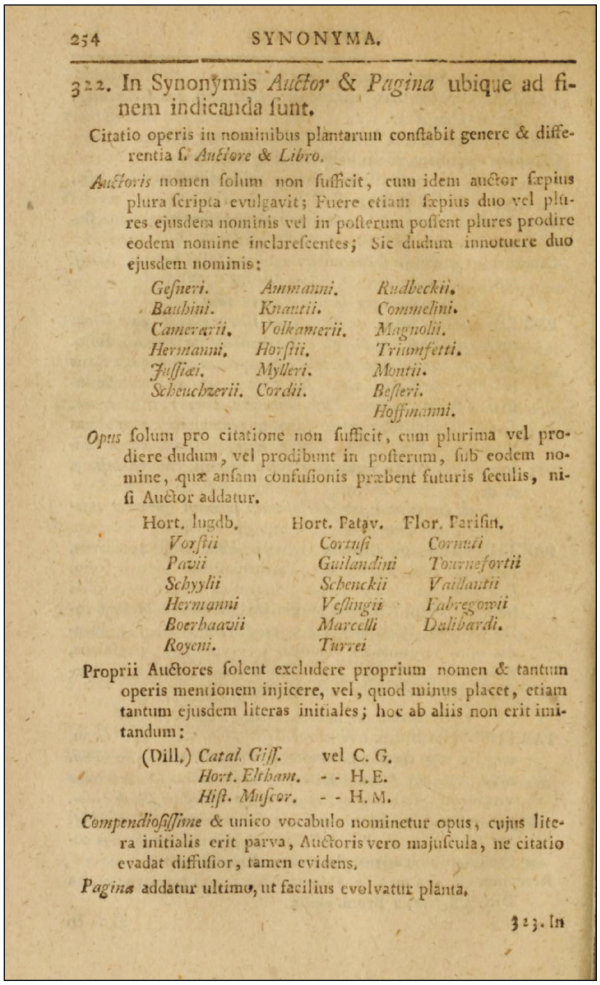
From the very beginning of his career, Linnaeus employed a binominal system for abbreviations. Thus, binominal citations already appear in works published in 1737, such as *Flora Lapponica* (Linnaeus 1737a) and *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Linnaeus 1737c).

As with many of his methodological principles—classification rules, working procedures, definitions (see examples in Krecsák & Bauer 2025; Krecsák 2025b)—Linnaeus did not describe the system of binominal citation in *Systema Naturae* or other zoological works, but rather in the botanical treatise *Critica Botanica* (Linnaeus 1737b). In aphorism 322 he states: "…*In Synonymys Auctor & Pagina ubique ad finem indicanda sunt*…" ["In the synonyms, the author

1 We use Linnaeus throughout the text, even when referring to a statement made in a publication post-1761 published under the name Linné.

and the work with the page are consistently indicated at the end"] (Linnaeus 1737b: 265–267). Further discussing his referencing style, Linnaeus adds: "…*Debet enim in omni nomen AUTHORIS abbreviatum tradi, et genus, LIBRI vero dein ut Species, cum idem Author pluribus sæpe inclarescit operibus*…" [In every citation, the author's name should be provided in abbreviated form—functioning as a kind of "genus"—while the title of the work should follow as the "species," since any given author is often distinguished by multiple works.].

In the same aphorism, Linnaeus also provided rules for citing books (Linnaeus 1737b: 265–266): "... *Si enim allegat quis Authorem absque mentione operis, hæreo & hæreunt alii, quem librum intellexerit, e. gr.* Plumierum: *utrum ejus Genera , vel species, vel Plantar. descriptiones, vel Filices. Sic nex quidem Authorem demortuum, opere unico modo clarum, absque mentione Libri nominare consultum duco, cum facile oriatur alter, qui tandem Inclarescit, eodem gaudens nomine. Exempla prostant in Gesneris, Ammannus, Knautiis, Bauhinis, Rudbeckiis, Hofmannis, Besleris, Volckameris, Camerariis, Commelinis, Cordis, Hermannis, Horstiis, Jussieuis, Magnoliis, Mylleris, Scheuchzeris, Triumfettis,* aliisque…" [If an author is cited without mention of the work, both I and others are left uncertain which book is meant—for instance, in citing Plumier[2]: does one refer to his Genera, his Species, his Plant Descriptions, or his Ferns? Nor is it advisable even in the case of a deceased author known by a single book to omit the title, since another person of the same name may later rise to prominence. We already have such examples in Gesner[3], Ammann[4], Knaut[5], Bauhin[6], Rudbeck[7], Hofmann[8], Besler[9], Volkamer[10], Camerarios[11], Commelin[12], Cords[13], Hermann[14], Horst[15], Jussieu[16], Magnol[17], Müller[18], Scheuchzer[19],



254 SYNONYMA.

322. In Synonymis *Auctor* & *Pagina* ubique ad finem indicanda sunt.

Citatio operis in nominibus plantarum constabit genere & differentia s. *Auctore* & *Libro*.

Auctoris nomen solum non sufficit, cum idem auctor sæpius plura scripta evulgavit; Fuere etiam sæpius duo vel plures ejusdem nominis vel in posterum possent plures prodire eodem nomine inclarescentes; Sic dudum innotuere duo ejusdem nominis:

Gesneri.	*Ammanni.*	*Rudbeckii.*
Bauhini.	*Knautii.*	*Commelini.*
Camerarii.	*Volkamerii.*	*Magnolii.*
Hermanni.	*Horstii.*	*Triumfetti.*
Jussiæi.	*Mylleri.*	*Montii.*
Scheuchzerii.	*Cordii.*	*Besleri.*
		Hoffmanni.

Opus solum pro citatione non sufficit, cum plurima vel prodiere dudum, vel prodibunt in posterum, sub eodem nomine, quæ ansam confusionis præbent futuris seculis, nisi Auctor addatur.

Hort. lugdb.	Hort. Patav.	Flor. Parisin.
Vorstii	*Cortusi*	*Cornuti*
Pavii	*Guilandini*	*Tournefortii*
Schyylii	*Schenckii*	*Vaillantii*
Hermanni	*Vesslingii*	*Fabregowii*
Boerhaavii	*Marcelli*	*Dalibardi.*
Royeni.	*Turrei*	

Proprii Auctores solent excludere proprium nomen & tantum operis mentionem injicere, vel, quod minus placet, etiam tantum ejusdem literas initiales; hoc ab aliis non erit imitandum:

(Dill.) *Catal. Giss.*	vel	C. G.
Hort. Eltham.	- -	H. E.
Hist. Muscor.	- -	H. M.

Compendiosissime & unico vocabulo nominetur opus, cujus litera initialis erit parva, Auctoris vero majuscula, ne citatio evadat diffusior, tamen evidens.

Pagina addatur ultimo, ut facilius evolvatur planta.

323. In

Figure 1. Rules for abbreviations in *Philosophia Botanica* (Linnaeus 1751c: 254).

2 Charles Plumier (1646–1704), French botanist.
3 Conrad Gesner (1516–1565), Swiss naturalist.
4 Johann Amman (1707–1741), Swiss-Russian botanist.
5 Christoph Knaut (1638–1694) or Christian Knaut (1656–1716), German physicians and botanists.
6 Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624) or Johann Bauhin (1541–1613), Swiss botanists.
7 Olof Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702) or Olof Rudbeck the Younger (1660–1740), Swedish naturalists.
8 Caspar Hofmann (1572–1648), German physician and botanist, or Johann Jacob Hoffmann (1635–1706), Swiss physician and naturalist, or Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742), German physician and chemist.
9 Basilius Besler (1561–1629), German apothecary and botanist.
10 Johann Christoph Volkamer (1644–1720), German botanist.
11 Rudolf Jakob Camerarius (1665–1721), German botanist.
12 Jan Commelin (1629–1692) and Caspar Commelin (1667–1731), Dutch botanists.
13 Valerius Cordus (1515–1544), German physician and botanist.
14 Paul Hermann (1646–1695), German-born Dutch botanist.
15 Theodor Horst (17th c.), German physician and botanist.
16 Antoine de Jussieu (1686–1758) and Bernard de Jussieu (1699–1777), French botanists.
17 Pierre Magnol (1638–1715), French botanist.
18 Johann Müller (1580–1638), German botanist.
19 Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672–1733), Swiss naturalist.

Trumfett[20], and others]

The most comprehensive formulation of his rules appears in *Philosophia Botanica* (Linnaeus 1751c: 254) (Fig. 1), as follows:

322. In synonyms, both the author and the page must always be indicated at the end.

The citation of a work in the names of plants must consist of two parts, as in a genus and a difference, that is, the author and the book.

The author's name alone is not sufficient, since the same author has often published several works. Moreover, there have frequently been two or more persons bearing the same name, and in the future others might arise who gain distinction under the same name. Thus there are already known two of the same name:

Gesner.[21]	Ammann.[22]	Rudbeck.[23]
Bauhin.[24]	Knaut.[25]	Commelin.[26]
Camerarius.[27]	Volkamer.[28]	Magnol.[29]
Hermann.[30]	Horst.[31]	Trumfett.[32]
Jussieu.[33]	Müller.[34]	Monti.[35]
Scheuchzer.[36]	Cordi.[37]	Besleri.[38]
		Hoffmann.[39]

The title of a work alone is likewise insufficient for citation, since many works have already appeared, or may appear in the future, under the same title, which would give rise to confusion in later times unless the author is also named. Examples include:

Hort. lugdb.	**Hort. Patav.**	**Flor. Parisin.**
Vorstius [40]	*Cortusus* [41]	*Cornuti* [42]

20 Johann Trnka von Trnka (1661–1707), Austrian botanist, Latinized as Trumfett.
21 See note 3.
22 See note 4.
23 See note 7.
24 See note 6.
25 See note 5.
26 See note 12.
27 See note 11.
28 Johann Christoph Volkamer (1644–1720), German botanist and merchant.
29 See note 17.
30 See note 14.
31 See note 15.
32 See note 20.
33 See note 16.
34 See note 18.
35 Giuseppe Monti (1682–1760), Italian botanist and chemist.
36 See note 19.
37 See note 13.
38 See note 9.
39 See note 8.
40 Adolphus Vorstius (Adolf Vorst) (1597–1663), Dutch physician and botanist, author of *Catalogus plantarum horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi, quibus in instructus erat anno 1642. Accessit index plantarum indigenarum, quae prope Lugdunum in Batavis nascuntur*. Leiden, 1643.
41 Giacomo Antonio Cortuso (Cortusi) (1513–1603), Italian botanist, author of *L'orto de i semplici* de *Padova* (…). Venetia, 1591.
42 Jacques-Philippe Cornut or Cornuti (Jacobus Cornutus) (1606–August 1651) was a French physician and botanist, author of *Canadensivm Plantarvm, aliarumque nondum editarum Historia: Cui adiectum est ad calcem Enchiridion Botanicum Parisiense, Continens Indicem Plantarum, quae in Pagis, Siluis, Pratis, & Montosis iuxta Parisios locis nascuntur*. Parisiis, 1635.

Pavius [43]	*Guilandinus* [44]	*Tournefort* [45]
Schuyl [46]	*Schenckius* [47]	*Vaillant* [48]
Hermann [49]	*Veslingius* [50]	*Fabregowius* [51]
Boerhaave [52]	*Marcellus* [53]	*Dalibard* [54]
Royen [55]	*Turra* [56]	

Certain authors have the habit of omitting their own names and referring only to their works, or, what is even less desirable, using nothing more than their initials. This practice should not be imitated by others:

(Dill.) *Catal Giss.*	vel C. G.
Hort. Eltham.	- - H. E.
Hist. Muscor. [57]	- - H. M.

A work should be designated as briefly as possible and by a single word, its initial letter written in lowercase, but the author's name in uppercase, so that the citation does not become overly…"

While Linnaeus created a highly detailed citation guide, he claimed the right to omit his own name when citing his works (Heller 1964). For example, *Systema Naturae*, 10th edition, is not cited as *Linn. Syst*. or *L. Syst*. but rather as *S. N*., *Syst. Nat*. 10, or *Systema Nat*. 216. As detailed in *Philosophia Botanica* (Linnaeus 1751c), this rule was to be applied by any author referring to their own works: the title should be indicated by a single word, abbreviated as much as possible to avoid diffuseness while retaining distinctiveness.

Heller (1957) highlighted the parallelism between binominal names and binominal citations. For example, in *Species Plantarum* (Linnaeus 1753), the genus name is capitalized and abbreviated, applying to multiple entities, while the second part—the trivial name—is unique to the specific taxon.

In addition to standard binominal references, such as *Aldr. ovip*. (Aldrovandi 1637), polynominal and mononominal references can also be found. Heller (1957) classified mononominal references as either inadvertent or deliberate, particularly in cases referring to unpublished works (e.g., *Garden*). Following his own rules, Linnaeus omitted his name when referencing his work and abbreviated them in a binominal fashion [e.g., *It. Scan*. (Linnaeus 1751a); *It. W. Goth*. (Linnaeus 1747b)]. He was less consistent when abbreviating names of other authors, often omitting the author entirely when referring to journals (e.g., *Act. Paris.* 1737 (Geoffroy & Hunauld 1740); *Acta Anglicana* (Mortimer 1741). Linnaeus frequently used multiple designations for the same work (e.g., *Bell. Obs*. or *Bellon. Itin. (*Belon 1605). Heller (1957)

43 Paulus Pavius (Pauw) (1564–1617), Dutch physician and botanist, author of *Hortus publicus Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, ejus ichnographia, descriptio, usus. Addito, quas habet stirpium numero et nominibus*. Leiden, 1601.

44 Melchiorre Guilandino (Melchior Wieland) (c. 1520–1589), Prussian botanist and physician active in Padua, author of *Hortus Patavinu*s. *Cui accessere ... conjectanea synonimica plantarum eruditissimas* (…). Francofurti, 1600.

45 Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), French botanist, author of *Histoire des plantes qui naissent aux environs de Paris, avec leur usage dans la medecine*. Paris, 1698.

46 Florentius Schuyl (Florent Schuyl) (1619–1669), Dutch physician and botanist, author of *Catalogus plantarum Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi quibus is instructus erat anno MDCLXVIII*. Lugd. Batav. 1668.

47 Johann Georg Schenck, (1560–1620), German physician, editor of Guilandino's *Hortus Patavinus*; see note 43.

48 Sébastien Vaillant (1669–1722), French botanist, author of *Botanicon Parisiense* (…) (published posthumously in 1727).

49 See note 14; author of *Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi Catalogus* (…). Lugduni Batavorum, 1687.

50 Ioannes Veslingius (Johann Vesling) (1598–1649), German botanist and anatomist, author of *Catalogus plantarum horti gymn*asii *patavini*. Patavi, 1642.

51 Matthieu Fabregou (?), French botanist, author of *Description Des Plantes Qui Naissent Ou Se Renouvellent Aux Environs De Paris*. Paris, 1734.

52 Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738), Dutch physician and botanist, author of *Historia plantarum quae in Horto Academico Lugduni-Batavorum crescunt*. Romae 1727.

53 Avitus Marcellus (Avet Marcelli, Angelo Marcello) (?), co-author of *Catalogus plantarum horti Patavini; novo incremento locupletior*. Patavii, 1660.

54 Thomas-François Dalibard (1703–1779), French botanist, author of *Florae Parisiensis* Prodromus. Paris, 1749.

55 Adriaan van Royen (1704–1779), Dutch physician and botanist, author of *Florae leydensis prodromus: exhibens plantas quae in Horto academico lugduno-batavo aluntur*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1740.

56 Georgius a Turre (Giorgio della Torre) (1607–1688), Italian botanist, co-author of *Catalogus plantarum horti Patavini; novo incremento locupletior.* Patavii, 1660.

57 Refers to Johann Jacob Dillen Dillenius (1684–1747), German botanist, author of *Catalogus plantarum sponte circa Gissam nascentium* (1719) (CG), *Hortus Elthamensis* (1732) (HE), and *Historia muscoru*m (1741) (HM).

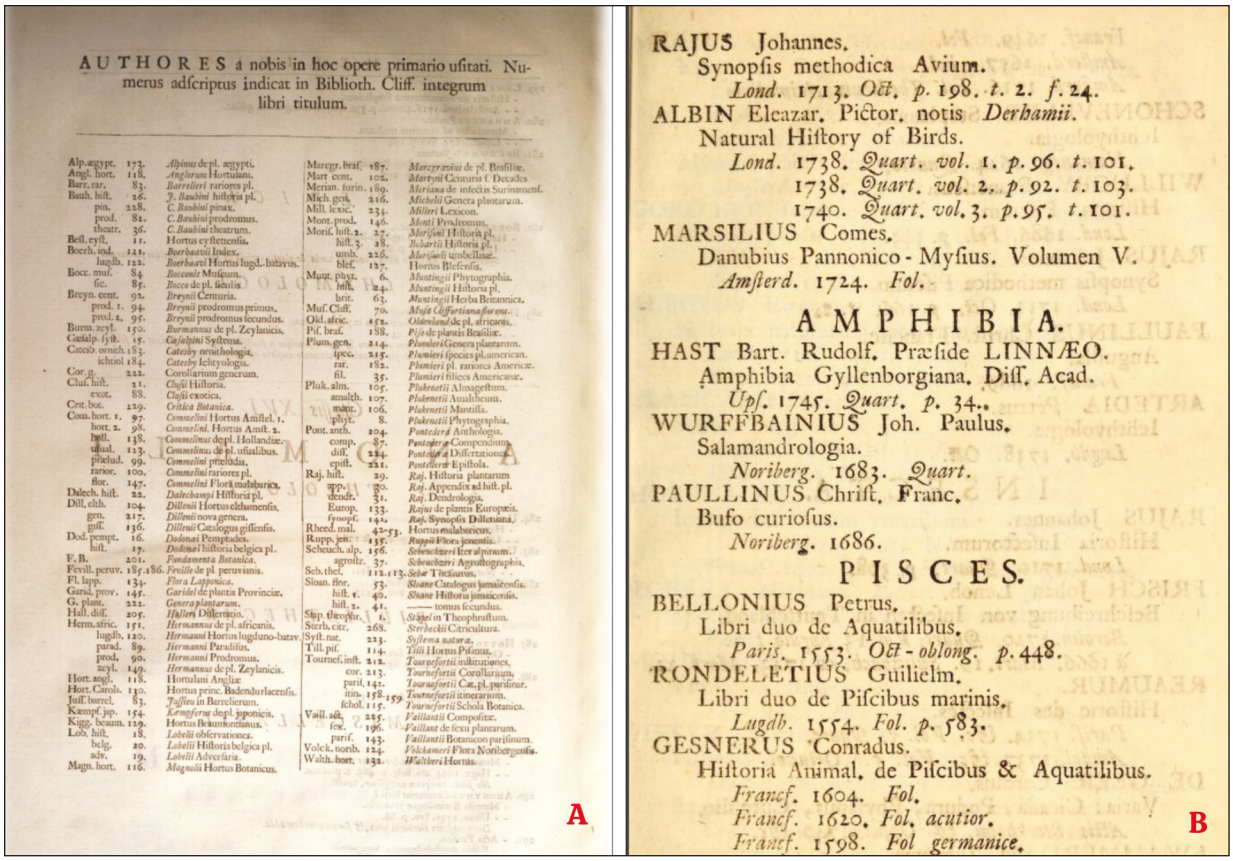


Figure 2. (A) Abbreviation key for books cited in *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Linnaeus 1737c: unnumbered page after Bibliotheca Botanica Cliffortiana). (B) Amphibia bibliography in the first edition of *Fauna Svecica* (Linnaeus 1746: unnumbered page 4 of the section Auctores).

considered some duplicated abbreviations legitimate, distinguishing between different editors or parts of a composite volume, while others were probably due to Linnaeus's haste and the concurrent use of multiple designations. A further group includes similar abbreviations applied to different works (e.g., *It. Gotl.* (Linnaeus 1745 or 1747b), as discussed below.

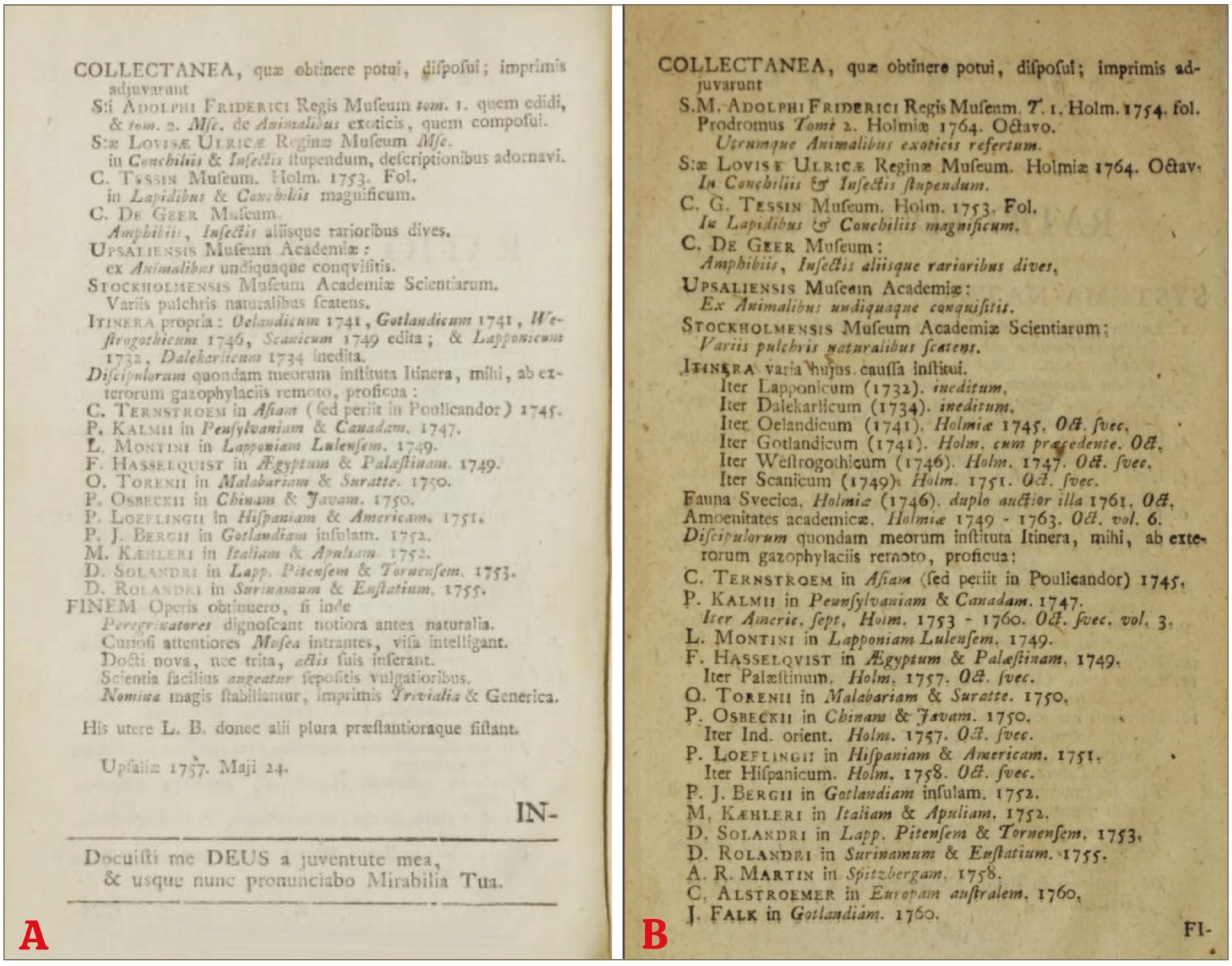
Despite the enormous number of references, Linnaeus rarely included a key to abbreviations or a bibliography in his zoological publications. This contrasts with his botanical works, where literature sections and reference keys were standard. For example, *Bibliotheca Botanica* (Linnaeus 1738) focused exclusively on botanical literature, and in *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Linnaeus 1737c), Linnaeus listed literature sources across 18 pages and provided a key to abbreviations (Fig. 2A). Bibliographies were included in later botanical works as a standard practice.

Bibliographic sections were added in the first edition of *Fauna Svecica* (Linnaeus 1746a: *Auctores*) (Fig. 2B), in the second edition (*Fauna Svecica*, Linnaeus 1761: *Auctores*), and in limited form in the "*Ratio Editionis*" chapters of *Systema Naturae* 10 (Linnaeus 1758) (Fig. 3A) and 12 (Linné 1766) (Fig. 3B). The single exception is *Systema Naturae* 9 (Linnaeus 1756), as discussed below.

In the first edition of *Fauna Svecica* (Linnaeus 1746a), general zoological works by authors such as Bradley (1721), Petiver (1698, 1702), Merrett (1667), and Charleton (1668) were included, alongside only three references under the subheading *Amphibia*: Hast (1745), Wurffbainii (1683), and Paullini (1686). Interestingly, the reference to Hast (1745) was removed in the second edition of *Fauna Svecica* (Linnaeus 1761), leaving only two references in this subsection.

Bibliographies in *Systema Naturae* 10 and 12 focus on Linnaeus's own works and dissertations by his students (Fig. 3). Authors whose work Linnaeus trusted and consulted are listed in introductory paragraphs to each class from the first edition (*Systema Naturae*, Linnaeus 1735), typically without specifying the particular works used.

The Dutch botanist Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius (1730–1777), son of Linnaeus's patron



COLLECTANEA, quæ obtinere potui, diſpoſui; imprimis adjuvarunt
S:i Adolphi Friderici Regis Muſeum *tom.* 1. quem edidi, & *tom.* 2. *Mſc.* de *Animalibus* exoticis, quem compoſui.
S:æ Lovisæ Ulricæ Reginæ Muſeum *Mſc.* in *Conchiliis* & *Insectis* ſtupendum, deſcriptionibus adornavi.
C. Tessin Muſeum. Holm. 1753. Fol. in *Lapidibus* & *Conchiliis* magnificum.
C. De Geer Muſeum. *Amphibiis*, *Insectis* aliisque rarioribus dives.
Upsaliensis Muſeum Academiæ: ex *Animalibus* undiquaque conquiſitis.
Stockholmensis Muſeum Academiæ Scientiarum. Variis pulchris naturalibus ſcatens.
Itinera propria: *Oelandicum* 1741, *Gotlandicum* 1741, *Weſtrogothicum* 1746, *Scanicum* 1749 edita; & *Lapponicum* 1732, *Dalekarlicum* 1734 inedita.
Diſcipulorum quondam meorum inſtituta Itinera, mihi, ab exterorum gazophylaciis remoto, proficua:
C. Ternstroem in *Aſiam* (ſed periit in Poulicandor) 1745.
P. Kalmii in *Pennſylvaniam* & *Canadam*. 1747.
L. Montini in *Lapponiam Luleuſem*. 1749.
F. Hasselquist in *Ægyptum* & *Palaſtinam*. 1749.
O. Torenii in *Malabariam* & *Suratte*. 1750.
P. Osbeckii in *Chinam* & *Javam*. 1750.
P. Loeflingii in *Hiſpaniam* & *Americam*. 1751.
P. J. Bergii in *Gotlandiam* inſulam. 1752.
M. Kæhleri in *Italiam* & *Apuliam*. 1752.
D. Solandri in *Lapp. Pitenſem* & *Tornenſem*. 1753.
D. Rolandri in *Surinamum* & *Euſtatium*. 1755.
FINEM Operis obtinuero, ſi inde
Peregrinatores dignoſcant notiora antea naturalia.
Curioſi attentiores *Muſea* intrantes, viſa intelligant.
Docti nova, nec trita, *actis* ſuis inſerant.
Scientia facilius *augeatur* ſepoſitis vulgatioribus.
Nomina magis ſtabiliantur, imprimis *Trivialia* & Generica.

His utere L. B. donec alii plura præſtantioraque ſiſtant.

Upſaliæ 1757. Maji 24.

IN-

Doceuiſti me DEUS a juventute mea, & usque nunc pronunciabo Mirabilia Tua.

A

COLLECTANEA, quæ obtinere potui, diſpoſui; imprimis adjuvarunt
S.M. Adolphi Friderici Regis Muſeum. *T.* 1. Holm. 1754. fol. Prodromus *Tomi* 2. Holmiæ 1764. Octavo. *Utrumque Animalibus exoticis refertum.*
S:æ Lovisæ Ulricæ Reginæ Muſeum. Holmiæ 1764. Octav. *In Conchiliis & Insectis ſtupendum.*
C. G. Tessin Muſeum. Holm. 1753. Fol. *In Lapidibus & Conchiliis magnificum.*
C. De Geer Muſeum: *Amphibiis*, *Insectis aliisque rarioribus dives.*
Upsaliensis Muſeum Academiæ: *Ex Animalibus undiquaque conquiſitis.*
Stockholmensis Muſeum Academiæ Scientiarum: *Variis pulchris naturalibus ſcatens.*
Itinera varia hujus cauſſa inſtitui.
Iter Lapponicum (1732). *ineditum.*
Iter Dalekarlicum (1734). *ineditum.*
Iter Oelandicum (1741). *Holmiæ* 1745. *Oct. ſvec.*
Iter Gotlandicum (1741). *Holm. cum præcedente. Oct.*
Iter Weſtrogothicum (1746). *Holm.* 1747. *Oct. ſvec.*
Iter Scanicum (1749). *Holm.* 1751. *Oct. ſvec.*
Fauna Svecica. *Holmiæ* (1746). *duplo auctior illa* 1761. *Oct.*
Amoenitates academicæ. *Holmiæ* 1749 - 1763. *Oct. vol.* 6.
Diſcipulorum quondam meorum inſtituta Itinera, mihi, ab exterorum gazophylaciis remoto, proficua:
C. Ternstroem in *Aſiam* (ſed periit in Poulicandor) 1745.
P. Kalmii in *Pennſylvaniam* & *Canadam*. 1747. *Iter Americ. ſept. Holm.* 1753 - 1760. *Oct. ſvec. vol.* 3.
L. Montini in *Lapponiam Luleuſem*. 1749.
F. Hasselqvist in *Ægyptum* & *Palæſtinam*. 1749. Iter Palæſtinum. *Holm.* 1757. *Oct. ſvec.*
O. Torenii in *Malabariam* & *Suratte*. 1750.
P. Osbeckii in *Chinam* & *Javam*. 1750. Iter Ind. orient. *Holm.* 1757. *Oct. ſvec.*
P. Loeflingii in *Hiſpaniam* & *Americam*. 1751. Iter Hiſpanicum. *Holm.* 1758. *Oct. ſvec.*
P. J. Bergii in *Gotlandiam* inſulam. 1752.
M. Kæhleri in *Italiam* & *Apuliam*. 1752.
D. Solandri in *Lapp. Pitenſem* & *Tornenſem*. 1753.
D. Rolandri in *Surinamum* & *Euſtatium*. 1755.
A. R. Martin in *Spitzbergam*. 1758.
C. Alstroemer in *Europam auſtralem*. 1760.
J. Falk in *Gotlandiam*. 1760.

B

FI-

Figure 3. Page of the bibliography section in *Systema Naturae* 10 **2(A)** and *Systema Naturae* 12 **2(B)**.

Jan Frederik Gronovius (1690–1762), edited the 9th edition of *Systema Naturae* (Linnaeus 1756)[58]. It is the only zoological publication that included a key to abbreviations, in the two-page chapter *Elencus Auctorum Et Abbreviatorum Nominum Delucidatio* (Fig. 4).

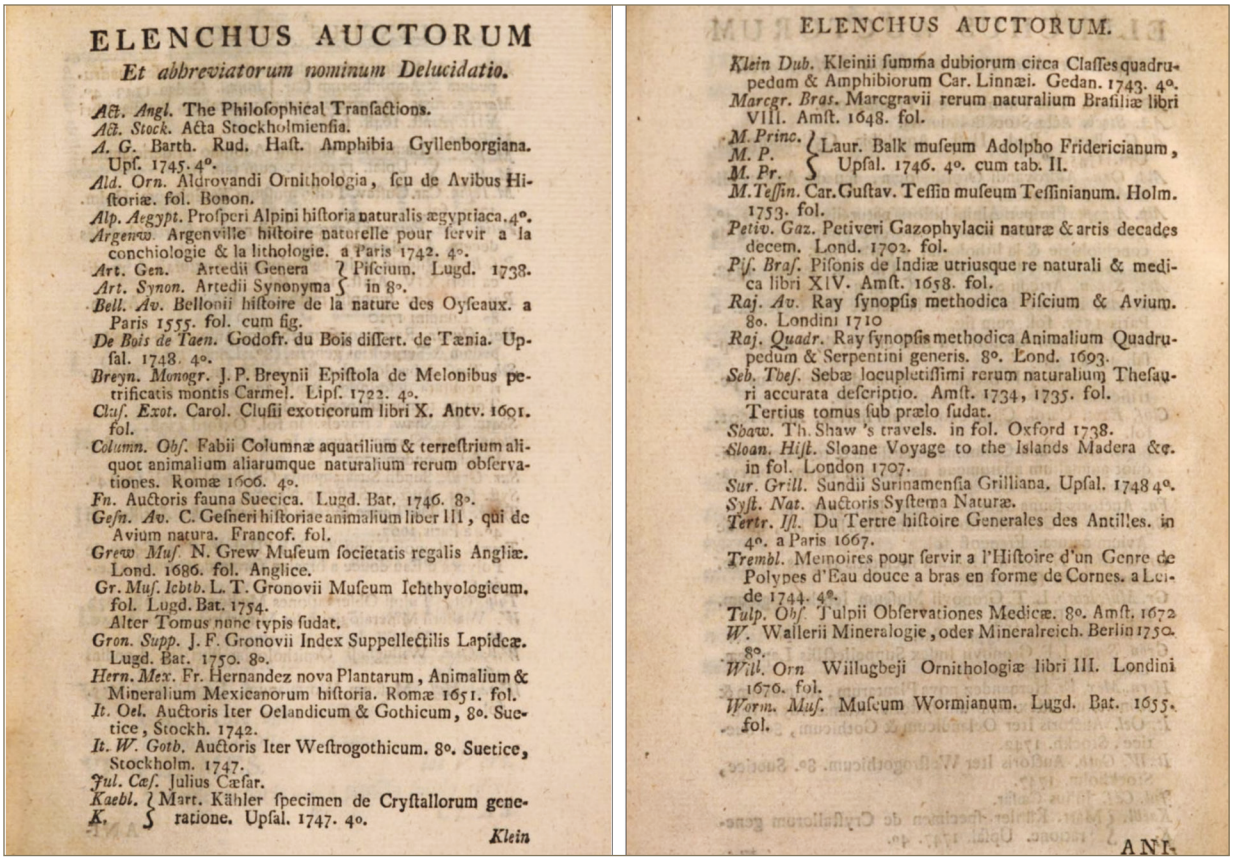
In general, Linnaeus's rules for abbreviated references were followed in his publications. Some references include the year and page number (e.g., *Act. Paris*. 1737; *Act. Ups*. 1736, p. 11, n. 4) as additional guidance, but the abbreviation itself remained binominal (e.g., *Act. Paris*.; *Act. Ups*.). For works published in multiple editions or volumes, Linnaeus appended the edition number to the binominal abbreviation, such as *Syst. Nat*. 10 for Systema Naturae, 10th edition (Linnaeus 1758), or *Seb. Thes*. 1 for the first volume of Seba's *Thesaurus* (Seba 1734), and or *Seb. thes*. 2. for the second (Seba 1735).

A comprehensive review of the literature in *Species Plantarum* (Linnaeus 1753) was published by Hermann Eberhard Friedrich Richter in his *Codex Botanicus Linnaeanus* (Richter 1835) and discussed by Stearn (1957) and Heller (1957).

The main source for Linnaean primary sources is Prof. John Lewis Heller's opus magnum, *Index librorum et auctorum in operibus zoologicis Linnaei citatorum* (Index of Books and Authors Cited in the Zoological Works of Linnaeus, posthumously published in 2007). Although Heller had completed much of the catalog by 1979 (Heller 1980), publication was delayed for decades.

Fernholm and Wheeler (1983) and Wheeler (1980, 1991) identified abbreviated references used in the class *Pisces* across various editions of *Systema Naturae*. For herpetologists, Dundee (1994) provided a detailed assessment of primary sources for *Amphibia* in *Systema Naturae* 10, drawing on Heller's manuscript and information from Dr. Alwyne Wheeler (1929–2005), curator of Ichthyology at the Natural History Museum in London.

58 For a detailed review of this edition, see Krecsák (2025a).



ELENCHUS AUCTORUM

Et abbreviatorum nominum Delucidatio.

Act. Angl. The Philoſophical Tranſactions.
Act. Stock. Acta Stockholmienſia.
A. G. Barth. Rud. Haſt. Amphibia Gyllenborgiana. Upſ. 1745. 4°.
Ald. Orn. Aldrovandi Ornithologia, ſeu de Avibus Hiſtoriæ. fol. Bonon.
Alp. Aegypt. Proſperi Alpini hiſtoria naturalis ægyptiaca. 4°.
Argenw. Argenville hiſtoire naturelle pour ſervir a la conchiologie & la lithologie. a Paris 1742. 4°.
Art. Gen. Artedii Genera } Piſcium. Lugd. 1738.
Art. Synon. Artedii Synonyma } in 8°.
Bell. Av. Bellonii hiſtoire de la nature des Oyſeaux. a Paris 1555. fol. cum fig.
De Bois de Taen. Godofr. du Bois diſſert. de Tænia. Upſal. 1748. 4°.
Breyn. Monogr. J. P. Breynii Epiſtola de Melonibus petrificatis montis Carmel. Lipſ. 1722. 4°.
Claſ. Exot. Carol. Cluſii exoticorum libri X. Antv. 1601. fol.
Column. Obſ. Fabii Columnæ aquatilium & terreſtrium aliquot animalium aliarumque naturalium rerum obſervationes. Romæ 1606. 4°.
Fn. Auctoris fauna Suecica. Lugd. Bat. 1746. 8°.
Geſn. Av. C. Geſneri hiſtoriae animalium liber III, qui de Avium natura. Francof. fol.
Grew Muſ. N. Grew Muſeum ſocietatis regalis Angliæ. Lond. 1686. fol. Anglice.
Gr. Muſ. Ichth. L. T. Gronovii Muſeum Ichthyologicum. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1754.
Alter Tomus nunc typis ſudat.
Gron. Supp. J. F. Gronovii Index Suppellectilis Lapideæ. Lugd. Bat. 1750. 8°.
Hern. Mex. Fr. Hernandez nova Plantarum, Animalium & Mineralium Mexicanorum hiſtoria. Romæ 1651. fol.
It. Oel. Auctoris Iter Oelandicum & Gothicum, 8°. Suetice, Stockh. 1742.
It. W. Goth. Auctoris Iter Weſtrogothicum. 8°. Suetice, Stockholm. 1747.
Jul. Cæſ. Julius Cæſar.
Kaehl. } Mart. Kähler ſpecimen de Cryſtallorum gene-
K. } ratione. Upſal. 1747. 4°.

Klein

ELENCHUS AUCTORUM.

Klein Dub. Kleinii ſumma dubiorum circa Claſſes quadrupedum & Amphibiorum Car. Linnæi. Gedan. 1743. 4°.
Marcgr. Bras. Marcgravii rerum naturalium Braſiliæ libri VIII. Amſt. 1648. fol.
M. Princ. } Laur. Balk muſeum Adolpho Fridericianum,
M. P. } Upſal. 1746. 4°. cum tab. II.
M. Pr. }
M. Teſſin. Car. Guſtav. Teſſin muſeum Teſſinianum. Holm. 1753. fol.
Petiv. Gaz. Petiveri Gazophylacii naturæ & artis decades decem. Lond. 1702. fol.
Piſ. Braſ. Piſonis de Indiæ utriusque re naturali & medica libri XIV. Amſt. 1658. fol.
Raj. Av. Ray ſynopſis methodica Piſcium & Avium. 8°. Londini 1710
Raj. Quadr. Ray ſynopſis methodica Animalium Quadrupedum & Serpentini generis. 8°. Lond. 1693.
Seb. Theſ. Sebæ locupletiſſimi rerum naturalium Theſauri accurata deſcriptio. Amſt. 1734, 1735. fol.
Tertius tomus ſub prælo ſudat.
Shaw. Th. Shaw 's travels. in fol. Oxford 1738.
Sloan. Hiſt. Sloane Voyage to the Islands Madera &c. in fol. London 1707.
Sur. Grill. Sundii Surinamenſia Grilliana. Upſal. 1748 4°.
Syſt. Nat. Auctoris Syſtema Naturæ.
Tertr. Iſl. Du Tertre hiſtoire Generales des Antilles. in 4°. a Paris 1667.
Trembl. Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire d'un Genre de Polypes d'Eau douce a bras en forme de Cornes. a Leide 1744. 4°.
Tulp. Obſ. Tulpii Obſervationes Medicæ. 8°. Amſt. 1672
W. Wallerii Mineralogie, oder Mineralreich. Berlin 1750. 8°.
Will. Orn Willugbeji Ornithologiæ libri III. Londini 1676. fol.
Worm. Muſ. Muſeum Wormianum. Lugd. Bat. 1655. fol.

ANI-

Figure 4. Reference key in *Systema Naturae* Ed. 9 (Linnaeus 1756).

Assessment of Sources

The chapter "*List of abbreviations used by Linnaeus*" presents, in alphabetical order, all abbreviations and abbreviation variants found in the primary sources.

Although the scope of Dundee's and Heller's reviews differs considerably, we have followed the chronology of appearance rather than the complexity of content. Accordingly, the two reviews are discussed in Dundee–Heller order at the various references.

To simplify the use of our listing and ensure that the list of abbreviations remains searchable and usable without requiring the reader to consult multiple works cited under the same abbreviation, we have not only listed the standard reference but also added secondary details (i.e., year, page number). These additional details should not be regarded as part of the reference backbone; rather, they provide the information necessary to locate the exact citation.

For example, the reference *Hasselq. Act. Ups.* 1750 and its variants (*Hasselq. act. ups.* 1750; *Hasselqv. act. ups.* 1750; *Hasselqv. Act. Ups.* 1750; *Actis Ups.* 1750) correspond to four papers by Fredrik Hasselquist, each devoted to a different species (three snakes and one lizard). In the *List of abbreviations used by Linnaeus* and throughout the text, we itemized these by providing the page number as well, e.g., *Hasselqv. Act. Ups.* 1750, *p.* 24; *Hasselqv. act. Ups.* 1750, *p.* 28. This allows us to narrow the first reference to the description of the *Vipera* (Hasselqvist 1751a), and the second to the description of *Anguis cerastes* (Hasselqvist 1751c).

References to articles were typically binominal (see discussion below). The year and finer details should be regarded as add-ons to the pre-established abbreviation system (e.g., the abbreviation for the journal *Kongliga Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens Handlingar* could appear as *Act. Holm.*, *L. Act. Stockh.*, or *Wet. Akademiens Handlingar*). These additions help narrow down the pool of publications and allow readers to identify the exact source cited by Linnaeus.

Unlike previous assessments of Linnaean abbreviations, we have not only listed standard citations (e.g., Linnaeus describing a species in *Syst. Nat.* 10 and adding three primary references), but also included more subtle citations embedded in the main descriptive text of the publications. For example, Hast (1745: 2; 1749: 110) writes "...*Haemorrhois enim morsu suo ex omnibus*

emissariis corporis sanguinem expellit, de quo Lucretius (sic) Lib. 9 canit..." ["…For the *Haemorrhois*, with its bite, expels blood from all the outlets of the body, of which Lucretius (sic) sings in Book 9…"]. This quotation refers not to Lucretius, but to the epic poem *Pharsalia* (also known as *De bello civile*), written by Lucanus. We therefore listed a 1469 edition (Lucanus 1469) as the source.

In 1784, the botanist James Edward Smith (1759–1828) purchased nearly all of Linnaeus's scientific effects (e.g., Jackson 1890; Broberg 2023). The acquisition included Linnaeus's notes, manuscripts, correspondence, and most of his private library, now preserved at the Library of the Linnean Society in London. The *Catalog of the Library of the Linnean Society of London* (Anonymous 1896) contains marks identifying works from Linnaeus's library. Considering Linnaeus's scientific habit of reading extensively, synthesizing information, and reproducing only selected results (Krecsák et al. 2025a), it is reasonable to assume that most abbreviations correspond to books he personally owned.

Another pool of material accessible to Linnaeus and his students was the library of the Academy of Uppsala, catalogued by Aurivillius (1814a, b). Although Linnaeus's relationship with the library was tense in his early years, it improved later, allowing him and his disciples access to the holdings. A short anecdote illustrates this volatility. In the autumn of 1745, Crown Prince Adolf Frederic (1710–1771), later King of Sweden, donated 87 preserved animals from abroad to the University (Fries 1907: 45). Linnaeus was tasked by the chancellor to confirm receipt of the donation and determine whether the *Consistorium Academicum* should send a letter of thanks to the Prince (Fries 1907: 45). At that time, Linnaeus had only a small personal library. He requested to borrow books from the Academy library for use at home in order to identify specimens (Jackson 1923: 258), but the request was denied. In a letter dated September 26, 1745, Linnaeus petitioned the *Consistorium* again, asking to borrow two specific books, arguing that the heavy glass bottles containing the specimens in *spiritu vini* were unsafe to transport (Fries 1907: 125–126). Permission was eventually granted, but the librarian Anders Norrelius (director 1735–1749) resisted until compelled by the *Consistorium* to comply with the King's order (Jackson 1923: 258). When Linnaeus became rector of Uppsala University in 1750, such incidents ceased. This conflict reveals another side of Linnaeus—his resentment. In *Nemesis divina*, he wrote maliciously about Norrelius, even mentioning his wife's infidelity: "…*Bibliotekarien i Upsala Norrelius, en elak, snål man, som ej nändes äta… N. var illa gift med Benzelia. Han skiljes från henne…*" [The librarian in Uppsala, Norrelius, a mean and miserly man, who scarcely dared to eat … N(orrelius) was unhappily married to Benzelia. He separated from her].

Archived letters formed another important source, but were only marginally addressed by Heller (2007). For vague references such as "...*Cl. Prof. Kalmio in Musaeo Sloaeneano Lond*. (…) *in litteris ad Nob. D. Praes. Missis, omnes in eo conveniunt, quod scuta abdominalia numero sint* 193 *& squamae caudales constituant paria* 60..." ["... The illustrious Professor Kalm in the Sloane Museum of London (…) in his letter to the Noble Lord President, confirms that all agree on this: that the abdominal scutes number 193, and the caudal scales form 60 pairs..."] (Darelius 1749: 7; 1751: 107), we searched the ALVIN platform for digital collections and digitized cultural heritage (https://www.alvin-portal.org/) to locate the letter cited. This platform replaced the former Linnaean correspondence repository (linnaeus.c18.net). For consistency, however, we have retained the linnaeus.c18.net correspondence number in our references, e.g., L0923 for the letter from Pehr Kalm (London) to Carl Linnaeus (Uppsala), dated June 14, 1748, which is the one cited by Darelius in the example above.

Presentation of the assessments

Primary sources are discussed in a standardized manner. For each source, we provide details in a condensed form, but to an extent that allows users both to gain a general overview of the source under study and to easily locate the exact page number(s) containing the information cited in Linnaean publications. The structure aims at balancing conciseness with usability, ensuring that the references can be cross-checked efficiently. Table 1 summarizes the information included for each primary Amphibia reference identified.

There are instances where Linnaeus used the same abbreviation to refer to different works by the same author. For example, *Edw. av*. may indicate either the fourth volume of *A Natural History of Birds* (Edwards 1751) or the first volume of *Gleanings of Natural History* (Edwards 1758). Further cases are provided

Table 1. Summary of the information included for each primary Amphibia reference identified.

Source identified	Content and comments
Gesner, C. 1621. *Historiæ Animalium Liber V. Qui est de Serpentium natura. Ex variis schedis et collectaneis eiusdem compositus per Jacobum Carronum Francofurtensem. Adiecta est ad calcem, Scorpionis insecti historia a D. casparo Wolphio Tigvrino Medico, ex eiusdem Paralipomenis conscripta. Acceservnt indices nominvm serpentivm secundum diversas linguas: & anteillos enumeratio co ordine quo in hoc volumine continentur*. Francofvrti, Henrici Laurenti: [vii] +[ii] + [i] + [iii] + 1–170.	Title of the publication — listed in full, as it appears in the original work.
Abbreviated as: Gesner. serpent.; Gesn. Serp.; Gesn. serp.	List of abbreviation variants — all forms identified in Linnaean publication(s).
Cited in Hast (1745; 1749); Linnaeus (1746a; 1761; 1763), Linné (1772), Sidrén (1750; 1751).	Linnaean publications referencing the source — all instances in which Linnaeus and/or his students cite the work.
Contents: *De Serpentis historia generalis* (1), *De Acontia vel Iaculo* (38), *De Ammodyte* (49), *De Amphisbaena* (41), *De Angue* (43), *De Arge serpente* (46), *De Argolis serpentibus* (47), *De Aspide* (47), *De Basilisco* (55), *De Bero* (59), *De Boa* (60), *De Cecilia serpente quae er Typhlops a Graecis dicitur* (60), *De Cencrhine serpente qui et miliaris Latine dicitur* (62), *De Ceraste* (64), *De Ceristali, Triscali, cristali vel sirtali,* (68), *De Colubro* (68), *De Dipsade* (71), *De Dracone* (84), *De Dracone Pythio seu Pythone* (91), *De serpentibus alatis quos vulgos dracones vocat* (94), *De Drynos qui et Chelydrus dicitur* (95), *De Elephantiis serpentibus* (97), *De Elope vel Elape* (98), *De Haemorrhoo* (98), *De Hyaena Serpente* (101), *De Hydro qui et Chersydrus et Natrix dicitur* (101), *De Hydra multicipite fabulosa, quam Hercules confecit* (107), *De serpentibus aquaticis diversis* (109), *De Lybie serpente* (111), *De Molyro* (111), *De Myagro, Orophia et Spathiuro serpentibus domesticis et murium venatoribus* (111), *De Partea* (112), *De Peliade* (113), *De Porphyro* (113), *De Prestere* (114), *de Scytale* (115), *De Sepedone et Sepede Sepedone* (117), *De Sepe* (118), *De Serpente Marino* (120), *De Serpente rubescente* (122), *De Spondyle* (123), *De Tyro* (124) and *De Vipera*	Summary of the source — a concise overview with emphasis on its herpetological content. Numbers in parenthesis denote the page number where the taxon is discussed.

Table 1. Continued.

Source identified	Content and comments
(124). Hast (1745: 5, 8): 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (*Vipera*. Gesner. serpent. pag. 124.); 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (*Anguis* Gesner. serpent. pag 43.). Hast (1749: 116): 3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (*Anguis* Gesner. serpent. pag 43.). Linnaeus (1746a: 96, 97): 258. ANGUIS squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Gesn. serp*. 60. Caecilia Typhlos Graecis), 259. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII (*Gesn. serp*. 43. Anguis), 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI, squamis caudae XXXIX (*Gesn. serp*. 124. Vipera). Linnaeus (1761: 104, 105): 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*Gesn. serp*. 43. Anguis), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Gesn. serp*. 60. Caecilia Typhlos Graecis). Linnaeus (1763: 13): Vipera *Gesn. Serp*. 124 Linné (1772: 19): Vipera *Gesn. Serp*. 124. Sidrén (1750: 12; 1751: 319): COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 145, squamis caudalibus 36. (Vipera. *Gesn. Serp*. 124).	Reference to the publications citing the source — All relevant publications by Linnaeus and/or his students are listed in chronological order, with the following information provided: author, year, and page number(s) in brackets, followed by the section of the publication and the exact wording of the citation.
Comments: Hast (1749) deleted the reference from 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (*Vipera*. Gesner. serpent. pag. 124.). Page numbers match the edition of 1621 (in Linnaeus's personal library; Anonymous 1896). In spite of Heller's (2007) suggestion, the 1587 edition (Gesner 1587) is eliminated since its pages are only numbered in recto and there are no matches with Hast (1745; 1749) or Linnaeus (1746a; 1761) references.	Comments — notes on the source, its editions, and the presence of the edition in Linnaeus's private library or the library of the Academy of Uppsala; also indicates agreement or divergence with the decisions of Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007).

in the section "*List of abbreviations used by Linnaeus*." To distinguish such cases, we have assigned letters in square brackets, e.g., *Edw. av*. [a] (Edwards 1751) and *Edw. av*. [b] (Edwards 1758).

References identified

We identified 166 primary sources that either deal exclusively with Amphibia or discuss Amphibia within a broader context (Table 2). These sources contain 351 abbreviations and abbreviation variants, listed in the chapter "*List of abbreviations used by Linnaeus*." In addition, 15 archived letters available through ALVIN were included as sources of information cited by Linnaeus.

One reference (*Joh. Du Fay*) could not be iden-

Table 2. Summary of primary sources for the class Amphibia reviewed by Dundee (1994), Heller (2007), and the present study. Comparisons are restricted to herpetology-related content only.

Reference type	Number of references [references different from the present assessment]		
	Dundee (1994)	Heller (2007)	Present review
Journal articles	13	17 [1]	22
Books	48 [12]	96 [16]	121
Letters	–	11 [3]	15
Manuscript	–	–	1
Pers. comm.	3	4 [1]	4
Reference to collection	1	1	2
Unidentified	–	–	1
Σ of sources	65 [12]	129 [21]	166

tified, while another (*Languet. itin.*) was tentatively linked to Langhanss (1705). Written proof (e.g., archived correspondence) was not located for one citation of *J. Leche*. The references *Mus. De Geer* and *Museo Regio* do not denote published works but rather the collections of Carl De Geer and the Royal Collection, respectively.

As expected, the number of sources identified was substantially higher than those covered by Dundee (1994). However, this figure is biased, as Dundee examined only the references contained in *Systema Naturae*, 10th edition (SN10). Similarly, a direct comparison with Heller (2007) is problematic: his assessment encompassed more than 720 zoological sources (at least 380 books and about 340 articles and dissertations), whereas our review focuses exclusively on Amphibia. Nonetheless, the depth of our analysis is evident in the higher number of sources identified across nearly all reference types—except personal communications—when compared to Heller (2007). Furthermore, for 21 references we determined that the source actually used by Linnaeus differed from the one suggested by Heller.

It should also be noted that in the case of early encyclopedic works published in multiple languages and editions (e.g., Gesner's *Historia animalium*), Linnaeus may have consulted different editions depending on the animal group he was addressing at different stages of his career. Thus, our conclusions for Amphibia may not necessarily apply to other groups, such as birds (*Aves*). Even so, we hope that this assessment will aid not only herpetologists but also scholars in other fields in tracing the correct Linnaean references for their research.

Plate 64 from Catesby 1743.

List of abbreviations used by Linnaeus

A. G. (Hast 1745)
A. gyll. (Hast 1745)
A. Vosmaer. (Letter 227518 & Letter 231121)
Act. Angl. 144 (Tyson 1683)
Act. Holm. 1749. (Linnaeus 1750)
Act. paris. 1737 (Geoffroy & Hunauld 1740)
Act. Stockh. 1752 (Linnaeus 1752)
Act. Ups. 1736. (Linnaeus 1742)
Acta Anglicana (Mortimer 1741)
Actis Liter. Sveciæ, 1736 (Linnaeus 1742)
Actis Ups. 1750. p. 27 (Hasselqvist 1751b)
Aëtius. (Aëtius 1534)
Aldr. ovip. (Aldrovandi 1637)
Aldr. Quadr. (Aldrovandi 1637)
Aldr. quadr. (Aldrovandi 1637)
Aldr. quadr. ov. (Aldrovandi 1637)
Aldr. serp. (Aldrovandi 1640)
Aldror. aquat. (Aldrovandi 1637)
Aldrov. quadr. (Aldrovandi 1637)
Aldrovand. serp. (Aldrovandi 1640)
Alp. (Alpini 1735)
Alpin. (Alpini 1735)
Amoen. acad. 1. (Amoenitates Academicae volume 1 ed. 2 Holmiae & Lipsiae)
Amoen. Acad. 2. (Darelius 1751)
Amoen. Acad. 2. (Kiernander 1751)
Amoen. Acad. 6. (Acrell 1763)
Amoen. Acad. V. (Darelius 1751)
Amoen. Acad. V. (Kiernander 1751)
Amoenitat. Kaempferus (Kaempfer 1712)
Amph. Gyll. (Hast 1745)
Amph. Gyllenb. (Hast 1745)
Amphib. Gyll. (Hast 1745)
Amphib. Gyllenborg. (Hast 1745)
Amphibiis Gyllenborgianis (Hast 1745)
Apocalypticae à S. IOANNE (Petri 1541 (translator))
Apocalypticae à S. JOANNE (Petri 1541 (translator))
Apocalypticae à S. JoANNE (Petri 1541 (translator))
Art. gen. (Artedi 1738)
Artedio (Artedi 1738)
Balk. mus. princ. (Balk 1746)
Bart. (Bartholini 1654a)
Barthol. (Bartholini 1654a)
Barthol. cent. 2. (Bartholini 1654a)
Barthol. Cent. 2. (Bartholini 1654a)
Barthol. hist. anat. (Bartholini 1654a)
Bartholinus (Bartholini 1654a)
Bartholinus. (Bartholini 1654a)
Bell. aquat. (Bellon 1553)
Bell. it. (Belon 1605)
Bell. itin. (Belon 1605)
Bell. Itiner. (Belon 1605)
Bell. mus. (Besler & Besler 1716)
Bell. Obs. (Belon 1605)
Bellon. aquat. (Bellon 1553)
Bellon. Itin. (Belon 1605)
Bellon. itin. (Belon 1605)
Bellonius (Bellon 1553)
Besl. mus. (Besler & Besler 1716)
Bochart. (Bochart 1663)
Bochart. hieroz. (Bochart 1663)
Boerhav. (Boerhaave 1738)
Bont. jav. (Bontius 1658)
Bradl. nat. (Bradley 1721)
Bradley natur. (Bradley 1721)
Brown. jam. (Browne 1756)
Browne jam. (Browne 1756)
Bruckm. epist. (Brückmann 1734)
Buxbaum (Buxbaum 1728)
Calceol. mus. (Ceruto & Chiocco 1622)
Catesb. car. 2. (Catesby 1743)
Catesb. car. 3 (Catesby 1743)
Catesb. car. 3. (Catesby 1747)
Catesby carol 2. (Catesby 1743)

Cel. D:nus Praeses in programmate anno 1743 die 9. April. retulit. (Linnaeus 1743b)
Charas (Charas 1670)
Charl. onom. (Charletono 1668)
Charlet. excercit. (Charletono 1677)
Cleijero (Cleyer 1684)
Cleyerus in ephemeridibus germanicis (Cleyer 1684)
Clus. exot. (Clusius 1605)
Column. ecphr. 1. (Columna 1616)
Column. Ecphr. 1. (Columna 1616)
CUBA (Cuba 1491)
Curiosi isti observatores Angli (Jones 1700)
D. Schene (Letter 232128)
Darelii Dissertatio (Darelius 1751)
de Sirene 1766. ***(Österdam 1766)***
Diss. de radice Senega. (Kiernander 1751)
Dissert. Siren. Upsal. (Österdam 1766)
E. Brander (pers. comm. Erik Brander)
Edw. av. [a][59] (Edwards 1751)
Edw. av. [b][59] (Edwards 1758)
Faun. suec. (Linnaeus 1746a)
Faun. Suec. (Linnaeus 1746a)
Faun. Svec. (Linnaeus 1746a)
Faun. svec. [a][60] (Linnaeus 1746a)
Faun. svec. [b][60] (Linnaeus 1761)
Fauna Svecica (Linnaeus 1746a)
ferunt Hoedeporici (Baldaeus 1672)
Fevill. peruv. 2. (Feuillé 1714a)
Fewill. peruv. 2. (Feuillé 1714a)
Fl. Zeyl. (Linnaeus 1747c)
Fn. (Linnaeus 1746a)
fn. Suec. (Linnaeus 1746a)
Fn. Suec. (Linnaeus 1746a)
Fn. Sv. (Linnaeus 1746a)
Fn. sv. (Linnaeus 1746a)
Fn. Svec. [a][60] (Linnaeus 1746a)
Fn. Svec. [b][60](Linnaeus 1761)
Forskohlio (Letter 231588)
Fr. Ziervogel. Pharm. Holmens.(Letter 224595)
Garden. (various letters)
Garzia (Orta 1563)
Gesn. aqu. (Gesner 1620)
Gesn. ov. (Gesner 1586)
Gesn. ovip. (Gesner 1586)
Gesn. pisc. (Gesner 1620)
Gesn. quadr. (Gesner 1586)
Gesn. Serp. (Gesner 1621)
Gesn. serp. (Gesner 1621)
Gesner. quadr. (Gesner 1586)
Gesner. serpent. (Gesner 1621)
Grew. mus. (Grew 1681)
Grew. Mus. (Grew 1681)
Grew. mus. 2 (Gronovius 1756)
Grim. E. N. C. (Anonymous. 1684)
Gron. mus. (Gronovius 1756)
Gron. mus. 2. (Gronovius 1756)
Gron. zooph. (Gronovius 1763)
Gronov. Flor. Virgin. 80 (Gronovius 1743)
Gronovius, Flora Virginica (Gronovius 1743)
Hall. Boerh. (Boerhaave & Haller 1745)
Hasselq. (Hasselquist 1757)
Hasselq. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 24 (Hasselqvist 1751a)
Hasselq. act. ups. 1750. p. 24 (Hasselqvist 1751a)
Hasselq. it. (Hasselquist 1757)
Hasselq. iter. (Hasselquist 1757)
Hasselq. itin. (Hasselquist 1757)
Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 24. (Hasselqvist 1751a)
Hasselqv. act. Ups. 1750. p. 27. (Hasselqvist 1751b)
Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 27. (Hasselqvist 1751b)
Hasselqv. act. ups. 1750. p. 28. (Hasselqvist 1751c)
Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 28. (Hasselqvist 1751c)
Hasselqv. act. ups. 1750. p. 30. (Hasselqvist 1751d)
Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 30. (Hasselqvist 1751d)
Hasselqv. it. (Hasselquist 1757)
Hasselqv. iter. (Hasselquist 1757)
Hasselqv. itin. (Hasselquist 1757)
Hasselqvist (pers. comm. Fredric Hasselquist)
Hast. Amph Gyllenb. (Hast 1745)
Hern. mex. (Hernandez 1651)
Hernand. mex. (Hernandez 1651)
Hoedeporici. (Baldaeus 1672a)
Hortum edidit Sanitatis (Cuba 1491)
Imperat. nat. (Imperati 1645)
It. Gothl. (Linnaeus 1745)
It. gotl. [a][61] (Linnaeus 1745)
It. gotl. [b][61] (Linnaeus 1747b)
It. gottl. (Linnaeus 1745)

59 Linnaeus used the abbreviation *Edw. av.* to refer to two works, the fourth volume of *A Natural History of Birds* (Edwards 1751), and the first volume of *Gleanings of Natural History* (Edwards 1758).

60 The abbreviation variants *Fn. Svec.* and *Faun. svec.* may refer to either the first (Linnaeus 1746a) or the second edition (Linnaeus 1761) of *Fauna Suecica*.

61 The abbreviation variant *It. gotl.* may refer to *Öländska och Gothländska resa* (Linnaeus 1745) or to *Wästgöta-Resa* (Linnaeus 1747b).

It. oel. (Linnaeus 1745)
It. Oel. (Linnaeus 1745)
it. Oeland (Linnaeus 1745)
It. Oeland. (Linnaeus 1745)
It. scan. (Linnaeus 1751a)
It. Scan. (Linnaeus 1751a)
It. W. Goth. (Linnaeus 1747b)
It. W:goth. (Linnaeus 1747b)
It. Wgot. (Linnaeus 1747b)
It. wgoth (Linnaeus 1747b)
It. W-goth (Linnaeus 1747b)
J. Leche (pers. comm. Johan Leche)
Jacob. mus. [a][62] (Jacobaeus 1696)
Jacob. mus. [b][62] (Jacobaeus 1710?)
Jacquinio (Letter 227447)
Jacquino (Letter 227447)
Jaquin (Letter 227447)
Jobi. 40:20; 41:24. (Petri 1541)
Joh. Du Fay. (unidentified)
Jonst. quadr. (Jonston 1657a)
Jonst. serp. [a][63] (Jonston 1653)
Jonst. serp. [b][63] (Jonston 1657b)
Jonst. serpent. [a][63] (Jonston 1653)
Jonst. serpent. [b][63] (Jonston 1657b)
Kaemph. (Kaempfer 1712)
Kaemph. amoen. (Kaempfer 1712)
Kalm (pers. comm. Pehr Kalm)
Kalm. act. Stockh. (Kalm 1752; 1753a; 1753b)
Kalm. act. stockh. (Kalm 1752; 1753a; 1753b)
Kalm. it. (Kalm 1761)
Kalmio (Letter 223995)
Kircher. mus. (Bonanni 1709)
Kirchero in mundo subterraneo (Kircher 1665)
Kirckero (Kircher 1667)
Kolb. cap. (Kolb 1719)
L. Act. Stockh. 1749 (Linnaeus 1750)
Lactant. (Lactantius 1515)
Laet. occid. (Laet 1633)
Languet. itin. (? Langhanss 1705)
Lemery in dictionario. (Lemery 1716)
Lister (Lister 1711)
Lucanus (Lucanus 1469)
Lucretius Lib. 9 (Lucanus 1469)
M. P. (Balk 1746)
M. pr. (Balk 1746)
M. princ. (Balk 1746)
Marcgr. (Marcgravius 1648)
Marcgr. bras. (Marcgravius 1648)
Marcgrav. (Marcgravius 1648)
Margr. Bras. (Marcgravius 1648)
Mathiol. dioscor. (Matthioli 1570)
Mathiol. dioscorid. (Matthioli 1570)
Matth. diosc. (Matthioli 1570)
Merian. sur. (Merian 1726)
Merian. surin. (Merian 1726)
Meriana (Merian 1726)
Merr. pin. (Merrett 1667)
Mrg. (Marcgravius 1648)
Mus. Ad. Fr. (Linnaeus 1754)
Mus. Ad. Fr. 1. (Linnaeus 1754)
Mus. Ad. Fr. 2. (Linné 1764a)
Mus. De Geer (Reference to the collection of Carl De Geer.)
Mus. petrop. (Anonymous 1742)
Mus. Petrop. (Anonymous 1742)
Mus. Petropol. (Anonymous 1742)
Mus. Princ. (Balk 1746)
Mus. Princip. (Balk 1746)
musaeo Petrop. (Anonymous 1742)
Museo Principis (Balk 1746)
Museo Regio (Reference to the specimen of Coluber crotalinus located in the Royal collection.)
Museum Imperiale Petropolitanum (Anonymous 1742)
Nieremb. hist. (Nieremberg 1635)
Nieremb. nat. (Nieremberg 1635)
Nieremb. Natur. (Nieremberg 1635)
Nierenb. nat. (Nieremberg 1635)
Olear. mus. (Olearius 1666a; 1666b)
Osb. (Osbeck 1757)
Osb. iter. (Osbeck 1757)
Ovied. amer. (Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz 1535)
Paullini C.F. Bufo curiosus. (Paullini 1686)
Peregrinantium per Indiam (Baldaeus 1672)
Pet. gaz. (Petiver 1702)
Pet. mus. (Petiver 1698)
Petiv. Gaz. (Petiver 1702)
Petiv. mus. (Petiver 1698)

62 The abbreviation *Jacob. mus.* refers to two different editions Oliger Jacobaeus's *Muséum Regium seu Catalogus Rerum tam naturalium* an 1696 and a 1710 (?) edition.

63 The abbreviation variants *Jonst. Serp.* and *Jonst. serpent.* denote two different editions of Jonston's book on snakes. Page numbers of the first (Jonston 1653) are coincident with the references of Balk (1746; 1749) and Sundius (1748; 1749), while those of the second (Jonston 1657b) partially match with citations by Hast (1745; 1749).

Petiv. pterogr. (Petiver 1712)
Pis. amer. (Piso 1658)
Pis. bras. [a][64] (Piso 1648)
Pis. Bras. [a][64](Piso 1648)
Pis. bras. [b][64] (Piso 1658)
Pis. natural. (Piso 1658)
Piso Bras. [b][64](Piso 1658)
Pison. americ. (Piso 1658)
Plin. (Plinii 1582)
Plinius. Hist. Nat. Schytae (Plinii 1582)
Pliny (Plinii 1582)
R. Hast. (Hast 1745)
Rai. quadr. (Ray 1693)
Raj. anim. (Ray 1693)
Raj. quad. (Ray 1693)
Raj. quadr. (Ray 1693)
Raj. Quadr. (Ray 1693)
Raj. quadr. (Ray 1693)
Raj. quadrup. (Ray 1693)
Raj. Quadruped. (Ray 1693)
Raj. qvadrup. (Ray 1693)
Rajo de Quadrupedibus (Ray 1693)
Rajus de quadr. (Ray 1693)
RAJUS quadr. (Ray 1693)
Reaumurus (Réaumur 1939 [1736])
Redi (Redi 1670)
REDI (Redi 1675)
Redo (Redi 1675)
Reumurii (Réaumur 1939 [1736])
Rhed. exp. (Redi 1675)
Rhed. exper. (Redi 1675)
RHEDE (Redi 1675)
Rhedi (Redi 1675)
Rheed. exper. (Redi 1675)
Roberg. diss. de lue vener. (Linder 1705)
Roes. ran. (Roesel 1758)
Rolander (pers. comm. Daniel Rolander)
Rond. aquat. 2. (Rondelet 1555)
Rond. pisc. [a][65] (Rondelet 1554)
Rond. pisc. [b][65] (Rondelet 1555)
Rond. pisc. 2. (Rondelet 1555)
Rondel. Pisc. (Rondelet 1554)
Rondel. Pisc. 2 (Rondelet 1555)
Rondeletius (Rondelet 1554)
S. G. (Sundius 1748)
S. N. [a][66] (Linnaeus 1748a)
S. N. [b] (Linnaeus 1758)
S. N. [c] (Linné 1766)
Sauw. (Shaw 1738)
Scanam (Linnaeus 1751a)
Scheuch. sacr. (Scheuchzer 1735a)
Schonef. ichth. (Schonevelde 1624)
Schwenck. rept. (Schwenkfeld 1603)
Schwenck. reptil. (Schwenkfeld 1603)
Seb. (Seba 1734)
Seb. mus. 1. (Seba 1734)
Seb. mus. 2. (Seba 1735)
Seb. thes. 1. (Seba 1734)
Seb. Thes. 1. (Seba 1734)
Seb. thes. 2. (Seba 1735)
Seb. Thes. 2. (Seba 1735)
Shaw. (Shaw 1738)
Sicilianska Poeten (Theocritus 1531)
Sloan. hist. II. (Sloane 1725)
Sloan. jam. 2. (Sloane 1725)
Sloane (Sloane 1725)
Ström. sondm. (Strøm 1762)
Sur. grill. (Sundius 1748)
Sur. Grill. (Sundius 1748)
Surin. Grill. (Sundius 1748)
Surinam. grillian. (Sundius 1748)
Surinamens. Grill. (Sundius 1748)
Swammerdam (Swammerdam 1693)
Syst. Nat. (Linnaeus 1748a)
Syst. nat. (Linnaeus 1748a)
Syst. Nat. 10 (Linnaeus 1758)
Syst. Nat. 6. (Linnaeus 1748a)
Syst. nat. Ed. 9 (Linnaeus 1756)
Syst. natur. 6 (Linnaeus 1748a)
System Nat. (Linnaeus 1748a)
System. N. 6. (Linnaeus 1748a)
Systema Nat. 216 (Linnaeus 1758)
Telluris incremento (Linnaeus 1743b)
Tennent (Tennent 1738)
Tennentius (Tennent 1738)
Tertre antill. (Tertre 1667)

64 The abbreviation variants *Pis. bras.* and *Pis. Bras.* may refer to either *De medicina Brasiliensi* (Piso 1648) referred to by Sundius (1748; 1749) or *Historiæ Naturalis & Medicæ Indiæ Occidentalis* (Piso 1658) cited by Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766), or to both as referred to by Balk (1746; 1749).

65 The abbreviation variant *Rond. pisc.* may refer to *Libri de piscibus marinis* (Rondelet 1554) or *Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera* (Rondelet 1555).

66 Abbreviation *S. N.* used to denote three editions of *Systema Naturae*, Ed. 6 (Linnaeus 1748a), Ed. 10 (Linnaeus 1758) and Ed. 12 (Linné 1766).

Ther. Androm. (Bonvinius 1610)
Tourn. it. (Tournefort 1718)
Tournef. itin. (Tournefort 1718)
Tozzi (Tozzi 1747)
Tozzianum (Tozzi 1747)
Tyson. Act. Angl. p. 144. (Tyson 1683)
Tysone, Act. Londin. N. 144 (Tyson 1683)
Valent. mus. (Valentini 1704)
Vallisn. nat. 1. (Vallisneri 1733)
Vandell. ad Linn. Patav. 1761. (Vandelli 1761)
Vincent [a][67] (Vincent 1726a)
Vincent [b][67] (Vincent 1726b)
Vincent catal. (Vincent 1726a)
Vincent. pip. 1726. (Vincent 1726b)
W:goth. (Linnaeus 1747b)
Wagn. mus. (Wagner 1762)
Wet. Akademiens Handlingar 1749 (Linnaeus 1750)
Wettenskaps Acad. Handlingar 1741 p. 228 (Gråberg 1741)
Worm. mus. (Worm 1655)
Wurffbain. Salamandrol. (Wurffbainii 1683)
Wurffbainus Salamandrologia. (Wurffbainii 1683)

67 The abbreviation *Vincent* may refer to *Catalogus et descriptio animalium volatilium, reptilium, & aquatilium* (Vincent 1726a) or *Descriptio pipae, Seu Bufonis Aquatici Surinamensis* (Vincent 1726b).

Plate 205 from Edwards 1751.

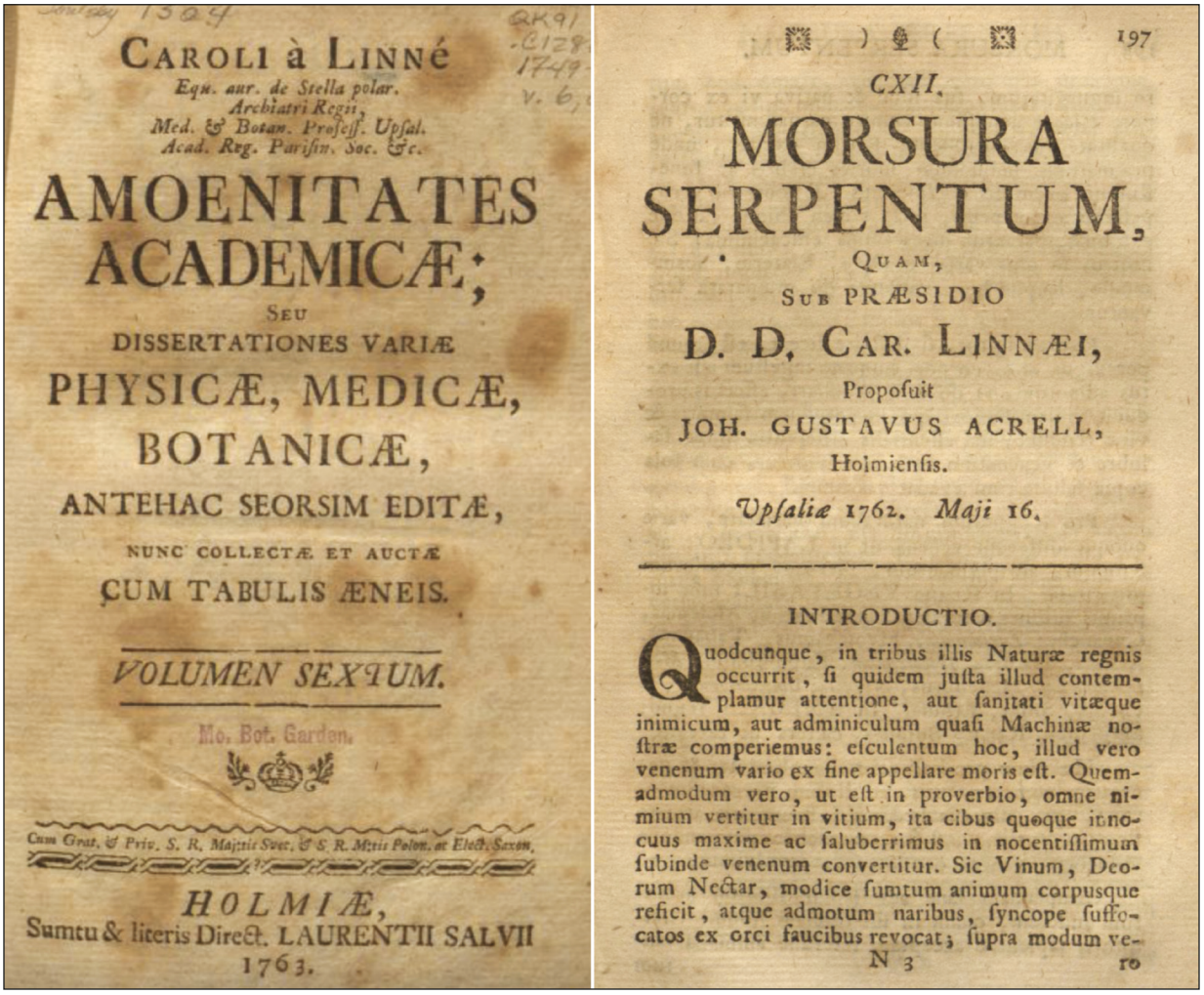
Primary Sources

Acrell, J. G. 1763. CXII. Morsura Serpentum, quam sub præsidio D. D. Car. Linnæi, Proposuit Joh. Gustavus Acrell, Holmensis. Upsaliæ 1762. Maji 16. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 6: 197–216, 1 pl. (pp. 247). <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>. (Figure 5)

Abbreviated as Amoen. Acad. 6.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Amphibians and reptiles included: *Ammodytes* (p. 211), *Aspis* (p. 210), *Aspis* (p. 211), *Atropos* (p. 211), *Atrox* (p. 211), *Boas constrictor* (p. 200), *Bufones* (p. 201), *Chelidonia* (p.



CAROLI à LINNÉ
Equ. aur. de Stella polar.
Archiatri Regii,
Med. & Botan. Professf. Upsal.
Acad. Reg. Parisin. Soc. &c.

AMOENITATES ACADEMICÆ;
SEU
DISSERTATIONES VARIÆ
PHYSICÆ, MEDICÆ,
BOTANICÆ,
ANTEHAC SEORSIM EDITÆ,
NUNC COLLECTÆ ET AUCTÆ
CUM TABULIS ÆNEIS.

VOLUMEN SEXTUM.

Mo. Bot. Garden.

Cum Grat. & Priv. S. R. Majtis Svec. & S. R. Mtis Polon. ac Elect. Saxon.

HOLMIÆ,
Sumtu & literis Direct. LAURENTII SALVII
1763.

197

CXII.

MORSURA SERPENTUM,
QUAM,
SUB PRÆSIDIO
D. D. CAR. LINNÆI,
Proposuit
JOH. GUSTAVUS ACRELL,
Holmiensis.
Upsaliæ 1762. Maji 16.

INTRODUCTIO.

Quodcunque, in tribus illis Naturæ regnis occurrit, si quidem justa illud contemplamur attentione, aut sanitati vitæque inimicum, aut adminiculum quasi Machinæ nostræ comperiemus: esculentum hoc, illud vero venenum vario ex fine appellare moris est. Quemadmodum vero, ut est in proverbio, omne nimium vertitur in vitium, ita cibus quoque innocuus maxime ac saluberrimus in nocentissimum subinde venenum convertitur. Sic Vinum, Deorum Nectar, modice sumtum animum corpusque reficit, atque admotum naribus, syncope suffocatos ex orci faucibus revocat; supra modum ve-

N 3 ro

Figure 5. Cover of volume 6 of *Amoenitates Academicæ* and title page of the Acrell's revised dissertation.

210), *Chersea* (p. 210; 211), *Cobras de capelo, Colubrum Najam, Naja* (p. 208; 211; 215), *Colubri Beri, Berus* (p. 200; 201; 209; 211), *Corallinus* (p. 211), *Crotalum* (p. 200; 202; 203; 213), *Dipsas* (p. 209; 211), *Haemorrhous* (p. 209), *Lacteus* (p. 211), *Lapis serpentum* (p. 215), *Leberis* (p. 211), *Lebetinus* (p. 211), *Mycterizans* (p. 211), *Niveus* (p. 211), *Prester* (p. 211), *Pthyas* (p. 210), *Severus* (p. 211), *Stolatus* (p. 211), and *Vipera* (p. 211).

Linnaeus (1766: 348): *Aristolochiae* Speciebus teste *Jacquinio* & *Forskolio*. *vide Amoen. Acad*. 6. *p*. 197. ["...According to the testimony of Jacquin and Forsskål, a species of *Aristolochia*. See *Amoen. Acad*. 6. *p*. 197...].

Comments: Acrell's dissertation, originally published in 1762, included on the last page (19) a figure of a viperid snake skull and below it, its caption. The figure was glued to the page after printing. Only some of the copies include this tiny (60 x 70 mm) illustration (Wahlgren 2012). In the *Amoenitates Academicae* edition (Acrell 1763) the caption remains at the end of the dissertation (page 216), while the figure was placed on the plate linked to page 247 as a small side illustration to the plate associated with the publication *Planta Alströmeria* (Falck 1763).

Linnaeus's comment refers to the last paragraph of Acrell's thesis: "...*Certe D. D. Jacquin ex India occidentalis redux artem excantandi serpentes sese auro redemisse, in literis ad D. Praesidem testatur, an hoc fiat masticando* Aristolochiam angucidam *ejusdem, vel alia methodo nobis etiamnum latet, sed speravimus brevi hoc arcanum communicaturum cum publico D. D. Jacquin, quod avide nobiscum omnes curiosi exoptant & precibus efflagitant...*". ["...Indeed, the esteemed Dr. Jacquin, returned from the West Indies, attests in a letter to the President that he purchased the art of charming serpents for a sum of gold. Whether this is accomplished by chewing *Aristolochia anguicida* of that region, or by some other method, remains unknown to us; but we have hoped that Dr. Jacquin will soon share this secret with the public, which all curious minds, together with us, eagerly desire and urgently request. ..."].

An early English translation was published under the title *On the bite of serpents* by Brand (1781).

Linnaeus's own copy of *Amoenitates Academicae* is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same Stockholm edition of *Amoenitates Academicae*.

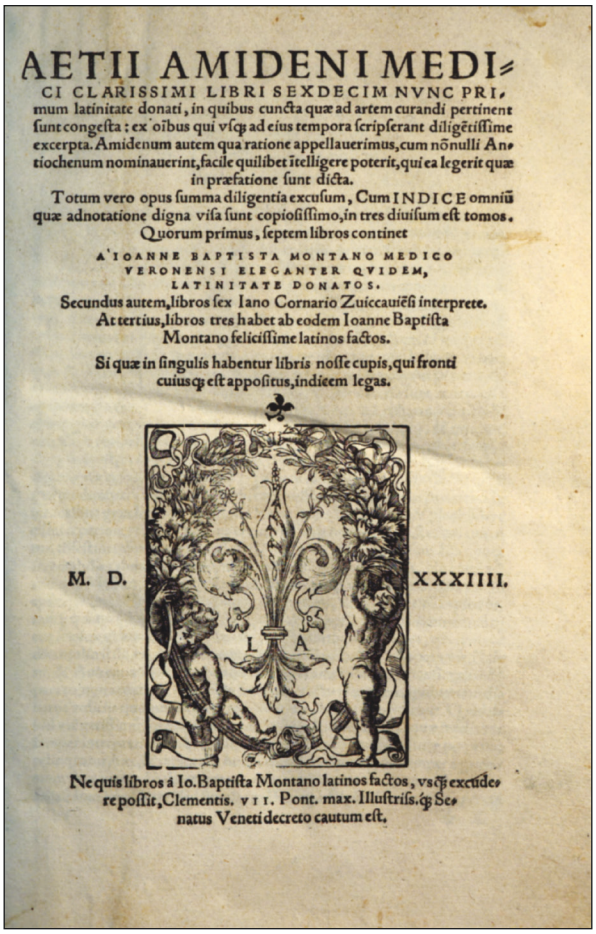

AETII AMIDENI MEDI=
CI CLARISSIMI LIBRI SEXDECIM NVNC PRI,
mum latinitate donati, in quibus cuncta quæ ad artem curandi pertinent
ſunt congeſta: ex oibus qui vſq; ad eius tempora ſcripſerant diligẽtiſſime
excerpta. Amidenum autem qua ratione appellauerimus, cum nõnulli An=
tiochenum nominauerint, facile quilibet itelligere poterit, qui ea legerit quæ
in præfatione ſunt dicta.
Totum vero opus ſumma diligentia excuſum, Cum INDICE omniũ
quæ adnotatione digna viſa ſunt copioſiſſimo, in tres diuiſum eſt tomos.
Quorum primus, ſeptem libros continet
A IOANNE BAPTISTA MONTANO MEDICO
VERONENSI ELEGANTER QVIDEM,
LATINITATE DONATOS.
Secundus autem, libros ſex Iano Cornario Zuiccauiẽſi interprete.
At tertius, libros tres habet ab eodem Ioanne Baptiſta
Montano feliciſſime latinos factos.
Si quæ in ſingulis habentur libris noſſe cupis, qui fronti
cuius q; eſt appoſitus, indicem legas.
M. D. XXXIIII.
I A
Ne quis libros á Io. Baptiſta Montano latinos factos, vs q; excude=
re poſſit, Clementis. VII. Pont. max. Illuſtriſs. q; Se=
natus Veneti decreto cautum eſt.

Figure 6. Title page of the 1534 Venice edition of Aëtius Amidenus medical treatise.

Aëtius. 1534. ***Aetii Amideni medici clarissimi Libri sexdecim nvnc primum Latinitate donati, in quibus cuncta quae ad artem curandi pertinent sunt congesta: ex omnibus qui usque ad eius tempora scripserant diligentissime excerpta. Amideum autem qua ratione appellaverimus, cum nonnulli Antiochenum nominaverint, facile quilibet intelligere poterit, qui ea legerit quae in praefatione sunt dicta. Totum vero opus summa diligentia excusum, cum INDICE omnius quae adnotatione digna visa sunt copiosissimo, in tres divisum est tomos. Quorum primus, septem libros continet a Ioanne Baptista Montano medico veronensi eleganter quidem Latinitate donatos. Secundus autem, libros sex Iano Cornario Zuiccaviensi***

***interprete. Ac tertius, libros tres habet ab eodem Ioanne Baptista Montano felicissime latinos factos. Si quae in singulis habentur libris nosse cupis, qui fronti cuiusque est appositus, indicem legas.* Venetiis: Luceantonii Iunte, [x] + 1–303 + [viii] + 1–304 + [1] + 1-156 + [xlvi]. <http://books.google.at/books?id=_O6RJqnolJIC>** (Figure 6)

Abbreviated as Aëtius.

Cited in Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: Several references to amphibians and reptiles. Those of *Sermon tertiusdecimus* (that mentioned by Sundius) include: *De morsis a crocodilo* (Cap. VI, p. 247), *Ad stellionis morsum* (XII, p. 250), *Ad salamandrę morsum, & lacertae chalcidae* (XIII, p. 250; LII, p. 263), *De morsis ab aspide* (XX, p. 253), *De viperae maris* & *foeminę morsus* (XXI, p. 254), *De dipsade* (XXII, p. 255), *De haemorrho* & *haemorrhoide* (XXIII, p. 255), *Preparatio sanguinis testudinis marinae, usus* (XXIIII, p. 256), *De ammodyte aut cenchria* (XXV, p. 256), *De sepe* (XXVI, p. 256), *De cenchrite sive Acontio* (XVII, p. 256), *De ceraste* (XXVIII, p. 256), *De dryno* (XXIX, p. 257), *De amphisbęna & scytala* (XXX, p. 257), *De parea & spathiuro* (XXXI, p. 257), *De peliade & elape* (XXXII, p. 257), *De basilisco* (XXXIII, p. 258), *De draconibus* (XXXIIII, p. 258), *De chersydro* (XXXV, p. 258), *De rana rubeta* (XXXVI, p. 258; LIIII, p. 263) and *De rana palustri* (LV, p. 263).

Sundius (1748: 34; 1749: 508): referring to *Ammodytes*, noted: *Proinde scite libro XIII. Cap., 25 de eo ita scriptum reliquit Aëtius*.

Comments: Aëtius *Libri sexdecim* had numerous editions and various interpretations. Sundius could have consulted a copy of the 1534 edition housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a).

Reference not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007).

Aldrovandi, U. 1637. *De Qvadrupedib'. Digitatis Viviparis Libri Tres, et de Quadrupedib' Digitatis Oviparis Libri Dvo.* Bonon: Nicolau Tebaldinum, [iii] + [ii] + 1–718 + [xvi]. <https://books.google.at/books?id=Syp2E4KAKiEC>. (Figure 7)

Abbreviated as: Aldr. ovip.; Aldr. Quadr.; Aldr. quadr.; Aldr. quadr. ov.; Aldror. aquat.; Aldrov. quadr.

Cited in Hast (1745, 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1754; 1758; 1759; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: The two books on oviparous quadrupeds include 19 chapters on diverse species of amphibians and reptiles. Those of the first book are (1) *De Ranae in genere, & primum de edili* (589-606), (2) *De Ranis rubetis in genere et primum de bufone* (607-621), (3) *De Ranunculo viridis* (622-623), (4) *De Rana temporaria* (623-624), (5) *De Lacerta in genere & primum de vulgari* (625-633), (6) *De Lacerto Viridi* (633-637), (7) *De Lacerta Chalcidica* (637-639), (8) *De Salamandra* (639-647), (9) *De Salamandra aquatica* (647-650), (10) *De Stellione* (650-658) (11) *De Scinco* (erroneously numbered as Cap. XII; p. 658-663), (12) *De Cordylo quadrupede, sive Caudiverbera* (663-665), (13) *De caeteris lacertis exoticus* (665-668), (14) *De Chamaeleonte* (668-676), and (15) *De Crocodilo* (677-692). The second book, devoted completely to turtles, includes (1) *De testudine in genere* (693-705), (2) *De testudine terrestri* (705-719), (3) *De testudine aquae dulcis & lutaria* (710-711), and (4) *De testudine marina* (712-718).

Hast (1745: 16, 25, 32; 1749: 122, 131, 138): 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Aldrov. quadr. p. 677. *Crocodilus*), 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (Aldrov. quadr. p. 639. *Salamandra*), 22. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum duobus, plantarum unico* (Aldrov. quadr. p. 712. tab. 714. *Testudo marina*).

Linnaeus (1746a: 94): 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice longiore (*Aldr. ovip*. 89. Rana, *in errore*), 252. *Rana viridis* (*Aldr. ovip*. 434. Rana viridis; *in errore*).

Linnaeus (1754: 40): *Lacerta crocodilus* (Aldror. (*sic*) aquat. 677).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 200, 203, 204, 205, 209, 210, 212), Linné (1766: 350, 359, 363, 364, 371, 369, 370, 357): *Testudo mydas* (*Aldr. quadr.* 712. *t.* 714), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Aldr. aquat.* 677. Crocodilus), *L. agilis* β (*Aldr. quadr.* 634. Lacertus viridis), *L. chamaeleon* (*Aldr. quadr.* 670. Chamaeleon), *L. salamandra* (*Aldr. quadr.* 641. Salamandra terrestris), *L. aurata* (*Aldr. quadr.* 660. Lacertus cyprius scincoides), *L. chalcides* (*Aldr. quadr.* 638. Lacerta chalcidica), *Rana temporaria* (*Aldr. ovip.* 89. Rana; *in errore*).

Linnaeus (1759: 74, 75): 42. L. cauda tereti longa, pedi-

Figure 7. Title page and page 670 of the 1637 Quadrupedibus book by Aldrovandi.

bus tridactylis (*Aldr. quadr. ov.* 638); 13. R. dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Aldr. ovip.* 89).

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 102, 103): 278. Rana *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Aldr. ovip*. 89. Rana, *in errore*), 280. Rana *arborea* corpore laevi subtus punctus contiguis tuberculato, pedibus fissis unguibus orbiculato-dilatatis (*Aldr. ovip*. 434. Rana viridis; *in errore*), 284. LACERTA *agilis* cauda verticillata longiuscula: squamis acutis, collari subtus squamis articulato (*Aldr. Quadr*. 264), 264. β Lacertus viridis; *Aldr. quadr*. 264, *in errore*).

Linné (1766: 365): *Lacerta stincus* (*Aldr. ovip. l.* 1. *c.* 12. Lacertus cyprius scincoides).

Comments: Cited by Linnaeus randomly under three different abbreviations, plus variants thereof, *Aldr. aquat., Aldr. ovip., or Aldr. quadr.*, without any reference to the edition analyzed. Dundee (1994) notes that it is the one of 1637, an assertion followed by Heller (2007), Moravec *et al*. (2006), Krecsák (2025a), but according to Bauer (2012) and AnimalBase (www.animalbase.uni-goettingen.de) the edition consulted by Linnaeus was that of 1645. Both editions (Aldrovandi 1637; 1645) have the same pagination and content, being the only observed difference a long dedication to Cardinal Francisco Peretto, the section "to the readers" and the privileges in the first edition. This work was not in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896). He could have consulted the copy of the first edition (Aldrovandi 1637) housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a).

The erroneous reference "*Aldr. ovip.* 89. Rana" in Linnaeus (1746a; 1758; 1761) and Linné (1766) is due to a weakly printed number 5 (the description starts on p. 589). We can not explain the erroneous reference to *Lacertus viridis β* in Linnaeus (1761).

Aldrovandi, U. 1640. *Serpentum et Draconū Historiæ Libri Duo. Bartholomaeus Ambrosinus In Patrio*

Figure 8. Title page and illustration of the nose-horned viper in Aldrovandi`s *Serpentum et Draconū Historiæ* from 1640

***Bonon Gymnasio simplicium med. Professor ordinarius, Horti publici, nec non Museī Ill.mi Senatus Bonon. Prefectus Summo labore opus concinnauit ad illustrissimum reuerendissimum, et excellentissimū virum D. Franciscu Perettum abbate Venafri principem nomenti marchionē, et celani comitem meritissimum. Cum indice memorabilium, nec non variarū linguarum locupletissimo.* Bononiæ, Clementem Ferronium: [iv] + 1–427 + [xxxi]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.154242>.** (Figure 8)

Abbreviated as: Aldr. serp.; Aldrovand. serp.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1758; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: The first book, devoted almost completely to snakes, has 22 chapters: (1) *De serpente in genere* (2-108), (2) *De Vipera* (108-167), (3) *De Ammodite* (167-170), (4) *De Ceraste* (171-179), (5) *De Haemorroo* (179-185), (6) *De Sepe* (186-192), (7) *De Aspide* (192-213), (8) *De Dipsade* (214-229), (9) *De Scytale* (229-236), (10) *De Amphisbaena* (236-243), (11) *De Caecilia* (241-246), (12) *De Cenchro* (247-252), (13) *De Acontia sive Iaculo* (252-259), (14) *De Dryno sive Querculo* (259-265), (15) *De Elaphe sive Elape aut Elope* (265-268), (16) *De Angue AEsculapii* (268-275), (17) *De Hydro sive Natrice* (275-287), (18) *De Natrice Torquata* (287-294), (19) *De Boa* (294-296), (20) *De Hydro marino* (296-302), (21) *De Scolopendra marina* (302-305), and (22) *De serpentibus exoticis* (305-309). Chapters 21 and 22 contain an anguilliform fish, probably a Congrioidei, plus several improbable beings with certain resemblance to snakes.

Hast (1745: 5, 8): 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (Aldrovand. serp. pag. 108. *Vipera*), 3. ANGUIS scutis abdomimalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Aldrovand. serp. pag. 287. *Natrix torquata*).

Hast (1749: 116): 3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Aldrovand. serp. pag. 287. *Natrix torquata*). Interestingly the reference was removed at the first species (1. ANGVIS

PROSPERI ALPINI,
MAROSTICENSIS,
PHILOSOPHI, MEDICI,
In celeberrimo Lyceo Patavino Pharmaciæ Professoris Ordinarii, Hortique Medici Præfecti,
HISTORIÆ ÆGYPTI NATURALIS
PARS PRIMA.
Qua continentur
RERUM ÆGYPTIARUM
LIBRI QUATUOR.
OPUS POSTUMUM
nunc primum
Ex auctoris Autographo, diligentissime recognito, editum; atque ex eodem Tabellis Æneis XXV. illustratum & uberrimo Indice auctum.
LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Apud GERARDUM POTVLIET,
MDCCXXXV.

Figure 9. Title page and crocodile plate from *Historiae Aegypti Naturalis* by Alpini (1735)

scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX), named in the reprint edition p. 113 COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX.

Linnaeus (1746a: 96, 97): 258. ANGUIS squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Aldr. serp*. 243. Caecilia), 259. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII (*Aldr. serp*. 287. Natrix torquata), 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Aldr. serp.* 108. Vipera).

Linnaeus (1758: 216, 217, 218, 229), Linné (1766: 376, 377, 392): *Coluber ammodytes*, (*Aldr. serp.* 169. Ammodytes), *C. berus* (*Aldr. serp.* 115, 116). *C. chersea* (*Aldr. serp.* 197. Aspis colore ferrugineo), *Anguis fragilis* (*Aldr. serp.* 245. Caecilia vulgaris).

Linnaeus (1761: 104, 105): 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*Aldr. serp*. 287. Natrix torquata) (104), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Aldr. serp*. 243. Caecilia).

Comments: Although currently considered a book published in 1640, the colophon indicates 1639. Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) agree that this was the edition analyzed by Linnaeus. It was not in his personal library (Anonymous 1896) but a copy of this edition, cited as 1639, was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a).

Alpini, P. 1735. *Historiae Aegypti Naturalis pars prima. Qua continentur Rerum Aegyptiarum libri quatuor. Opus postumum nunc primum ex auctoris autographo, diligentissime recognito, editum; atque ex eodem tabellis aeneis XXV, illustratum & uberrimo indice auctum*. Lugduni Batavorum, Gerardum Potvliet: [xviii] + 1–248 + [xii], Pl. I–XXV. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/13497>. (Figure 9)

Abbreviated as: *Alp.*; *Alpin.*

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749).

Contents: Amphibians and reptiles are included in Book IV, *Caput II: De Piscibus, qui & in Nilo flumine, & in lacubus Aegypti, atque in mari capiuntur* (201-203); *Caput IV: De serpentibus Aegyptiis familiaribus* (207-215), and *Caput V: De animalibus lacertosis in Aegypto viventibus* (215-219).

Hast (1745: 17, 28; 1749: 123, 135): References to (a) 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis*: *Rustici tamen unus vel duo immanem crocodilum* (*qui numerosis hominibus resistere aptus*) *invadunt, manibus prehendunt fune os & pedes vinciunt asino imponunt, vebunt Venetias, jugulant, decorticant. Alpin.* ["...Nevertheless, one or two peasants attack the enormous crocodile (capable of resisting numerous men), seize it with their hands, bind its

Figure 10. Illustration of *Lacerta volans* in the 1684 volume of *Miscellanea curiosa.*

mouth and feet with a rope, place it on a donkey, carry it to Venice, kill it, and skin it. Alpini.."]. and (b) *Ranae Aegyptum fere inundaret, nisi Ciconiae, quotannis accedentes, eas devastarent. Alp.* ["...Frogs would almost flood Egypt, if the storks, which come every year, did not devastate them. Alp..."].

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Uppsala Academy (Aurivillius 1814a). Linnaeus had multiple books by Alpini in his library (Anonymous 1896), therefore we may presume that he might have owned this work as well. The completeness of the stories referenced by Hast and the fact Alpini (1735) was the latest published herpetological reference cited in the dissertation (thus minimizing the likelihood of a secondhand reference), support the opinion that Hast and Linnaeus consulted the book. Dundee (1994) did not cover Alpini. Heller (2007) reported the same edition as being the one consulted by Linnaeus.

Anonymous. 1684. Coronidis loco. *Miscellanea curiosa, sive Ephemeridum medico-physicarum Germanicarum Academiæ Naturae Curiosorum, Decuriæ II. Annus secundus, anni M.DC. XXXIII. Continens celeberrimorum virorum, tum medicorum, tum aliorum eruditorum in Germania & extra eam observationes medicas, physicas, chymicas, nec non mathematicas. Cum appendice.* Norimbergæ, Wolfgangi Mauritii Endtetri. [ii] + [ii] + [iii] + [ix] + 1–488 + [xx] + [i] + [i], 24 Pl. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/163150>. (Figure 10)

Abbreviated as Grim. E. N. C.

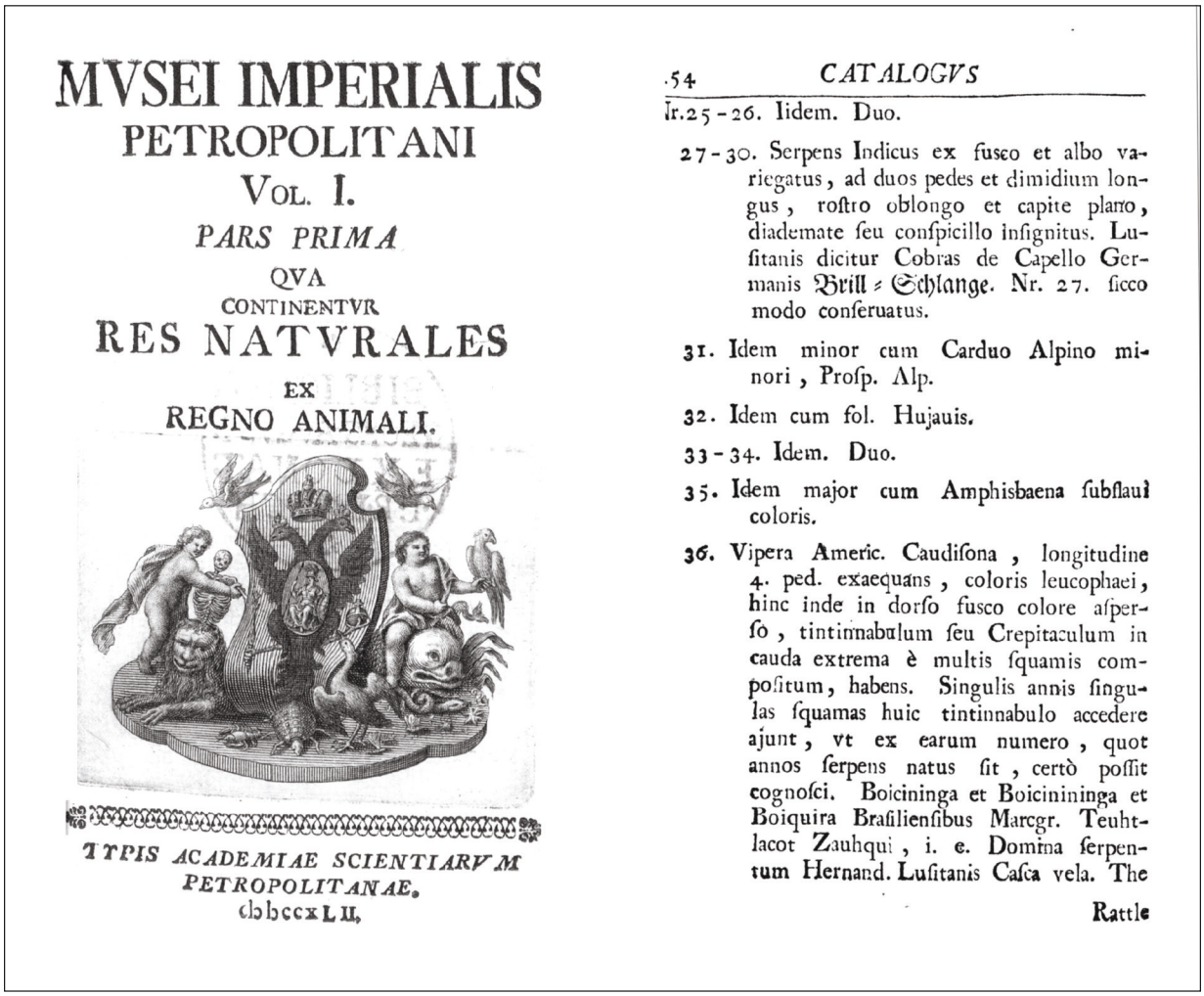
Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Short description of *Lacertam alatam volantem*, depicted on the page that follows 488, under the name *Lacerta volans*.

Linné (1766: 358): *Draco volans* (*Grim. E. N. C. Ann.* 12. Lacerta volans).

Comments: Linnaeus's citation is erroneous. Grimm's note appeared in *Decuriae II, Annus II* (= 2), not 12.

Linnaeus did not own a copy (Anonymous 1896), still he could have consulted the journal in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Work not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007).



MVSEI IMPERIALIS
PETROPOLITANI
VOL. I.
PARS PRIMA
QVA
CONTINENTVR
RES NATVRALES
EX
REGNO ANIMALI.

TYPIS ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARVM
PETROPOLITANAE.
CIↃIↃCCXLII.

54 CATALOGVS

Ir.25-26. Iidem. Duo.

27-30. Serpens Indicus ex fusco et albo variegatus, ad duos pedes et dimidium longus, rostro oblongo et capite plano, diademate seu conspicillo insignitus. Lusitanis dicitur Cobras de Capello Germanis Brill-Schlange. Nr. 27. sicco modo conseruatus.

31. Idem minor cum Carduo Alpino minori, Prosp. Alp.

32. Idem cum fol. Hujauis.

33-34. Idem. Duo.

35. Idem major cum Amphisbaena subflaui coloris.

36. Vipera Americ. Caudisona, longitudine 4. ped. exaequans, coloris leucophaei, hinc inde in dorso fusco colore aspersо, tintinnabulum seu Crepitaculum in cauda extrema è multis squamis compositum, habens. Singulis annis singulas squamas huic tintinnabulo accedere ajunt, vt ex earum numero, quot annos serpens natus sit, certò possit cognosci. Boicininga et Boicininingа et Boiquira Brasiliensibus Marcgr. Teuhtlacot Zauhqui, i. e. Domina serpentum Hernand. Lusitanis Casca vela. The

Rattle

Figure 11. Catalog of animals from the Imperial Museum of St. Petersburg (Anonymous 1742).

Anonymous. 1742. *Mvsei Imperialis Petropolitani. Vol. I. Pars Prima qua continentvr Res Naturales ex Regno Animali*. Petropolitanae, Typis Academiae Scientiarum: [vi] + [1–3]–755. <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN340834102>. (Figure 11)

Abbreviated as: Mus. petrop.; Mus. Petrop.; Mus. Petropol.; musaeo Petrop.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749), Darelius (1749; 1751), Hast (1745; 1749), Karamyschew (1766, 1769), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: The section on toads and frogs starts on page 423; turtles on page 430; lizards on page 433 and snakes on page 451.

Balk (1746: 16; 1749: 293): 19. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX.* (*Lacerta ceilonica crocodili capite, maxima & ex griseo & nigro varia stellulisque albis transversim sitis notata, cauda longa.* Mus. Petrop. 1. p. 436.).

Darelius (1749: 7; 1751: 107): "...*Scuta abdominalia a Cl. Mullero Prof. petropol. & illust. Equite de Sagramoso in musaeo Petrop.* (…) *numerata sunt*..." ["…The ventral scutes were counted by the distinguished Professor Müller of St. Petersburg and the illustrious Knight de Sagramoso in the St. Petersburg museum…"]. See Mus. Petrop: 454-455.

Darelius (1751: 105) Serpens indicus ex fusco & albo variegatus ad duos pedes & dimidium longus, rostro oblongo & capite plano diademate s. conspicillo insignitus. *Mus. Petrop.* 454. *n.* 27.

Hast (1745: 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27, 29; 1749: 118, 122, 123, 124, 125, 133, 135): 6. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV* (Mus. Petropol. p. 464. n. 218. *Serpens americanus niger, annulis latis albis, ac inter ipsos singulos duo annuli albi tenuiores, ore squamularum albarum nigricante*), 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis*

(Mus. Petropol. I. p. 433. n. 1. *Crocodilus, lacertorum omnium maximus, africanus*), 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Mus. petrop. 1. p. 431. *Lacertus indicus Senembi & Iguana item Leguan dictus*), 13. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX* (Mus. Petrop. 1. p. 436. *Lacerta ceilonica crocodili capite, maxima & ex griseo & nigro varia stellulisque albis transversim sitis notata, cauda longa*), 19. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis subtus lunulato - imbricatis, corpore verrucoso* (Mus. petrop. I. p. 444. n. 171. Lacerta indica), 20. RANA *pedibus fissis, unguibus subrotundis, corpore laevi, pone angustato* (Mus. Petrop. 1. p. 427. n. 47. *Rana surinamensis, prone caerulescentis, supine albi coloris, ad latera utrinque maculis nigris notata*).

6. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV.* in Hast (1745) renamed 6. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV*. in Hast (1749).

Karamyschew (1766: 5; 1769: 441): On p. 4-5 (441) notes that the catalog of the collection includes 468 species (specimens?) of Amphibians, and on p. 17 (451), regrets that the vast collection of plants and animals from Siberia, made by Gmelin and housed in the Petropolitan Museum, was destroyed in a fire[68]. Refers to the collection as *Museum Imperiale Petropolitanum*.

Sundius (1748: 23; 1749: 500): 17. CROTALOPHORUS scutis abdominalibus CLXXII, scutis caudalibus XXI, paribusque sqvamarum III (Vipera americana caudisona, longitudine IV. pedes exaequans, coloris leucocephaei, hinc inde in dorso fusco colore adspersa, tintinabulum seu crepitaculum in cauda extrema a multis squamis compositum habens. Mus. petropol. p. 454. n. 36).

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). The precise references to pages and specimen (e. g., Mus. Petropol. p. 464. n. 218) and the matching names suggest that Linnaeus owned a copy which was used as source in the various dissertations, but this book was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith. Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) specified the work as the Linnaean source.

Artedi, P. 1738. *Genera Piscium. In quibus systema totum Ichthyologiae proponitur cum classibus, ordinibus, generum characteribus, specierum differentiis, observationibus plurimis. Redactis speciebus 242 ad genera 52. Ichthyologiae pars III*. Lugduni Batavorum, Conradum Wishoff: [vi] + 1–84 + [iv]. < https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.111064>. (Figure 12)

Abbreviated as: Artedio; Art. gen.

Cited in Linnaeus (1740a; 1744a; 1747a), Österdam (1766; 1769).

Contents: Book on classification of pisces.

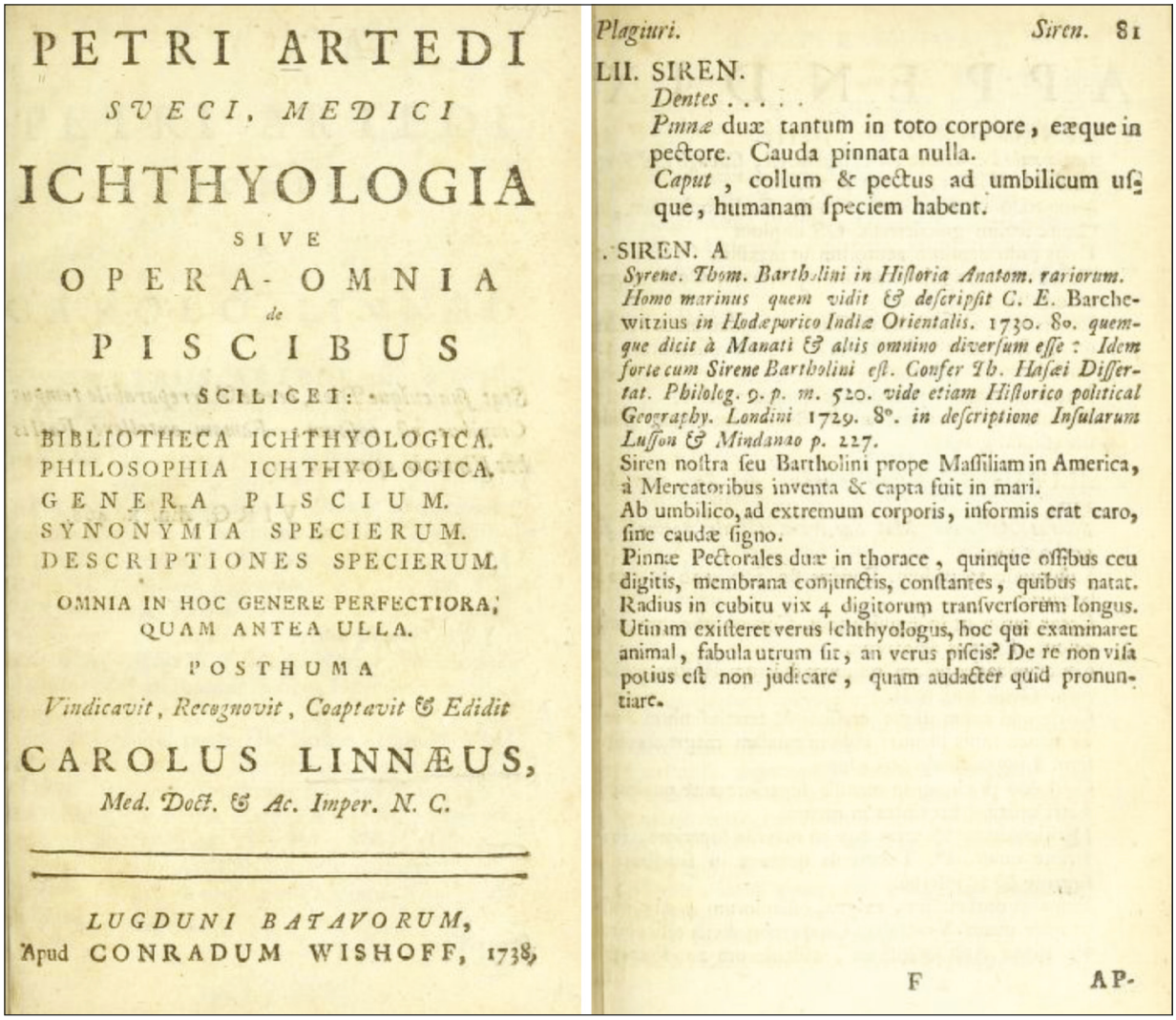
Linnaeus (1740a: 66; 1744a: 103; 1747a: 74): In *Animalia Paradoxa,* and referring to *Siren*, Linnaeus notes: "... SIREN *Art. gen.* 81. Syrene *Bart.* quamdiu nec vivus, nec mortuus visus, nec fidè & perfecte satis descriptus, in dubium vocatur..." ["... SIREN, *Art. gen*. 81. The Syrene of Bartholin is called into question, since it has neither been seen alive nor dead, nor has it been reliably and thoroughly described..."].

Österdam (1766: 4; 1769: 314): On p. 4, mentions "... Haec vero nostrati immortalis Artedio persuaserunt, ut Sirenem inter *genera piscium p. 81* exhibiret..." ["... These considerations indeed persuaded our immortal countryman Artedi to include the *Siren* among the genera of fishes on page 81..."].

Comments: Linnaeus quote refers to genus LII, *Siren* (p. 81). Interestingly, after the death of his friend Petri Artedi in 1735, Linnaeus was responsible for the editing and publication of their manuscripts on fish (Artedi 1738). *Siren* was included among Plagiuri, based on the description of Thomasus Bartholini (1654: 169). The description of Artedi highlight several elements the author doubted, and he wondered if it was a story or a real fish, concluding that it is better not to judge about things not seen (see Lavilla 2012).

The book was edited by Linnaeus and his own copy is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the book as well

68 Probably refers to the fire that also destroyed the library and ethnographic collections, initiated on the night of December 6, 1747 [Julian calendar].



PETRI ARTEDI
SVECI, MEDICI
ICHTHYOLOGIA
SIVE
OPERA-OMNIA
de
PISCIBUS
SCILICET:
BIBLIOTHECA ICHTHYOLOGICA.
PHILOSOPHIA ICHTHYOLOGICA.
GENERA PISCIUM.
SYNONYMIA SPECIERUM.
DESCRIPTIONES SPECIERUM.
OMNIA IN HOC GENERE PERFECTIORA,
QUAM ANTEA ULLA.
POSTHUMA
Vindicavit, Recognovit, Coaptavit & Edidit
CAROLUS LINNÆUS,
Med. Doct. & Ac. Imper. N. C.

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Apud CONRADUM WISHOFF, 1738.

Plagiuri. *Siren.* 81

LII. SIREN.
Dentes . . . . .
Pinnæ duæ tantum in toto corpore, eæque in pectore. Cauda pinnata nulla.
Caput, collum & pectus ad umbilicum usque, humanam speciem habent.

SIREN. A
Syrene. Thom. Bartholini in Historia Anatom. rariorum. Homo marinus quem vidit & descripsit C. E. Barchewitzius *in Hodæporico Indiæ Orientalis.* 1730. 8o. *quemque dicit à Manati & aliis omnino diversum esse: Idem forte cum Sirene Bartholini est. Confer Th. Hasæi Dissertat. Philolog. 9. p. m.* 520. *vide etiam Historico political Geography. Londini* 1729. 8o. *in descriptione Insularum Luffon & Mindanao p.* 227.
Siren nostra seu Bartholini prope Massiliam in America, à Mercatoribus inventa & capta fuit in mari.
Ab umbilico, ad extremum corporis, informis erat caro, sine caudæ signo.
Pinnæ Pectorales duæ in thorace, quinque ossibus ceu digitis, membrana conjunctis, constantes, quibus natat. Radius in cubitu vix 4 digitorum transversorum longus. Utinam existeret verus Ichthyologus, hoc qui examinaret animal, fabula utrum sit, an verus piscis? De re non visa potius est non judicare, quam audacter quid pronuntiare.

F AP-

Figure 12. Title page and description of the Siren in Artedi's *Genera Piscium* (1738).

(Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the work as the Linnaean source.

Baldaeus, P. 1672. ***Wahrhaftige Ausführliche Beschreibung der Berühmten Ost-Indischen Kusten Malabar und Coromandel, als auch der Insel Zeylon samt dero angräntzenden und untergehörigen Reichen Fürstentühmen / Ländern / Städten / vornehmsten Hafen / Gebäuden / Pagoden / Gewäschen / Thieren; der Eimvohner Gestalt / Sitten / Kleidertacht / haushaltung / Ceremonien: So wol auch der merkwürdigsten Kriegshändel / Belägerungen / Feld- und Seeschlachten / sonderlich zwischen den Portugesen und Holländern / Handel- und Kaufmannschaften: Durchgehends verzieret mit neuen Landkahrten und Abbildungen der vornehmsten Städte / Festungen / Trachten / Thiere / Früchte / &c. so in India selbst nach dem Leben gezeichnet / uns folgends mit Fleiß zu Kupfer gebracht: Benebst einer Umständlichen und Gründlichen Entdeckung der Abgötterey der Ost-Indischen Heyden, Malabaren, Benjanen, Gentiven, Bramines &c. So wol aus ihrem eigenen mit anhero gebrachten Vedam oder Gesetzbuch / und urkundlichen Handgeschriften / als Gespräch und Beywohnung ihrer vornehmsten Priester und Schriftgelehrten / nachgespüret / erforschet / und widerleget: zusamt den Abbildungen ihrer Götzen nach dero eigenen Bildern gezeichnet und fürgestellet. (…) Anitzo aber aus dem Niederländischen ins Hochteutsche mit Fleiß übergesetzt und mit einem vollständigen Register versehen.*** **Amsterdam, Johannes Janssonius von Waesberge und Johannes Someren:**

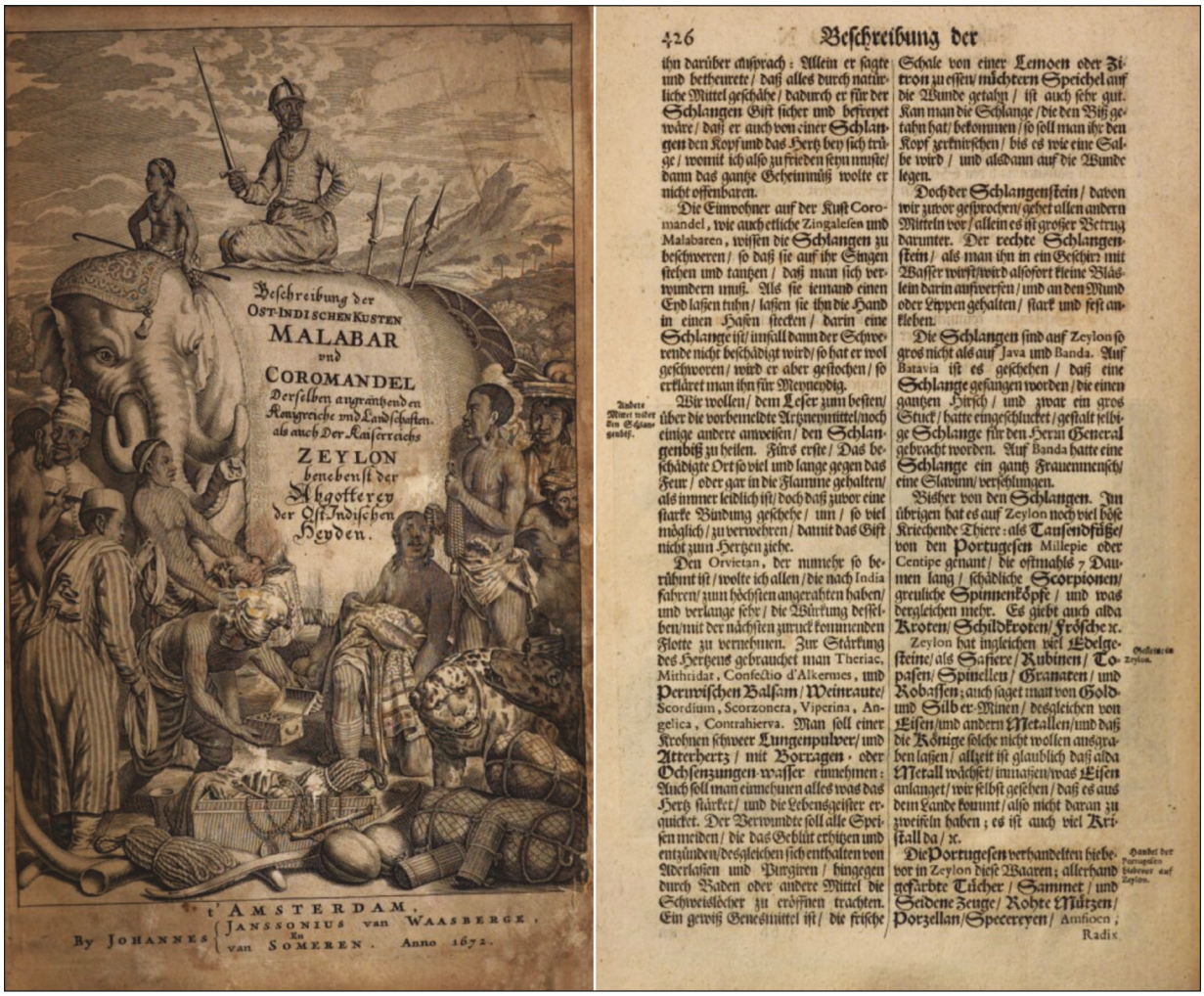


Figure 13. The Amsterdam edition of the travelogue to East-India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and the Isle of Ceylon by Baldaeus (1672).

[iii] +1–610 + [i] + [i] + [xxiv], 48 maps and Pl. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10328580>. (Figure 13)

Abbreviated as: Hoedeporici.; Peregrinantium per Indiam; ferunt Hoedeporici.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763); Linnaeus (1754).

Contents: Several references scattered in the text. Chapter LI includes crocodiles and LII snakes.

Acrell (1762: 3; 1763: 200): "... *Hunc in modum serpentum maximus* Boas constrictor *in fruteis occulta insidiari, ac convolvendo suffocare, atque saliva tandem oblita ingurgitare, ex peregrinantium per Indiam fide perhibetur*" ["…In this manner, the largest of serpents—the Boa constrictor—is said, on the authority of travelers through India, to lie in ambush hidden among shrubs, to suffocate its prey by coiling around it, and finally, having covered it with saliva, to swallow it whole…"].

Linnaeus (1754: 38): When dealing with *Boa constrictor*, wrote: "...*Exsilit in capras, oves, boves, quos constrigendo necat & integros deglutit, ut ferunt Hoedeporici*..." ["…It leaps upon goats, sheep, cattle, which it kills by constriction and swallows whole, as the Hoedeporici report…"].

Comments: The identification of Acrell's source follows Brand (1781). Baldaeus (1672) wrote, in Chapter LII, page 426, "...Die Schlangen sind auf Zeylon so gros nicht als auf Java und Banda. Auf Batavia ist es geschehen / daß eine Schlange gefangen worden / die einen ganzen Hirsch / und zwar ein gros Stuck / hatte eingeschlucket / gestalt selbige Schlange für den Hern General gebracht worden. Auf Banda hatte eine Schlange ein ganz Frauenmensch eine Slavinn / verschlungen..." ["...The snakes of Ceylon are not as large as those of Java and Banda. In Batavia it happened that a snake was caught which had swallowed a whole deer, and indeed a large one, and this snake was brought

I. N. J.

MUSEUM ADOLPHO-FRIDERICIANUM,

QUOD,
CUM CONSENSU AMPLISS. FAC. MEDICÆ
IN REGIA ACAD. UPSALIENSI,
Sub PRÆSIDIO
VIRI CELEBERRIMI,

D. D. CAROLI LINNÆI
MEDIC. ET BOTAN. PROFESS. REG. ET ORDIN. ACAD.
IMPER. REGG. MONS. STOCKH. ET UPSAL. SOCII
HUJUSQ. SECRETARII.
SPECIMINIS ACADEMICI
LOCO
PUBLICO BONORUM EXAMINI SUBMITTIT

LAURENTIUS BALK FIL.
GEVALIA-GESTRICIUS.

IN AUD: CAROL. MAJORI, DIE XXXI MAJI,
ANNO MDCCXLVI.

HORIS ANT. MERIDIEM, CONSUETIS.

HOLMIÆ,
Typis LAURENTII SALVII.

Figure 14. Title page and plate of the the Balk's 1746 dissertation *Museum Adolpho-Fridericianum*.

to the General. Another snake captured in Banda had swallowed a slave woman..."]. The mention of *Hoedeporici* (Linnaeus 1754) has the meaning of "travel literature". There is an English translation (Baldaeus 1703). Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). A copy of Amsterdam edition was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007).

Balk, L. 1746. *I. N. J. Museum Adolpho-Fridericianum, quod cum consensu Ampliss. Fac. Medicæ in Regia Acad. Upsaliensi, sub præsidio viro celeberrimi D. D. Caroli Linnæi Medic. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ordin. Acad. Imper. Regg. Mons. Stockh. et Upsal. socii hujusq. secretarii. specimenis academici loco publico bonorum examini submittit Laurentius Balk fil. Gevalia-Gestricius. In Aud: Carol. Majori, die XXXI Maji, Anno MDCCXLVI.* Holmiæ: Laurentii Salvii: [i] + [i] + [ii] + [ii] + [i] + [1]–48 + [i] + [i], Pl. I–II. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-011.pdf>. (Figure 14)

Abbreviated as: Balk. mus. princ.; M. P.; M. pr.; M. princ.; Mus. Princ.; Mus. Princip.; Museo Principis.

Cited in Kiernander (1749; 1751), Linnaeus (1748a, 1748b, 1754, 1756, 1759), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: *Testudo unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque solitariis*, (p. 7), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis palmatis, apicibus digitorum subrotundis*, (p. 7), *Bana* (sic) *pedibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis; geniculis subtus tuberosis*, (p. 8), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis, subpalmatis: pollice latiusculo brevissimo*, (p. 9), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista gulae integerrima, dorso levi*, (p. 9), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista gulae pendula antice dentata, dorsi sutura denticulata*, (p. 10), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, gula subcristata, antice dentata, dorso levi*, (p. 11), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice denticulato, collo capiteque pone aculeato*, (p. 11), *Lacerta cauda longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice dentato, capite pone denticulato*, (p. 12), *Lacerta cauda tereti brevi, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis*, (p. 13), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis: subtus lunulato-imbricatis, corpore verrucoso*, (p. 15), *Lacerta cauda verticillata*

squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis, (p. 15), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus* XXX, (p. 15), *Lacerta cauda verticillata, pedibus subpentadactylis, squamis quadratis*, (p. 16), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, squamis rotundatis levissimis subgriseis, lateralibus subfuscis*, (p. 16), *Stincum marinus officinarum*, (footnote on page 17), *Anguis annulis abdominalibus* CC, *annulis caudalibus* XXX, (p. 17), *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* CCXL, *caudalibus* XIII, (p. 19), *Anguis* scutis abdominalibus CLXV, *caudalibus* XXX, (p. 20), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CCXVII, *squamis caudalibus* CVIII, (p. 22), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXXVIII, *squamis caudalibus* XLVI, (p. 23), *Anguis scutellis abdominalibus* CXLII. *caudalibus* LXXIV, (p. 23), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CL, *squamis caudalibus* LIV, (p. 24), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLII, *squamis caudal ibus* CXXXV, (p. 24), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLX, *squamis caudalibus* C, (p. 14), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLXV, *squamis caudalibus* XXIV, (p. 25), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLXXX, *squamis caudalibus* LXXXV, (p. 26), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLXXXIV, *squamis caudalibus* L, (p. 26), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXC, *squamis caudalibus* XCVIII, (p. 27), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXCVI, *squamis caudalibus* LXVII, (p. 27), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CCIX, *squamis caudalibus* XC, (p. 28), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CCXX, *squamis caudalibus* CXXIV, (p. 28).

Kiernander (1749: 7; 1751: 130): In page 7/130, noted "...CROTALOPHORUS Scut. Abdom. 165, Scut. Caud. 28. *Mus. Princip.* 27...". Few lines below, added: "... *Descriptionem animalium horum eo lubentius praetero, quo magis in* Diss. citatis *sufficientissime eadem tradita est...*" ["…I all the more willingly omit the description of these animals, since it has been conveyed more than sufficiently in the dissertations cited…"].

Linnaeus (1748a: 34, 35, 36, 37; 1748b: 34, 35, 36, 37; 1756: 34, 35, 36, 37): I. Amphisbaena annulis abdominalibus 2oo, caudalibus 30. *M. pr. 22.*, 3. Coluber scut.abdom. 220 squam caud. 124. *M. P.* 37., 4. Coluber scut.abdom. 217 squam caud. 108. *M. P.* 25., 5. Coluber scut.abdom. 209 squam caud. 90. *M. P.* 36., 6. Coluber scut.abdom. 196 squam caud. 67. *M. P.* 35., 8. Coluber scut.abdom. 190 squam caud. 98. *M. P. 34.*, 10. Coluber scut. abdom. 184 squam caud. 50. *Mus. Princ. 33.*, 11. Coluber scut.abdom. 180 squam caud. 85. *M. P. 32.*, 13. Coluber scut.abdom. 165 squam caud. 24. *M. P. 31.*, 15. Coluber scut.abdom. 160 squam caud. 100. *M. P. 30.*, 17. Coluber scut.abdom. 152 squam caud. 139. *Mus. Princ. 29.*, 18. Coluber scut.abdom. 150 squam caud. 54. *M. P. 28.*, 21. Coluber scut.abdom. 142 squam caud. 74. *Mus. Princ. 27.*, 23. Coluber scut.abdom. 128 squam caud. 46. *Mus. Princ. 26.*, 2. Crotalophora scut. abdom. 165 scut. caud. 28 *M. pr. 24.*, 4. Lacerta cauda verticillata squamis denticulatis,pedibus pentadactylis. *M. princ. 18.*, 5. Lacerta cauda verticillata, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis, squamis corporis quadratis. *M. princ. 20.*, 9. Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis crista gulae integerrima, dorso laevi. *M.princ. 11.t.2.f 2*; 10. Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, crista gulae dentata, sutura dorsali denticulata. *M. princ. 12.*, 11. Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, gula subcristata: antice dentata, dorso laevi. *M. princ. 13.*, 12. Lacerta cauda tereti longa.pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice denticulato, collo capiteque pone aculeato. *M.pr. 14.*, 13. Lacerta cauda tereti longa,pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice dentato, capite pone denticulato. *M. princ. 15.*, 14.Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX. *M. princ. 19.*, 15. Lacerta cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis cristatis subtus imbricatis, corpore verrucoso. *M. princ. 17.*, 16. Lacerta cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus pentadactylis, squamis rotundatis laevissimis subgriseis: lateralibus subfuscis. *M. pr. 21.*, 17. Lacerta cauda tereti brevi, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusqve coadunatis. *M. princ. 16.*, 1. Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis palmatis, digitorum apicibus subrotundis. *M. princ. 8.*, 2. Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis fissis, digitorum geniculis tuberosis. *M. princ. 9.*, 3. Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis subpalmatis, pollice latiusculo brevissimo. *M. princ. 10.*, 3. Testudo unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque solitariis. *M. princ.* 7.

Linnaeus (1754: 21, 39): *Angvis Scytale* (Mus. Princip.), *Crotalius horridus* (Museo Principis).

Linnaeus (1759: 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81):

1. T. pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum binis, plantarum solitariis, testa ovata, and (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 7); 14. L. cauda verticillata longa, scutis abdominis triginta, collari subtus ruga duplici (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 19); 17. L. cauda verticillata longa, sutura laterali reflexa, squamis quadratis *(Balk. mus. princ. n.* 20); 29. L. cauda tereti longa, dorso antice capiteque postice dentato (*Balk. m. princ. n.* 15); 30. L. cauda tereti longa, collo supra capiteque postice aculeato (*Balk. m. pr. n.* 14); 4. R. corpore ovato convexo: vitta longitudinali cinereo-dentata, pedibus fissis (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 10); 16. R. corpore laevi: subtus punctis contiguis tuberculato, pedibus fissis, unguibus orbiculato-dilatatis, β. Rana (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 9); 17. R. corpore laevi: subtus punctis contiguis, pedibus palmatis: plantis pentadactylis, palmis tetradactylis, unguibus orbiculato-dilatatis (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 8); 195. Dryinas (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 24); 177. Plicatilis (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 26); 189. Caeruleus (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 31); 220. Vittatus (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 27); 234. Agilis (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 33); 260. sibilans (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 30); 263. Atrox (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 35); 264. Sibon (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 32); 286. Annulatus (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 34); 287. Dipsas (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 29); 325. Pullatus (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 25); 344. Cenchoa (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 37); 230. Fuliginosa (*Balk. mus. princ. n.* 22).

Sundius (1748: 13, 18, 42 (*sic*), 25; 1749: 491, 492, 495, 496, 500, 501): 4. AMPHISBAENA annulis abdominalibus CC, caudalibus XXX. (*Mus. Princ.* p. 17. n. 22), 6. ANGUIS squamis abdominalibus CCXXX, caudalibus XIII. (*Mus. Princ.* p. 19. n. 23), 13. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CCVIII. squamis caudalibus XC. (Mus. Princ. p. 28. n.36), 14. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CL, squamis caudalibus L. (Mus. Princ. p. 24. n. 28), 17. CROTALOPHORUS scutis abdominalibus CLXXII, scutis caudalibus XXI, paribusque sqvamarum III (Museo Principis p. 20. n. 24), 19.LACERTA cauda tereti brevi, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis. (*Mus. Princ*. p. 13. n. 16).

Comments: Sundius (1749) does not refer to page numbers only species number, e.g. Sundius (1748) reference is *Mus. Princ.* p. 17. n. 22, the one in Sundius (1749) is *Mus. Princ.* n. 22.

Linnaeus's own copy is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the dissertation as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) identified the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Bartholini, T. 1654a. *Historiarum anatomicarum rariorum Centuria I et II*. Hafniae, Sumptibus Petri Hauboldt: [xiv] + 1–360 + [viii]; 9 Pl. <https://books.google.at/books?id=3qLs_nDZZjcC>. (Figure 15)

Abbreviated as: Bart.; Barthol.; Barthol. cent. 2; Barthol. Cent. 2.; Barthol. hist. anat.; Bartholinus; Bartholinus.

Cited in Linnaeus (1740a; 1744a; 1747a; 1758; 1759), Linné (1766), Österdam (1766; 1769), Uddman (1765; 1769).

Contents: Herpetological content refers to salamanders (*Salamandra quomodum ignem perferat*, 2.50) and chameleons (*Chamaeleontis Anatome*, 2.62). In turn, centuria 2.11 refers to sirens (*Sirenis seu marini hominis anatome*).

Linnaeus (1740a: 66; 1744a: 103; 1747a: 74): In *Animalia Paradoxa,* under *Siren*: "... SIREN *Art. gen.* 81. Syrene *Bart.* quamdiu nec vivus, nec mortuus visus, nec fidè & perfecte satis descriptus, in dubium vocatur..." ["... SIREN, *Art. gen*. 81. The *Syrene* of Bartholin is called into question, since it has neither been seen alive nor dead, nor has it been reliably and thoroughly described..."].

Linnaeus (1758:205; 1759: 73): 20. L. cauda tereti brevi, digitis muticis, corpore poroso nudo. ("... Ferebatur antiquitus in igne vivere sed expertus Bartholinus..." ["...It was formerly believed to live in fire, but Bartholinus experienced (proved) otherwise..."].

Linné (1766: 365, 371): L. chamaeleon (*Barthol. cent.* 2 *c.* 62). In comments on *Lacerta salamandra*, "*...antiquitus credita in igne vivere; sed expertus Bartholinus. Cent. 2. c. 50...*" ["... in ancient times believed to live in fire; but Bartholin, having tested it (disproved this). Centuria 2, chapter 50..."].

Österdam (1766: 4; 1769: 314): "*...Barthol. hist. anat. I. p. 188. tab. 188*, Sirenem exhibet in mare Brasiliensi captam & a Pavio Lugduni dissectam..." ["*...Barthol. hist. anat. I. p. 188. tab. 188*, presents a *Siren* caught in the Brazilian sea and dissected by Pavius in Leiden..."].

Uddman (1765: 10; 1769: 103): "*... Namque, Angues,*

Figure 15. Illustration of the Siren in the first Copenhagen edition of Bartholn's *Historiarum anatomicarum rariorum* (1654).

Ranas & Lacertas ut taceam, de quibus consuli possunt observationes Barthol. & aliorum..." ["... For, to say nothing of snakes, frogs, and lizards, concerning which the observations of Bartholin and others may be consulted..."].

Comments: Bartholini's *Historiarum* had two editions in 1654, one in *Hafniae* (= Copenhagen) (Bartholini, 1754a) and the other in *Amstelodami* (= Amsterdam) (Bartholini, 1754b). Page and table numbers in Österdam's reference are coincident with the first, although the note on *Siren* is in Centuria II, not in I as mentioned by the author. In the Amsterdam edition Siren is described on pages 169-173, while the plate is identified as "Pag. 171". In Linnaeus (1766), number 50 refers to the *Historia* in Centuria 2, not to a page number. Linnaeus did not own a copy (Anonymous 1896). A copy of *Hafniae* edition was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Bellon, P. 1553. *De aquatilibus, Libri duo cum ɛiconibus ad viuam ipsorum effigiem, quoad eius fieri potuit, expressis. Ad amplissimum Cardinalem Castillionœum*. Parisiis, Carolum Stephanum: [ii] + [ii] + [v] + [xxi] + 1–448. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.5765>. (Figure 16)

Abbreviated as: Bell. aquat.; Bellon. aquat.; Bellonius.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1754; 1758; 1761), Linné (1766), Österdam (1766; 1769).

Contents: Chapter V of Belon's book on aquatic animals (*De amphibiis bipedibus viviparis*) contains *Tritonibus*, *Syrenibus*, *Nereidibus*, *Naiadibus* and *pisce Episcopo*, along with the description and illustration of *Monachus pisces*. Chapter VI (*De amphibiis quadrupedibus oviparis*), misnumbered as "Cap. V", includes the descriptions of *Crocodilus niloticus* (40-41), *Crocodilus terrestris* (42-43; page 42 misnumbered as 41), *Scincus* (46-47), *Cordulus* (48-49), *Testudines* (50-53), *Ranae* (54-55) and *Chamaeleon* (55-57).

Hast (1745: 16; 1749: 122): 10. LACERTA *cauda anciptiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis,*

PETRI BELLONII CENOMANI
De aquatilibus, Libri duo
Cum eiconibus ad viuam ipsorum effigiem, quoad eius fieri potuit, expressis.
Ad amplissimum Cardinalem Castillionæum.
PARISIIS.
Apud Carolum Stephanum, Typographum Regium.
M. D. LIII.
Cum priuilegio Regis.

DE AQVATILIBVS LIB. I. 41
circiter sexaginta, anserinis ferè similia, candida, quæ terræ gremio commissa, eius calore excludun-
tur. Aiunt præterea trochilũ auem admodũ pusillam, apertis dormientis crocodili faucibus inuola-
re, eiuiq; dentium purgamentis viuere.
Κροκόδειλος, Crocodilus Niloticus, Vn Crocodile.

Figure 16. Illustration of *Crocodilus niloticus* in Bellon's 1553 book on aquatic animals.

plantis palmatis tetradactylis (Bellon. aquat. p. 41. *Crocodilus*).

Linnaeus (1746a: 94): 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Bell. aquat*. 54. Rana).

Linnaeus (1754: 40): *Lacerta crocodilus* (Bellon. aquat. 41).

Linnaeus (1761: 102): 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Bell. aquat*. 54. Rana).

Linnaeus (1758: 200), Linné (1766: 359): *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Bellon. aquat.* 41. Crocodilus).

Österdam (1766: 3; 1769: 313): Belon's reference was included in the comments on mythological sirens. In p. 3/313: "*... adcurati satis auctores Bellonius & Rondeletius, Bonarum marinarum seu Episcopum piscem non prorsus impossibilem judicarunt...*" ["... the sufficiently careful authorities Bellon and Rondelet judged *Bonarum marinarum,* the Bishop-fish, not to be altogether impossible..."].

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus' personal library (Anonymous, 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). The accuracy of the citations suggest that Linnaeus owned a copy which was used as source in the various dissertations, but this book was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith. Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) agree that this was the edition analyzed by Linnaeus.

Bellon, P. 1605. Petri Bellonii Cenomani Plurimarum singularium & memorabilium rerum in Græcia, Asia, Ægypto, Iudæa, Arabia, aliisque exteris Provinciis ab ipso conspectarum. Observationes tribus libri expressæ. Carolus Clusius Atrebas è Gallicis Latinas faciebat, & denuò recensebat. Altera editio, longè castigatior, & quibusdam Scholiis illustrate. *In:* C. Clusius (ed.): *Exoticorum Libri Decem: Quibus Animalium, Plantarum, Aromatum, aliorumque peregrinorum Fructuum historiæ describuntur: Item Petri Bellonii Observationes, eodem Carolo Clusio interprete. Series operis post Præsationem indicabitur.* Raphelengii, Officina Platiniana: [v] + [vii] + 3–242 + [i]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.7108>. (Figure 17)

Abbreviated as: Bellon. Itin.; Bell. Obs.; Bell. Itiner.; Bellon. itin.; Bell. it.; Bell. itin.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Ekmarck (1757; 1759), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Reptiles are included in Book I, chapter XXXI (*Chondrilla gummi, aliáque singularia, tum serpentum qui in insula Lemmo reperiuntur nomina*, p. 35-36); Book 2, chapters XIV (*Onocrotalus avis, Jaculus serpens: Turcicorum militium modestia*, p. 90-91), XXXII (*Plurimarium avium atque aliorum animalium secundum Nilum observatorum descriptio*, p. 103-104), XXXIV (*Plurimus hallucinatus esse, qui Chamaeleones solo aere victitare crediderunt*, p. 105), LIV (*Profectionis nostrae ex Cairo in montem Sinai descriptio: & de singulari carnis praeparandae rationes his qui longum iter suscipunt*, p. 121-123), LX (*Chamaeleones, laniferae, & variae aliae arbores, in Arabia nascentes*, p. 125-126), and LXX (*Portus Sued ad Maris rubri littus*, p. 132-133), and Book 3, chapters XLVII (*Arcuum Turcorum nervi; & testudinum fides*, p. 199), XLVIII (*Testudo cava; & concentus Turcarum,* p. 199-200), and LI (*Stellae animalibus per Thraciam noxia: tum querundam animantium atque plantarum in Ponti littore collectarum, & in foro Constantinopolitano conspectarum, nomina*, p. 202-204).

Acrell (1762: 14; 1763: 210): On p. 14, "*... Bellon. Itin. p. 203. Nintipolonga Zeylanica...*" Considered a synonym of *Chelidonia nigra*, one of the three kind

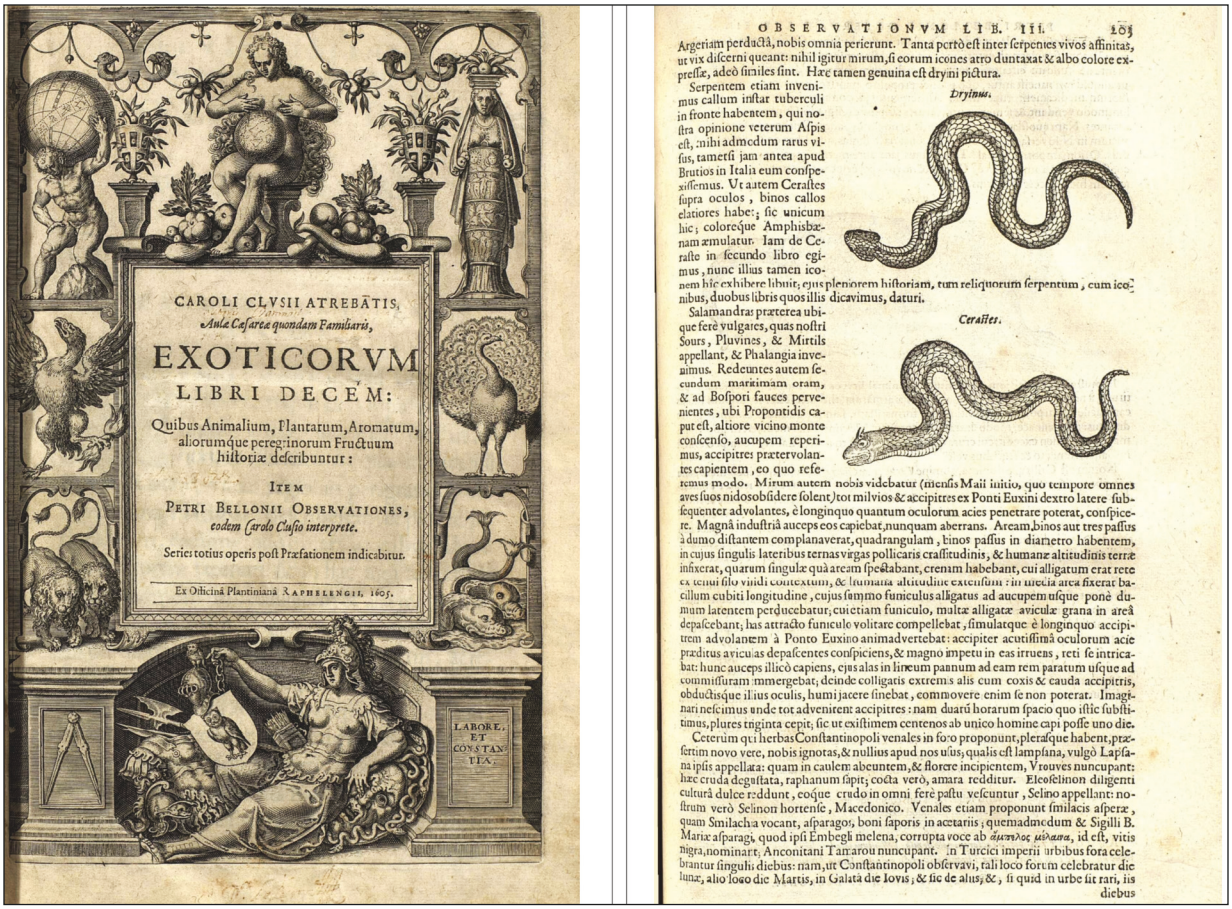


Figure 17. Title page and description of snakes by Bellon in the 1605 *Exoticorum* edited by Clusius.

of *Aspis* recognized.

Ekmarck (1757: 27; 1759): Footnote in p. 27, "... *n) Ciconiae Aegyptum tenta accedunt in copia, ut agri & prata inde albescant*; *has tamen amant aegyptii*, *cum Ranae illic tanta abundantia generentur*, *ut nisi Ciconiae eas vorarent, nihil illis esset frequentius*, *tum etiam quod serpentes capiant & devorent. Bell Obs.* p. *102*..." ["... n) Storks arrive in such numbers in Egypt that the fields and meadows there turn white; yet the Egyptians are fond of them, since frogs are generated there in such abundance that, were the storks not to devour them, nothing would be more common; and also because they catch and consume serpents. *Bell Obs.* p. *102*..."].

Ekmarck (1759: 600): Footnote in p. 600, "... *Ciconiae Aegyptum a Ranis & Amphibiis u) Bell. Obs. p. 102 vid. §. VI. de Cicor. alb.*"

Hast (1745: 31; 1749: 137): 21. TESTUDO (*Mydas B*): "…*In Graecia tota, testudines edere non audent homines; & anathematis fulmine omnes percutiebat, qui tesiudines edebant, Patriarcha Alexandrinus. Bell. Itiner. 131*…" ["... In all of Greece, people do not dare to eat tortoises; and the Patriarch of Alexandria would strike with the thunderbolt of anathema all who ate tortoises. *Bell. Itiner. 131*…" (31)].

Linnaeus (1746a: 97): 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Bell. itin. clus.* 123. Vipera).

Linnaeus (1758: 204, 216, 217), Linné (1766: 364, 376): *Lacerta chamaeleon* (*Bellon. itin. l.* 2. *c.* 60. Chamaeleon), *Coluber ammodytes* (*Bellon. itin.* 203. Druinus), *C. cerastes* (*Bellon. itin.* 203).

Linnaeus (1766: 361, 376): *Lacerta stellio* (*Bell. it.* 115), *Coluber ammodytes* (*Bell. itin.* 203. Druinus).

Comments: The narrative of Belon's travel was originally published in French in 1554 and translated into Latin several times, starting in 1589; Linnaeus' references are coincident with a Latin reedition of 1605. This translation, by Charles de l'Éscluse (Clusius), was published twice in the same year, one as as a separate book (Belon 1605), and as such was cited by Dundee (1994), and the other attached to a multi-authorial book edited by Clusius (1605), as quoted Heller (2007). Both editions have the same pagination. Linnaeus had

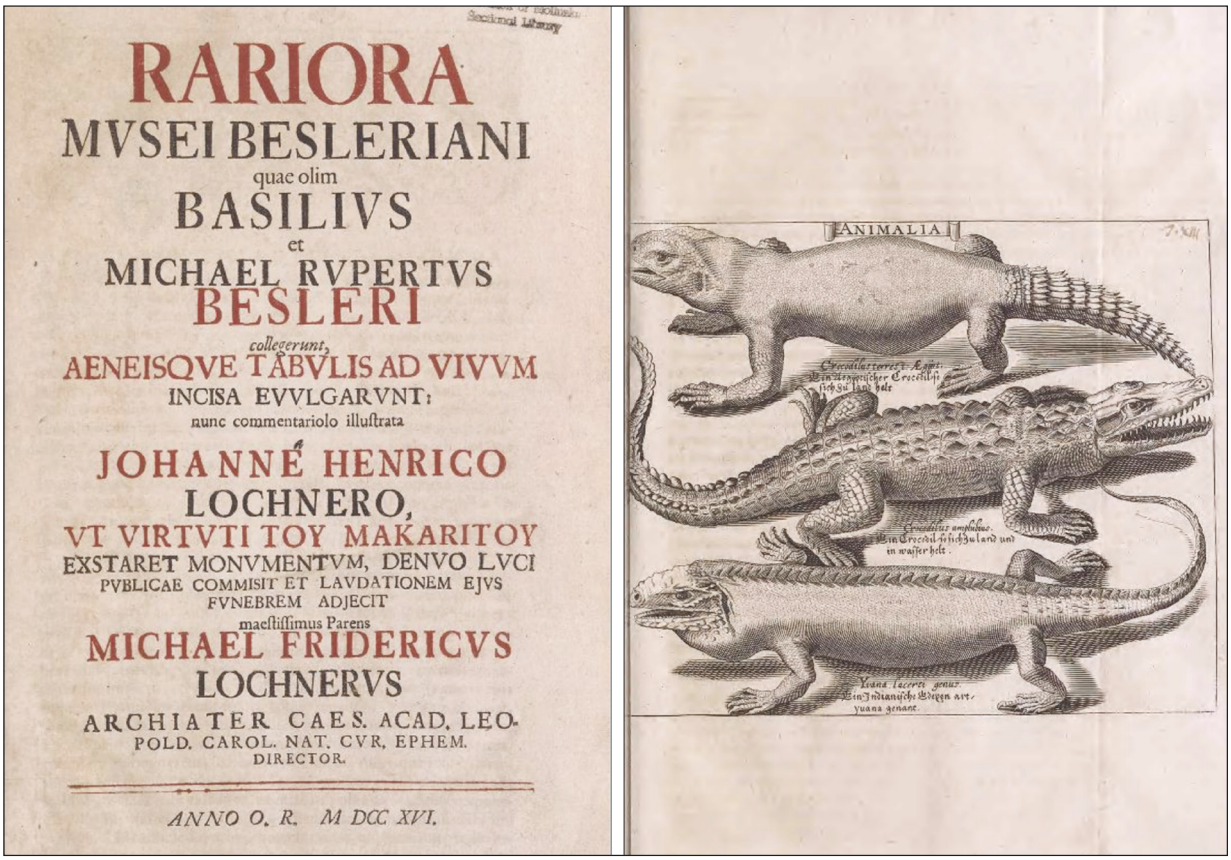

RARIORA
MVSEI BESLERIANI
quae olim
BASILIVS
et
MICHAEL RVPERTVS
BESLERI
collegerunt,
AENEISQVE TABVLIS AD VIVVM
INCISA EVVLGARVNT:
nunc commentariolo illustrata
JOHANNE HENRICO
LOCHNERO,
VT VIRTVTI TOY MAKARITOY
EXSTARET MONVMENTVM, DENVO LVCI
PVBLICAE COMMISIT ET LAVDATIONEM EJVS
FVNEBREM ADJECIT
maestissimus Parens
MICHAEL FRIDERICVS
LOCHNERVS
ARCHIATER CAES. ACAD. LEO-
POLD. CAROL. NAT. CVR. EPHEM.
DIRECTOR.
ANNO O. R. M DCC XVI.

Figure 18. Title page and Plate XIII from the catalogue of Besler's collection *Rariora Musei Besleriani* (Besler & Besler 1716).

a copy of the compilation of Clusius (1605) (see comments in *Clus. Exot.*) in his personal library (Anonymous, 1896), The work was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). On the other hand, Dundee (1994) points out that Heller, in the manuscript of his index, considered as the Linnaean source an untraceable French edition of 1609, but this assertion is not included in the printed version (Heller 2007). The year 1609 is probably a lapsus for 1619, when Antoine Colin edited a French version published in Lyon by Iean Pillehotte (L'Escluse 1619), but Belon's book is not included.

Besler, B. & M.R. Besler. 1716. *Rariora Musei Besleriani quae olim Basilivs et Michael Rvpertvs Besleri collegerunt, aeneisqve tabvlis ad vivvm incisa evvgarvnt: nunc commentariolo illustrata a Johanne Henrico Lochnero, vt virtvti toy makaritoy exstaret monumentvm, denvo luci publicae commisit et laudationem ejus fvnebrem adjecit maestissimus parens Michael Fridericus Lochnerus Archiater Caes. Acad. Nat. Cur. Ephem. Director.* [Nuremberg, s.n.]: [xx] + 1–112, Pl. I–XXXX. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.61137>. (Figure 18)

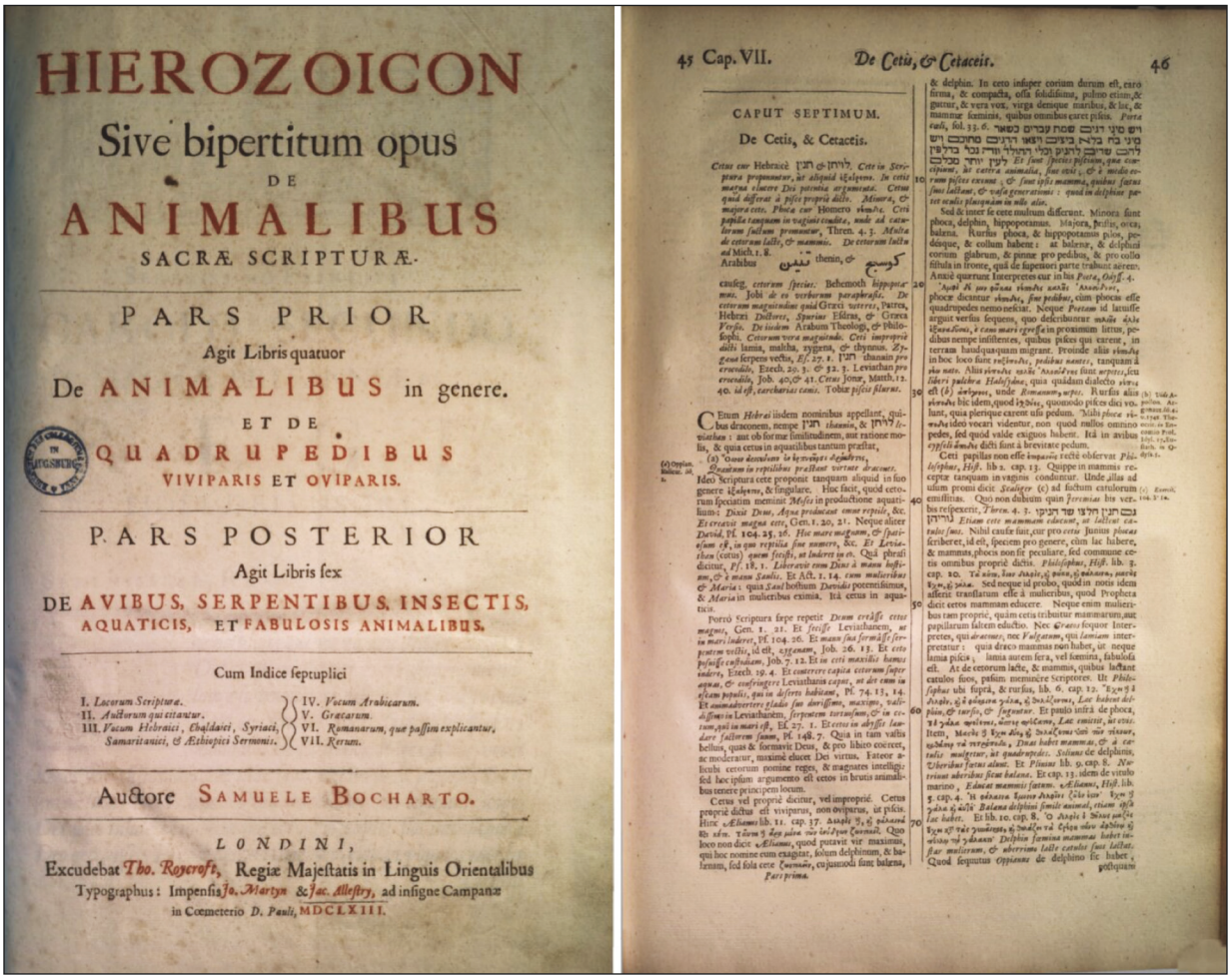
Abbreviated as: Bell. mus.; Besl. mus.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758) and Linné (1766).

Contents: Reptiles in the catalogue of Besler's collection are included in five plates: Pl. XI: *Lacertus indicus and Lacertus peregrinus* (39-43), Pl. XII: *Scincus maior*, *Chamaeleon*, *Lacerta viridis*, *Scincus minor* and *Salamandra aquatica minor* (43-49), Pl. XIII: *Crocodilus terrestr*. *Ægypt*., *Crocodilus amphibius* and *Yvana* (49-53), Pl. XIV: *Serpens marinus* (an anguilliform fish similar to that of Aldrovandi, 1640), *Natrix torquata*, *Serpens peregrinus*, *Iaculus* and *Vipera* (53-55), and Pl. XVI: *Testudo marina* (60-62).

Linnaeus (1758: 200, 204, 205), Linné (1766: 359, 364, 365): *L. crocodilus* (*Bell. mus.* 47 *t.* 13. Crocodilus niloticus), (*Besl. mus.* 47 *t.* 13. Crocodilus niloticus in Linné (1766: 359)); *Lacerta chamaeleon* (*Besl. mus. t.* 12. Chamaeleon), and *L. stincus* (*Besl. mus. t.* 12. *f.* 1).

Comments: Cited as *Bell. mus* (under *Lacerta crocodilus*) or *Besl. mus.* (in the others). *Bell. mus* was definitely a typo. The description of *Crocodilus*



HIEROZOICON

Sive bipertitum opus

DE

ANIMALIBUS

SACRÆ SCRIPTURÆ.

PARS PRIOR

Agit Libris quatuor

De ANIMALIBUS in genere.

ET DE

QUADRUPEDIBUS

VIVIPARIS ET OVIPARIS.

PARS POSTERIOR

Agit Libris sex

DE AVIBUS, SERPENTIBUS, INSECTIS, AQUATICIS, ET FABULOSIS ANIMALIBUS.

Cum Indice septuplici

I. Locorum Scripturæ.
II. Auctorum qui citantur.
III. Vocum Hebraici, Chaldaici, Syriaci, Samaritanici, & Æthiopici Sermonis.
IV. Vocum Arabicarum.
V. Græcarum.
VI. Romanarum, quæ passim explicantur.
VII. Rerum.

Auctore SAMUELE BOCHARTO.

LONDINI,

Excudebat Tho. Roycroft, Regiæ Majestatis in Linguis Orientalibus Typographus: Impensis Jo. Martyn & Jac. Allestry, ad insigne Campanæ in Cœmeterio D. Pauli, MDCLXIII.

45 Cap. VII. De Cetiis, & Cetaceis. 46

CAPUT SEPTIMUM.

De Cetis, & Cetaceis.

Figure 19. Amphibians and reptile descriptions in Liber Primus from Bochart[o]'s *Hierozoicon* (1663).

starts on page 49, not in 47, as cited by Linnaeus. Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Linnaeus either had a copy of the book but that was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith, or this was a secondhand reference which he based on *Musei Ichthyologici tomus secundus* (1756) by his friend Laurens Theodor Gronovius (1730-1777). The latter book is referred to by Linnaeus at the species where we can locate citation to Besler & Besler (1716). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have identified this edition as the source.

Bochart[o]. S. 1663. *Hierozoicon, sive bipertitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae. Pars prior agit libris quatuor De animalibus in genere et de quadrupedibus viviparis et oviparis | Pars posterior agit libris sex De avibus, serpentibus, insectis, aquaticis, et fabulosis animalibus. Cum indice septuplici I. Locorum Scripturae. II. Authorum qui citantur. III. Vocum Hebraici, Chaldaici, Syriaci, Samaritanici, & Aethiopici sermonis. IV. Vocum Arabicarum. V. Graecarum. VI. Romanarum, quae passim explicantur. VII. Rerum*. Londini, Jo. Martyn & Jac. Allerstry: [xcv] + 1–1094 columnas + [cxxv]. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb11203291>. (Figure 19)

Abbreviated as: Bochart.; Bochart. hieroz.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749).

Contents: Amphibians and reptiles are described in *Liber Primus-De animalibus in genere*. Cap. IV. *De serpentibus & caeteris reptilibus quae sanguinem habet*, and in *Liber Quartus - De quadrupedibus oviparis*.

Hast (1745: 16, 19; 1749: 122, 125): 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis*: *Crocodilus Leviathan Jobi. Bochart. hieroz. lib. I. c. 7.*, and *11. LACERTA cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice den-*

tata: *Animal hocce tam orientales queam occidentales Indi, sicut Christiani quidam eo accedentes, cibi loco habent, quin & ova ejus comedunt. Seb. Lactant. Marcgr. Bochart.*

Comments: Hast (1745) references are coincident with the seventh chapter of the first book (*Cap. VII. De Cetis & Cetaceis*); in column 45 it is written "*... Leviathan pro crocodilo, Job. 40, & 41...*" ["... Leviathan as the crocodile, Job 40 and 41…"], while in col. 52, "*...Unde vel caeco planum fiat,* balaenam *non intelligi, sed* crocodilium, *quaem cetaceis piscibus accenseri scribit* Scaliger. *Itaque etiam a* Jobo *vocatur* Leviathan *amplâ & accuratâ ejus descriptione,* capp. 40, & 41..." ["...From this it becomes evident even to the blind that a whale is not meant, but a crocodile—whom Scaliger writes is to be reckoned among the cetacean fishes. Thus it is also called Leviathan by Job, with a full and detailed description of it in chapters 40 and 41…"]. In reference to *Lacerta* # 11, in la col. 1072 points out "*... Caro ejus calidissima est, & maxime pinguefacit...*" ["...Its flesh is exceedingly hot, and makes one especially fat…"]. It was not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), but a copy of this edition was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Boerhaave, H. 1728. *Praxis Medica, sive commentarivm In Aphorismos de cognoscendis & curandis Morbis. Auctore Hermanno Boerhaave Phil. et Med. Doctore, Medicinæ, Botanices, Chemiæ, & Colegii Practici Lugduni-Batavorum Professore. Pars tertia.* Petavii: Joannem Manfre: [1]–458 + [vi]. <https://books.google.at/books?id=VQFI00s4YZYC>. (Figure 20)

Abbreviated as: Boerhav.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749).

Contents: On page 37, notes "*... Seps, id est, serpens Africanus, vulnusculum mordendo inflixerit, totus Panniculus Adiposus gangraenescit...*" ["...The Seps, that is, an African serpent—if it inflicts even a slight wound by biting, the entire adipose tissue becomes gangrenous…"].

Hast (1745: 3; 1749: 111): "*... Seps Lybicus morsu putredinem & gangrenam producit. Fertur Agathoclen dentiscalpium, hujus sanie infectum, accepisse, unde in toto corpore gangraena & mors. Boerhav.*

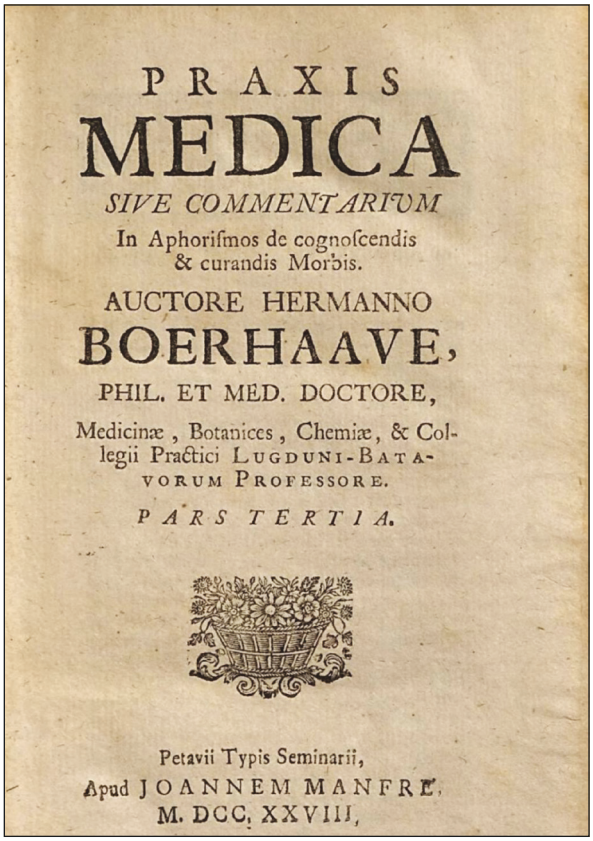

PRAXIS
MEDICA
SIVE COMMENTARIVM
In Aphorismos de cognoscendis
& curandis Morbis.
AUCTORE HERMANNO
BOERHAAVE,
PHIL. ET MED. DOCTORE,
Medicinæ, Botanices, Chemiæ, & Collegii Practici LUGDUNI-BATAVORUM PROFESSORE.
PARS TERTIA.
Petavii Typis Seminarii,
Apud JOANNEM MANFRE,
M. DCC. XXVIII.

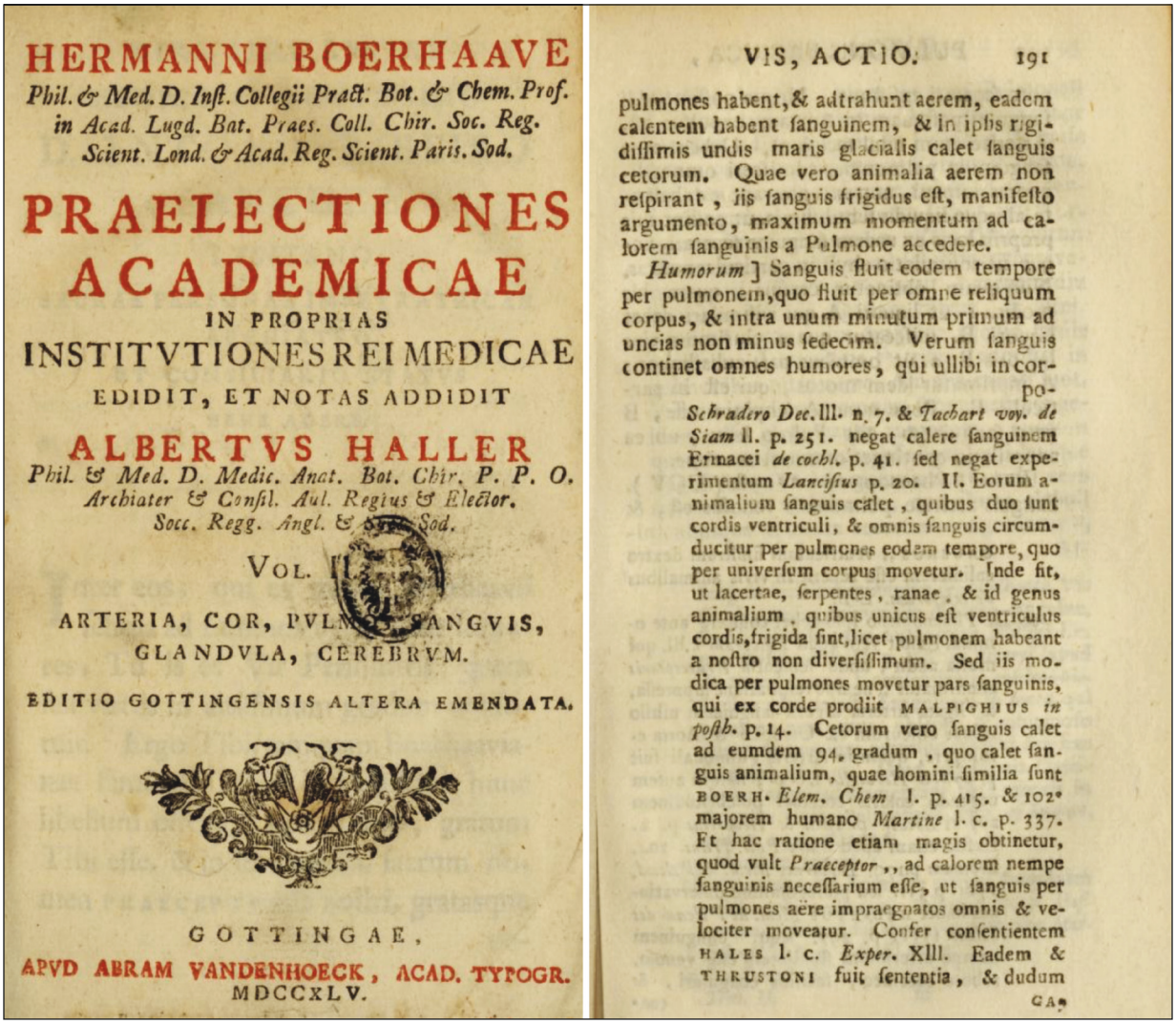
Figure 20. Title page of Boerhaave's *Praxis Medica* (1728).

..." ["...The Libyan Seps, by its bite, produces putrefaction and gangrene. It is said that Agathocles received a toothpick contaminated with this creature's venomous discharge, from which gangrena spread throughout his entire body and caused his death. — Boerhaave..."].

Comments: Boerhaave discussed several times the relationships between *Seps* bite and gangrenea. This work was not in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), but he could have consulted the copy of the first edition housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a), therefore this source is selected here. Not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007).

Boerhaave, H. & A. Haller. 1745. *Hermanni Boerhaave (...) Praelectiones Academicae. In proprias institutiones rei medicae edidit, et notas addidit Albertus Haller (...). Vol. II. Arteria, Cor, Pulmo, Sanguis, Glandula, Cerebrum. Editio Gotingensis altera emendata.* Gottingae, Abram Vendenhoeck: [ii] + 1–688. <https://archive.org/details/hermanniboerhaav02boer>. (Figure 21)

Abbreviated as Hall. Boerh.



HERMANNI BOERHAAVE
Phil. & Med. D. Inst. Collegii Pract. Bot. & Chem. Prof. in Acad. Lugd. Bat. Praes. Coll. Chir. Soc. Reg. Scient. Lond. & Acad. Reg. Scient. Paris. Sod.

PRAELECTIONES ACADEMICAE
IN PROPRIAS
INSTITVTIONES REI MEDICAE
EDIDIT, ET NOTAS ADDIDIT
ALBERTVS HALLER
Phil. & Med. D. Medic. Anat. Bot. Chir. P. P. O. Archiater & Consil. Aul. Regius & Elector. Socc. Regg. Angl. & [illegible] Sod.

VOL. [illegible]

ARTERIA, COR, PVL[illegible] SANGVIS, GLANDVLA, CEREBRVM.

EDITIO GOTTINGENSIS ALTERA EMENDATA.

GOTTINGAE,
APVD ABRAM VANDENHOECK, ACAD. TYPOGR.
MDCCXLV.

VIS, ACTIO. 191

pulmones habent, & adtrahunt aerem, eadem calentem habent ſanguinem, & in ipſis rigidiſſimis undis maris glacialis calet ſanguis cetorum. Quae vero animalia aerem non reſpirant, iis ſanguis frigidus eſt, manifeſto argumento, maximum momentum ad calorem ſanguinis a Pulmone accedere.

Humorum] Sanguis fluit eodem tempore per pulmonem, quo fluit per omne reliquum corpus, & intra unum minutum primum ad uncias non minus ſedecim. Verum ſanguis continet omnes humores, qui ullibi in corpo-

Schradero Dec. III. n. 7. & *Tachart voy. de Siam* II. p. 251. negat calere ſanguinem Ernacei *de cochl.* p. 41. ſed negat experimentum *Lanciſius* p. 20. II. Eorum animalium ſanguis calet, quibus duo ſunt cordis ventriculi, & omnis ſanguis circumducitur per pulmones eodem tempore, quo per univerſum corpus movetur. Inde fit, ut lacertae, ſerpentes, ranae, & id genus animalium, quibus unicus eſt ventriculus cordis, frigida ſint, licet pulmonem habeant a noſtro non diverſiſſimum. Sed iis modica per pulmones movetur pars ſanguinis, qui ex corde prodiit MALPIGHIUS *in poſth.* p. 14. Cetorum vero ſanguis calet ad eumdem 94. gradum, quo calet ſanguis animalium, quae homini ſimilia ſunt BOERH. *Elem. Chem* I. p. 415. & 102° majorem humano *Martine* l. c. p. 337. Et hac ratione etiam magis obtinetur, quod vult *Praeceptor*, ad calorem nempe ſanguinis neceſſarium eſſe, ut ſanguis per pulmones aëre impraegnatos omnis & velociter moveatur. Confer conſentientem HALES l. c. *Exper.* XIII. Eadem & THRUSTONI fuit ſententia, & dudum

CA-

Figure 21. Remarks on the anatomy of the heart in lecture notes of Hermann Boerhaave (Boerhaave & Haller 1745).

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: These are the lecture notes of Hermann Boerhaave, collected and annotated by his disciple Albrecht von Haller. Of this volume are of interest in this context some references to heart and lungs. Says in footnote g, on page 117: "... *In omnibus animalibus, quibus sanguis non calet, ventriculus cordis est unicus* ..." ["…In all animals whose blood is not warm, the heart has a single ventricle…"], while in footnote on page 191 notes"... *Eorum animalium sanguis calet, quibus duo sunt cordis ventriculi, & omnis sanguis circumducitur per pulmones eodem tempore, quo per universum corpus movetur. Inde fit, ut lacertae, serpentes, ranae, & id genus animalium, quibus unicus est ventriculus cordis, frigida sint, licet pulmonem habeant a nostro non diversissimum*..." ["…The blood of those animals is warm in which there are two ventricles of the heart, and all the blood is circulated through the lungs at the same time as it moves through the whole body. Hence it comes about that lizards, snakes, frogs, and such animals, which have only a single ventricle of the heart, are cold-blooded—even though they possess a lung not very different from our own…"].

Linnaeus (1758: 12; 1759: 6), Linné (1766: 19): In footnote, referring to the natural division of animals, says: "... () In omnibus animalibus, quibus sanguis non calet, ventriculus cordis est unicus. Hall. Boerh. I. p. 117, 191..." ["...() In all animals whose blood is not warm, the ventricle of the heart is single. — Haller, Boerhaave, vol. I, pp. 117, 191..."].

Comments: The work had several editions, and Linnaean references to pages 117 and 191 match the one published in Göttingen in 1745. This was not recorded in either the personal library of

MUSAEUM
KIRCHERIANUM
SIVE
MUSÆUM A P. ATHANASIO
KIRCHERO
In Collegio Romano Societatis Jesu
JAM PRIDEM INCŒPTUM
Nuper restitutum, auctum, descriptum,
& Iconibus illustratum
EXCELLENTISSIMO DOMINO
FRANCISCO MARIÆ
RUSPOLO
ANTIQUÆ URBIS AGYLLINÆ PRINCIPI
OBLATUM
A P. PHILIPPO BONANNI
SOCIETATIS JESU.
ROMÆ, MDCCIX.
Typis Georgii Plachi Cælaturam Profitentis, & Characterum Fusoriam propè S. MARCUM.
SUPERIORUM PERMISSU.

Figure 22. Title page and plate 293 in the *Musaeum Kircherianum* (Bonanni 1709) a detailed account of the collection of the Jesuit Museum in Rome.

Linnaeus (Anonymous 1896) or in the library of the Academy of Uppsala, which itself has a copy of the six-volume edition 1739-1744 (Aurivillius 1814a). Linnaeus might have owned a copy of the Göttingen edition which was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith. Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Bonanni, P. 1709. *Musaeum Kircherianum, sive Musæaeum a P. Athanasio Kirchero In Collegio Romano Societatis Jesu jam pridem incœptum, Nuper restitutum, auctum, descriptum, & Illustratum*. Romæ, Georgii Plachi. [v] + [i] + [iv] 1–522 + [vii], Pl. I-XLVI, 48 unnumbered Pl. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.98588>. (Figure 22)

Abbreviated as Kircher. mus.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766)

Contents: The herpetological collection of the Jesuit Museum in Rome, directed by Athanasius Kircher, is described in *Classis Octava. Exponuntur Plantae Marinae, frutices, & Animalia tum Marina, tum Terrestria*, and includes *Crocodilus* (273; fig. 37, pl. 292), *Serpens Indicus* (273, fig. 38, pl. 292), *Lacerta maior Brasiliae* (273-274, fig. 39, pl. 292), *Vipera, et Aspis* (274, fig. 41; 42, pl. 293), *Vipera Brasiliae Caudisona* (274-275, fig. 43, pl. 293), *Camaeleon* (sic, p. 275, fig. 44, pl. 293), *Scincus* (275, fig. 45, pl. 293), *Lacerta cum duplici cauda* (275, fig. 46, pl. 294), *Lacerta viridem* (275, fig. 47, pl. 294) and *Stellio* (275-276, fig. 48, pl. 294).

Linnaeus (1758:204; 1766: 364): *Lacerta chamaeleon* (Kircher. mus. 275. t. 293. f. 44. Chamaelelon).

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). The Academy has a copy of the catalogue of the Museum of *Societatis Jesu* compiled by Sepibus (1678), but this is a publication of only 66 pages.

Linnaeus either had a copy of the book but that

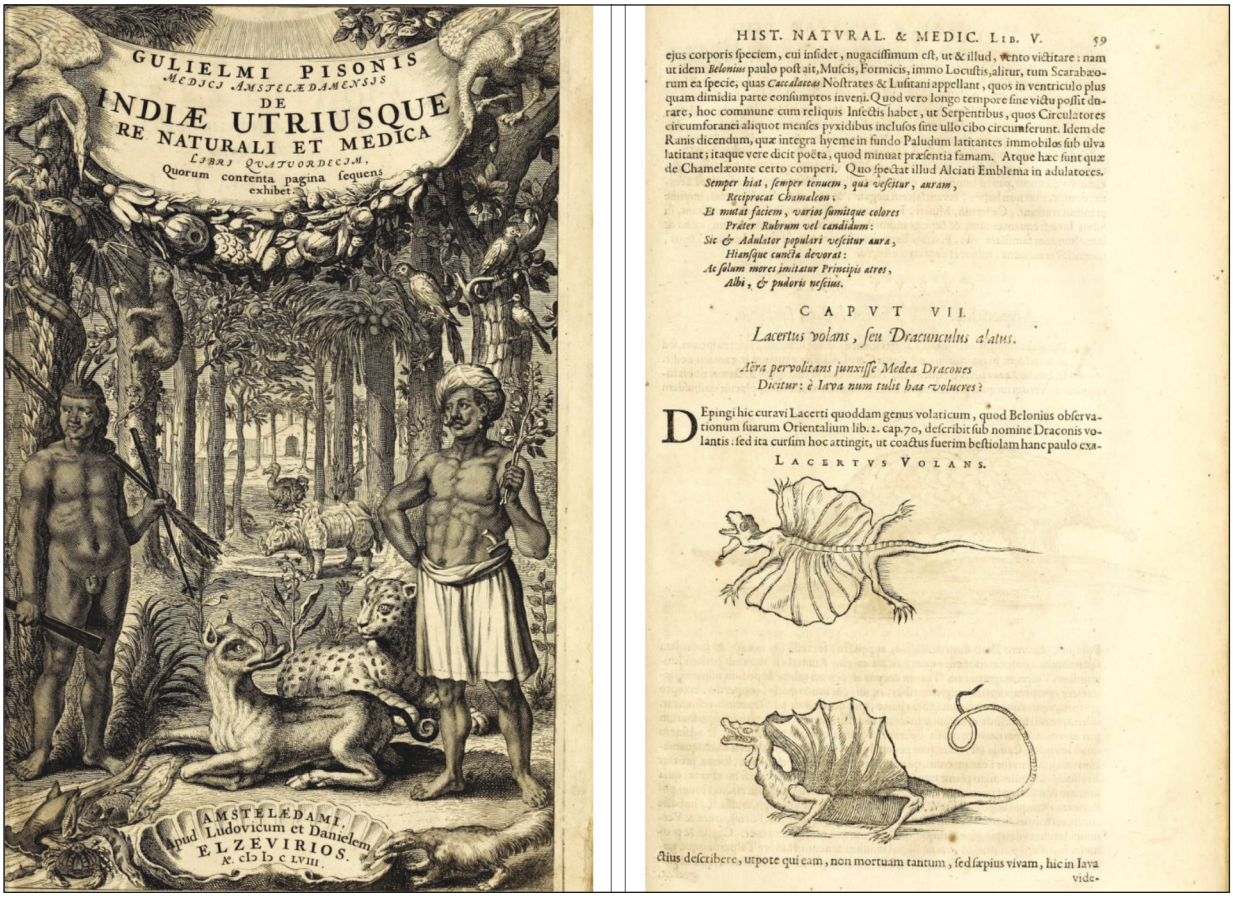


Figure 23. Title page and page 59 from Bontius's *Historiæ naturalis & medicæ Indiæ Orientalis* (1658).

was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith, or this was a secondhand reference which he based on *Musei Ichthyologici tomus secundus* (1756) by his friend Laurens Theodor Gronovius (1730-1777). The latter book is referred to by Linnaeus at *Lacerta chamaeleon* where we can locate the citation to Bonnani (1709). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Bontius, I. 1658. Historiæ naturalis & medicæ Indiæ Orientalis Libri sex. I. De conservanda valetudine. II. Methodus medendi. III. Observationes e cadaveribus. IV Notæ in garciam ab orta. V. Historia animalium. VI. Historia plantarum. In quorum Librorum penultimo, Naturæ Animalium, Avium, & Piscium: In ultimo autem, Arborum & Plantarum Species miræ, Europæis incognitæ, Acad Vivum delineatæ, explicantur. Commentarii, Quos Auctor, morte in Indiis præventus, indigestos reliquit, a Gulielmo Pisone In ordinem redacti & illustrati atque Annotationibus & Additionibus Rerum & Iconum necessariis adaucti. *In*: G. Pisonis (ed.): *De Indiæ utriusque re naturali et medica libri quatuordecim, quorum contenta pagina sequens exhibit*. Amstelædami,Ludovicum et Danielem Elzevirios: 3–226 + [ii]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.136051>. (Figure 23)

Abbreviated as: Bont. jav.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Bontius fifth book includes descriptions of *De Crocodilo, qui per totam Indiam Cayman audit* (Chapter III, p. 55), *De Lacertae quadam specie, Incolis Leguan, ac Insectis variis* (Chap. IV, p. 56-57), *Lacertae cujusdam, admodum venenosae, species, quae merito Salamandra Indica dici queat, quaeque à nostratibus à sono quem edit, Gecco vocatur* (Chap. V, p. 57-58), *De Chamaeleonte in Insula Iava* (Chap. VI, p. 58-59), *Lacertus volans, seu Dracunculus alatus* (Chap. VII, 59-60), *De Serpentibus in genere, & de Amphisbaena in specie* (Chap. XXIII, p. 76-77), and *De Testudine Squamata, Tamach, aliis Larii, dicta* (Chap. XXX, p. 82-83).

Hast (1745: 16, 18, 20; 1749: 122, 124, 126): 10.

LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Bont. Jav. p. 55. tab. 55. *Crocodilus, qui per totam indiam, Cayman audit*); 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Bont. Jav. pag. 56. tab. 56. *Lacerta vulgo Leguan dicta*) and 12. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, alis femore connexis, crista gulae triplici* (Bont. Jav. p. 57. tab. 57. *Lacertus volans seu Dracunculus alatus*).

Linnaeus (1754: 40, 43): *Draco volans* (Bont. Jav. 57. t. 57), *Lacerta iguana* (Bont. Jav. 56. t. 56).

Linnaeus (1758: 199, 200, 205, 207), Linné (1766: 358, 359, 365, 366): *Draco volans* (*Bont. jav.* 57. *t.* 57. Lacertus volans s. Dracunculus), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Bont. jav.* 55. Crocodylus Cayman), *L. gecko* (*Bont. jav.* 57. Salamandra indica), *L. igvana* (*Bont. jav.* 56. *t.* 56. Lacerta Leguan).

Linné (1766: 350): *Testudo imbricata* (*Bont. jav*. 82. Testudo squamata).

Comments: The description of *Lacertus volans, seu Dracunculus alatus* is on page 59, not 57, as cited by Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766). Bauer (2012) mentions that Bontius work was published independently in 1642, but this early edition (Bontius, 1642) has no reference to amphibians and reptiles. It has only four books, with titles not always coinciding with those of 1658 (1. *Notae in Garçiam ab Orta*; 2. *De dieta sanorum*; 3. *Meth. Medendi Indica* and 4. *Observationes e cadaveribus*). Animals mentioned by Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1758) and Linné (1766) are described in the fifth book, *Historia Animalium*, included only in the edition of 1658.

Linnaeus had a copy of Piso's (1658) book in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). This edition was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Bonvinius, E. 1610. *De Theriaca Liber, Qvo de Theriacæ descriptione, ingredientium delectu, quantitate, præparatione, ipsius deniq; antidoti compositione, ex Andromachi Senioris mente agitur*. Vratislaviae, Georgii Bauman: 1–239. <https://books.google.at/books?id=70U6AAAAcAAJ>. (Figure 24)

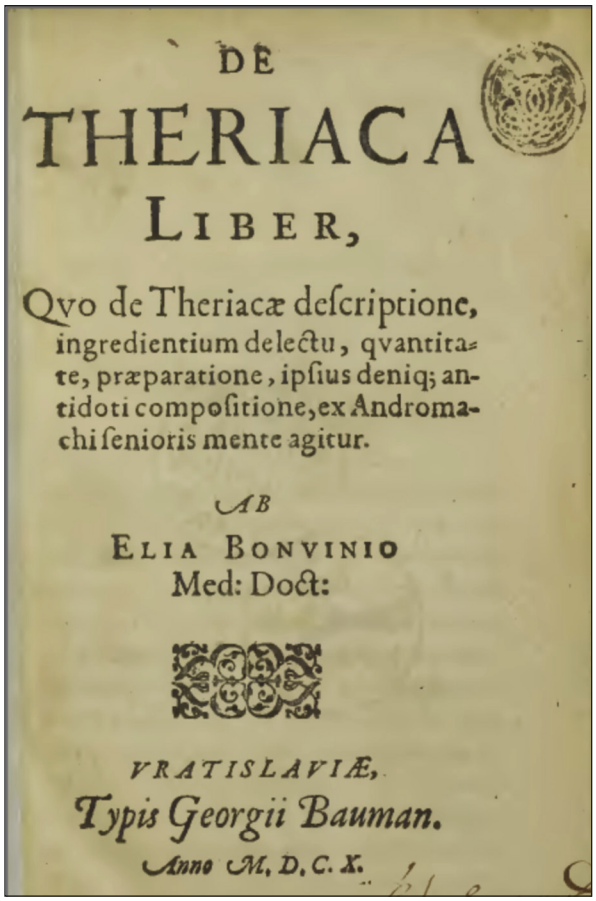

DE
THERIACA
LIBER,
Qvo de Theriacæ deſcriptione, ingredientium delectu, qvantitate, præparatione, ipſius deniq; antidoti compoſitione, ex Andromachi ſenioris mente agitur.
AB
ELIA BONVINIO
Med: Doct:
VRATISLAVIÆ,
Typis Georgii Bauman.
Anno M. D. C. X.

Figure 24. Title page of Andromachus's theriac published by Bonvinius (1610) an edition owned by Linnaeus.

Abbreviated as Ther. Androm.

Cited in Linnaeus (1763), Linné (1772), Sidrén (1750; 1751).

Contents: As its title suggests, deals with the description, content and preparation of Andromachus' theriac, which includes among its ingredients, snake meat.

Linnaeus (1763: 13), Sidrén (1750: 12; 1751: 319): Under *COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 145, squamis caudalibus 36* mentions *Ther.* Androm.

Linné (1772: 19): *Ther.* Androm mentioned under COLUBER *Vipera* scutis abdominalibus CXVIII. squamis subcaudalibus XXII.

Comments: Andromachus's theriac had numerous editions by several authors. The one proposed here (Bonvinius 1610) was in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). A later edition was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007).

A PHILOSOPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE

WORKS

OF

NATURE.

Endeavouring to set forth the several GRADATIONS Remarkable in the

MINERAL, VEGETABLE, *and* ANIMAL

PARTS of the CREATION.

Tending to the Composition of a SCALE *of* LIFE.

To which is added,

An Account of the State of GARDENING, as it is now in *Great Britain*, and other Parts of *Europe*: Together with several new Experiments relating to the Improvement of BARREN GROUND, and the Propagating of TIMBER-TREES, FRUIT-TREES, &c.

WITH MANY CURIOUS CUTTS.

——All their known Virtue appears
Productive in Herb, Plant, and Nobler birth
Of Creatures animate with gradual Life
Of Growth, Sense, Reason—— Milton.

By *RICHARD BRADLEY*,
Fellow of the Royal Society.

LONDON:
Printed for W. MEARS, at the *Lamb*, without *Temple-Bar*.
MDCCXXI.

Figure 25. Illustration of toads in *A philosophical account of the works of Nature* by Bradley (1721).

Bradley, R. 1721. *A philosophical account of the works of Nature. Endeavouring to set forth the several gradations remarkable in the mineral, vegetable and animal parts of the creation. Tending to the composition of a Scale of Life. To which is added, an account of the State of Gardening, as it is now in Great Britain, and other parts of Europe: together with several new experiments relating to the improvement of Barren Ground, and the propagating of timber-trees, fruit-trees, &c. With many curious cutts.* London, W. Mears: [ii] + [viii] + [iii] + [i] + [iii] + [1]–194 +[i], Pl. I–XXVIII. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/336332>. (Figure 25)

Abbreviated as: Bradl. nat.; Bradley natur.

Cited in Linnaeus (1746a; 1754; 1758; 1759; 1761), Linné (1766).

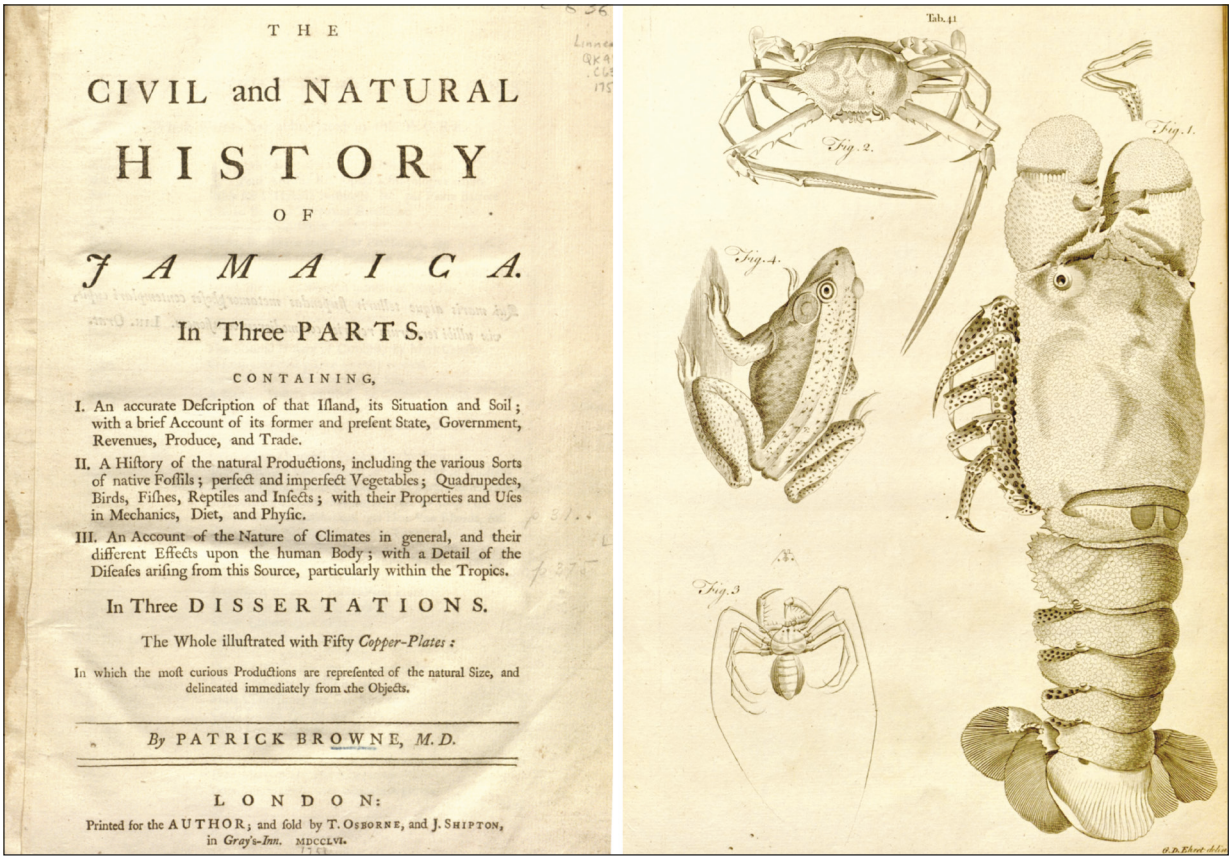
Contents: Bradley devoted four chapters of his book to amphibians and reptiles, including Chap. IV. Of Immoveable Shell-Fish, and of such as have Local Motion; with Variety of Observations upon the rest of the Fish-kind in Salt and Fresh Waters (49-70), Chap. V and VI. Of Serpents, the Crocodile, Lizard, Camelion, and others of the Scaley Tribe, which are Amphibious, and Inhabitants of the Land; and of Flying Lizards, &c. which seem to be the immediate Passage between the Fish and the Bird kind (71-74), and Chap. X. Of Frogs, Toads, and such Creatures as are partly Animals and partly Insectal (119-126).

Linnaeus (1746a: 94, 95): 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Bradl. nat*. 21. *f*. 1. Rana), 253. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Bradl. nat*. I. *t*. 21. *f*. 2. Bufo).

Linnaeus (1754: 48): *Rana bufo* (Bradl. nat. t. 21. f. 2).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 200, 210, 212, 214, 225), Linné (1766: 351, 354, 357, 372, 387): *Testudo mydas* (*Bradl. natur. t.* 4. *f.* 4.), *Draco volans* (*Bradl. natur. t.* 9. *f.* 5. Lacerta volans), *Rana pipa* (*Bradl. natur. t.* 22. *f.* 2. Rana surinamensis), *R. bufo* (*Bradl. natur. t.* 21. *f.* 2.), *R. temporaria* (*Bradl. natur. t.* 21. *f.* 1.), *Crotalus horridus* (*Bradl. natur. t.* 9. *f.* 1.), *Coluber ahaetulla* (*Bradl. natur. t.* 9. *f.* 2.).

Linnaeus (1759: 71, 75, 76): 1. T. pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum binis, plantarum solitariis, testa ovata (*Bradley natur. t.* 4. *f.* 4); 13. R. dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Bradl. nat. t.* 21. *f.* I); 192. Horridus (*Bradl. nat. t.* 9. *f.* 1).



THE

CIVIL and NATURAL

HISTORY

OF

JAMAICA.

In Three PARTS.

CONTAINING,

I. An accurate Defcription of that Iland, its Situation and Soil; with a brief Account of its former and prefent State, Government, Revenues, Produce, and Trade.

II. A Hiftory of the natural Productions, including the various Sorts of native Foffils; perfect and imperfect Vegetables; Quadrupedes, Birds, Fifhes, Reptiles and Infects; with their Properties and Ufes in Mechanics, Diet, and Phyfic.

III. An Account of the Nature of Climates in general, and their different Effects upon the human Body; with a Detail of the Difeafes arifing from this Source, particularly within the Tropics.

In Three DISSERTATIONS.

The Whole illuftrated with Fifty *Copper-Plates*:

In which the moft curious Productions are reprefented of the natural Size, and delineated immediately from the Objects.

By PATRICK BROWNE, *M.D.*

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR; and fold by T. OSBORNE, and J. SHIPTON, in *Gray's-Inn*. MDCCLVI.

Figure 26. Title page and plate 41 of Brown's 1756 account of the Jamaican fauna.

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 102): 275. RANA *Bufo* corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque (*Bradl. nat*. I. *t*. --. *f*. 2. Bufo), 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Bradl. nat*. 21. f. I. Rana).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this edition in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Browne, P. 1756. *The civil and natural history of Jamaica. In three parts. Containing, I. An accurate description of that island, its situation and soil; with a brief account of its former and present state, government, revenues, produce, and trade. II. A history of the natural productions, including the various sorts of native fossils; perfect and imperfect vegetables; quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles and insects; with their properties and uses in mechanics, diet, and physic. III. An account of the nature of climates in general, and their different effects upon the human body; with a detail of the diseases arising from this source, particularly within the tropics. In three dissertations. The whole illustrated with fifty copper-plates: in which the most curious productions are represented of the natural size, and delineated from the objects*. London, Author: [ii] + [ii] + [ii] + v–viii + 1–503, Pl. 1–49, 1 map. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.10826>. (Figure 26)

Abbreviated as: Brown. jam.; Browne jam.

Contents: According to Browne, the Jamaican herpetofauna included four snakes, one crocodile, 10 lizards (one of them introduced), five turtles and two frogs: *Amphisbena* (*sic*) I. *Subargentea ad caudam breviorem crassissima, corpore squamis aequalibus undique tecto*. Pl. 44. f. 1. 3. -The Silver Snake (460), *Cenchris* 1. *Tardigrada major lutea, maculis nigris notata; caudâ breviori & crassiori*-The yellow Snake (461), *Coluber* 1. *Major fusca luteo subvariegata, caudâ tenuiori*.-The large black Snake (461), *Coluber* 2. *Minor nigra, ventre albido*.-The small black Snake (461), *Crocodilus* 1. *Loricatus maximus aquatilis; palmis pentadactylis, tribus interioribus unguiculatis fissis, exterioribus palmatis; plantis pentadactylis semipalmatis, exte-*

riori utrinque mutico.-The Alligator (461-462), *Lacerta* I. *Major, squamis dorsi lanceolatis erectis, e nuchâ ad extremitatem caudae porrectis*.-The Guana (462), Lacerta 2. *Major cinerea maculata*.-The large spotted Ground Lizard (462), (8) *Lacerta* 3-*Media squamosa, corpore & caudâ oblongo- subquadratis, auribus majoribus nudis*.-The Galley-Wasp (463), *Lacerta* 4. *Minor, caudâ longiori attenuatâ, fasciâ subviridi in utroque latere*.-The small Ground Lizard (463), *Lacerta* 5. *Minor viridis, caudâ squamis erectis cristatâ*.-The Guana-Lizard (463), *Lacerta* 6. *Minor, corpore depresso & utrinque attenuato, lateribus fasciâ longitudinali albidâ ventri approximatâ notatis*.-The Wood-Slave (463), *Lacerta* 7. *Minor subcinereo- miscella, caudâ tenuiori*.-The House-Lizard (463), *Lacerta* 8. *Minima subfusca*.-The small House-Lizard (464), *Lacerta* 9. *Minor nigra maculis albis variegata, cauda longiori & tenuiori*.-The black Lizard with white spots (464), *Chamaeleon* 1. *Major cinereus, caudâ in spiram involutâ, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis & oppositis*.-The large grey Chameleon (464), *Testudo* 1. *Major, unguibus utrinque quatuor*.-The Hawk's-bill Turtle (465), *Testudo* 2. *Unguibus palmarum duobus, plantarum singularibus*.-The green Turtle (465), *Testudo* 3. *Unguibus utrinque binis acutis, squamis dorsi quinque gibbis*.-The Loggerhead Turtle (465), *Testudo* 4. *Minima lacustris, unguibus palmarum, quinis, plantarum quaternis, testa depressa*.-The Terrapin (465), *Testudo* 5. *Major oblonga, testa profundiori, cute loricata, unguibus palmarum quinque, plantarum quatuor*.-The Hicatee, or Land Turtle (466), *Rana* 1. *Maxima compressa miscella*.-The Toad (466), and *Rana* 2. *Minima palmis & plantis fissis* (466).

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 211, 228), Linné (1766: 351, 356, 391): *Testudo caretta* (*Brown. jam.* 465. Testudo unguibus utrinque binis acutis, squamis dorsi quinque gibbis), *Rana ocellata* (*Brown. jam.* 466. *t.* 41. *f.* 4. Rana maxima compressa miscella), *Anguis lumbricalis* (*Brown. jam.* 460, *t.* 44. *f.* 1).

Linnaeus (1759: 75): 9. R. auribus ocellatis, pedibus muticis (*Browne jam.* 466. *t.* 41. *f.* 4).

Comments: Reference to figure 4 on plate 41 as *Rana ocellata* is an error made by Linnaeus and the illustration does not represent the tree-frog described by Browne (see Lavilla *et al*. 2010a). In the reference to *Chamaeleon*, Browne indicates "... This species is native of Africa and was brought to Jamaica from the coast of Guinea...".

Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Brückmann, F. E. 1734. *Epistola Itineraria XXVII. Sistens Historiam Natvralem Lapidis Serpentini Magnetici, Ad Virvm Nobiliss. Excell. Consvltiss. Atque Doctiss. Dominvm Dominvm Pavl. Gottl. Werlhof, Med. Doct. Magnae Brittaniae Regis Medicarvm Avlicvm. et Pract. Hannoveran. Feliciss. Amicvm et Favtorem Omni Honoris et Amoris Genere Proseqvendvm*. Wolffenbvttelae: [xxx], Pl. I–II <https://books.google.at/books?id=_a-yNPlGopgC>. (Figure 27)

Abbreviated as Bruckm. epist.

Cited in Darelius (1751).

Contents: Reference to volume XXVII of *Epistola* by Brückmann discussing snake stones. Snake stones are animal bones or minerals thought to be able to draw the venom from the snakebite site. In *Epistola* Brückmann discusses stones (lapidees serpentini magnetici) with this spectacular healing capacity.

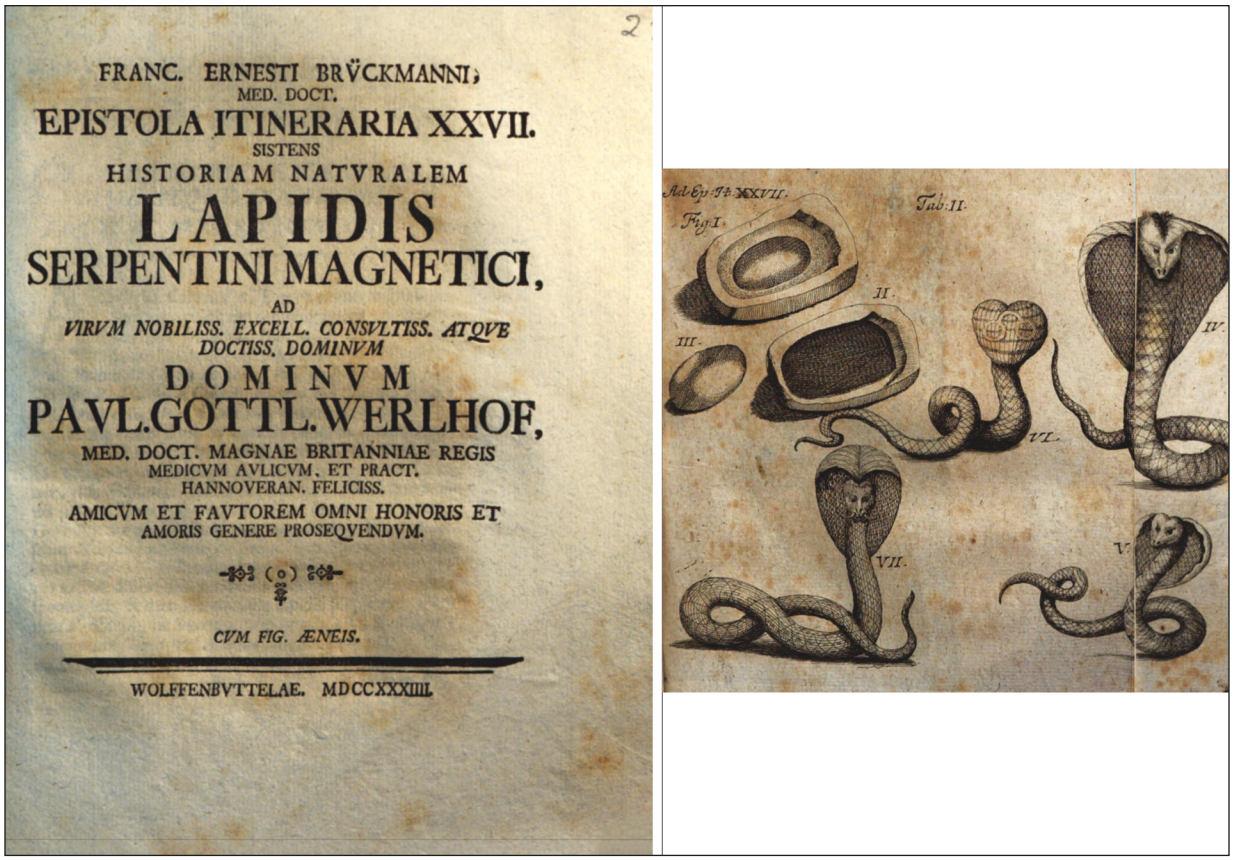
Darelius (1751: 106): Bruckm. epist. 37. t. 5. 6. 7. Naja Zeilanensibus.

Comments: The reference contains a typo, the plate is numbered II and is linked to volume 27 and not 37 of *Epistola*.

The *Epistola* were published separately, and each has an original title page of earlier date that the complete collection. "The *Epistolæ Itinerariæ*" appeared in 275 numbers between 1726-1753.

Linnaeus received the copies of the individual *Epistolae* from Brückmann (Letter 223397; Hulth 1916: 368-369) which he kept in his personal library (Anonymous 1896).

Several volumes were present in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a), although *Epistola XXVII* one was not available. Reference not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007).


2

FRANC. ERNESTI BRVCKMANNI,
MED. DOCT.
EPISTOLA ITINERARIA XXVII.
SISTENS
HISTORIAM NATVRALEM
LAPIDIS
SERPENTINI MAGNETICI,
AD
VIRVM NOBILISS. EXCELL. CONSVLTISS. ATQVE DOCTISS. DOMINVM
DOMINVM
PAVL.GOTTL.WERLHOF,
MED. DOCT. MAGNAE BRITANNIAE REGIS MEDICVM AVLICVM, ET PRACT. HANNOVERAN. FELICISS.
AMICVM ET FAVTOREM OMNI HONORIS ET AMORIS GENERE PROSEQVENDVM.

CVM FIG. ÆNEIS.

WOLFFENBVTTELAE. MDCCXXXIIII.

Figure 27. Illustration of cobras and snake stones in volume XXVII (1734) of *Epistola* by Brückmann.

Buxbaum, I. C. 1728. Nova plantarum genera. *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae,* Tomus 1 ad annum 1726: 241–245, 2 Pl. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/9482>.

Abbreviated as: Buxbaum.

Cited in Linnaeus (1889) [1732].

Contents: Botanical work with the description of the genera *Chamaedaphne, Potamopitys* and *Ceratocarpus*.

Linnaeus (1889: 70) [1732]: In p. 70: "... *Chamaedaphne* Buxb. eller *Erica palustris pendula, fl: petiolio purp.* stod nu i sin bästa fägring, och gaf kärren en träffelig prydnad..." ["...*Chamaedaphne* Buxb. or *Erica palustris pendula*, with purple-petioled flowers, was now in its finest splendor and gave the marshes an excellent adornment…"].

Comments: Although it is not a herpetological text, the Linnaean reference alludes to a flower of extraordinary beauty, which he compares to the virgin Andromeda, who "...Little by little, she becomes surrounded by dragons and venomous creatures—that is, the mischievous toads and frogs that in spring invade the surrounding waters and, when mating, splash water and mud onto her leaves and stems..." (see Lavilla 2025).

The first volume of the *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae* was housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007).

Catesby, M. 1743. *The natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama islands: containing the figures of birds, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, and plants: particularly, the forest-trees, shrubs, and other plants, not hitherto described, or very incorrectly figured by authors. Together with their descriptions in English and French. To which, are added observations on the air, soil, and waters: with remarks upon agriculture, grain, pulse, roots, &c. To the whole, is prefixed a new and correct map of the countries treated of. Vol. 2.-Histoire naturelle de la Caroline, la Floride, & les Isles Bahama: contenant les desseins des oiseaux, animaux, poissons, serpents, insectes, & plantes. Et en particulier, des arbres des forets, arbrisseaux, & autres plantes, qui*

THE
NATURAL HISTORY
OF
CAROLINA, FLORIDA and the BAHAMA ISLANDS:
Containing the FIGURES of
BIRDS, BEASTS, FISHES, SERPENTS, INSECTS, and PLANTS;
Particularly the FOREST-TREES, SHRUBS, and other PLANTS, not hitherto described, or very incorrectly figured by Authors.
Together with their DESCRIPTIONS in *English* and *French*.
To which are added,
OBSERVATIONS on the AIR, SOIL, and WATERS:
With Remarks upon
AGRICULTURE, GRAIN, PULSE, ROOTS, &c.
To the Whole
Is Prefixed a new and correct Map of the Countries Treated of.
By *MARK CATESBY*, F. R. S.

VOL. II.

HISTOIRE NATURELLE
DE
La CAROLINE, la FLORIDE, & les ISLES BAHAMA:
Contenant les DESSEINS
Des OISEAUX, ANIMAUX, POISSONS, SERPENTS, INSECTES, & PLANTES.
Et en particulier,
Des ARBRES des Forets, ARBRISSEAUX, & autres PLANTES, qui n'ont point été decris. jusques à present par les Auteurs, ou peu exactement dessinés.
Avec leur Descriptions en François & en Anglois.
A quoi on a adjouté,
Des Observations sur l'Air, le Sol, & les Eaux;
Avec des Remarques sur l'Agriculture, les Grains, les Legumes, les Racines, &c.
Le tout est precedé d'une CARTE nouvelle & exacte des Païs dont ils s'agist.
Par *MARC CATESBY*, de la Societé Royale.

TOME II.

LONDON:
Printed at the Expence of the AUTHOR: and Sold by W. INNYS, at the West End of St. *Paul's*; R. MANBY, on *Ludgate-Hill*; Mr. HAUKSBEE, at the *Royal Society* House, and by the AUTHOR.
MDCCXLIII.

T.66.

Lacertus

Lignum Camp.

Figure 28. Title page and plate 66 of Catesby's *The natural history of Carolina* (1743) volume II.

***n'ont point été decrits, jusques à present par les auteurs, ou peu exactement dessinés. Avec leur descriptions en françois et en anglois. A quoi on a adjouté, des observations sur l'air, le sol, & les eaux, aves des remarques sur l'agriculture, les grains, les legumes, les racines, &c. Le tout est precedé d'une carte nouvelle & exacte des païs dont ils s'agist. Tome II.* London, Author: [ii] + 1–100, Pl. 1–100. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.62015>.** (Figure 28)

Abbreviated as: Catesb. car. 2.; Catesb. car. 3; Catesby carol 2.

Cited in Kiernander (1749; 1751), Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: Catesby, in the second volume of his *Natural History*, described and depicted four turtles, 19 serpents, seven lizards and four frogs: *Testudo marina viridis* (p/pl. 38), *Testudo caretta* (p/pl. 39), *Testudo marina caouanna* (p/pl. 40), *Vipera caudisona americana* (p/pl. 41), *Vipera caudisona americana minor* (p/pl. 42), *Vipera aquatica* (p/pl. 43), *Vipera nigra* (p/pl. 44), *Vipera fusca* (p/pl. 45), *Anguis ventre cuprei coloris* (p/pl. 46), *Anguis gracilis caeruleo-viridis* (p/pl. 47), *Anguis niger* (p/pl. 48), *Anguis minor fusco maculatus* (p/pl. 49), *Anguis gracilis fuscus* (p/pl. 50), *Anguis gracilis maculatus* (p/pl. 51), *Anguis annulatus* (p/pl. 52), *Anguis viridis maculatus* (p/pl. 53), *Anguis flagelli formis* (p/pl. 54), *Anguis e rubro & albo varius* (p/pl. 55), *Anguis capite viperino* (p/pl. 56), *Anguis viridis* (p/pl. 57), *Anguis e coeruleo & albo varius* (p/pl. 58), *Caecilia maculata* (p/pl. 59), *Anguis niger, maculis rubris & luteis eleganter varius* (p/pl. 60), *Lacertus omnium maximus, Crocodilus dictus* (p/pl. 63), *Lacertus indicus, Senembi & Iguana dictus* (p/pl. 64), *Lacertus viridis carolinensis* (p/pl. 65), *Lacertus viridis jamaicensis* (p/pl. 66), *Lacertus cauda caerulea* (p/pl. 67), *Lacertus griseus* (p/pl. 68), *Rana terrestris* (p/pl. 69), *Rana aquatica* (p/pl. 70), *Rana viridis arborea* (p/pl. 71), and *Rana marina americana aquatica* (p/pl. 72). Furthermore, in the lower-left corner of plate 45 there is a salamander, not named in text but alluded when Catesby wrote that *Vipera fusca* "... prey on lizards, efts, and other animals...".

Kiernander (1749: 7; 1751: 130): "...Vipera caudisona americana minor. Catesby carol 2. p. 142. t. 142. an?..." See comments also on page 8/131.

Linnaeus (1758: 222): *Coluber nebulatus* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 42. *t.* 42),

Linnaeus (1758: 198, 200, 206, 208, 209, 226; Linné 1766: 351, 359, 366, 368, 369, 389): *Testudo caretta* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 39. *t.* 39. Testudo Caretta Rochef.), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *t.* 63. Lacertus maximus), *L. igvana* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 64. *t.* 64?), *L. bullaris* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *t.* 66. Lacerta viridis jamaicensis), *L. fasciata* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *t.* 67. Lacerta cauda caerulea), *C. mycterizans* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 47. *t.* 47).

Linnaeus (1759: 71, 73, 74, 79): 2. T. pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum plantarumque binis, testa ovata acute serrata (*Catesb. car.* 2. *t.* 39); 28. L. cauda tereti longa, sutura dorsali dentata, crista gulae denticulata (*Catesb. car.* 2. *t.* 64); 34. L. cauda tereti longa, vesica gulari (*Catesb. car.* 2. t. 66); 40. L. cauda tereti longiuscula, dorso brunneo lineis quinque flavescentibus (*Catesb. car.* 2. *t.* 67); 265. Nebulatus (*Catesb. car.* 2. *t.* 42?).

Linné (1766: 356, 364, 370, 372, 373, 378, 379, 382, 385, 387, 391)**:** *Rana ocellata* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p*. 72. *t*. 72. Rana maxima americana aquatica), *Lacerta 6-lineata* (*Catesb. car*. 2. *p*. 68. *t*. 68), *L. punctata* (*Catesb. car.* 3. *p.* 10. *t.* 10. *f.* 10. Stellio), *Crotalus miliarius* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *t.* 42), *Boa contortrix* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 56. *t.* 56), *Coluber fasciatus* (*Catesb. Car*. 2. *p*. 58. *t*. 58?), *C. ordinatus* (Catesb. Car. 2. p. 53. t. 53), *C. getulus* (*Catesb. Car.* 2. *p.* 52. *t.* 52), *C. saurita* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 50. *t.* 50), *C. constrictor* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 48. *t.* 48.), *C. guttatus* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 60. *t.* 60?), *C. aestivus* (*Catesb. car.* 2. *p.* 57. *t.* 57), *Anguis ventralis* (*Catesb. car.* 2. p. 59. t. 59. Caecilia maculata).

Comments: Although the front page of volume 2 mentions 1743, fascicles V-X of Catesby's Natural History were published between 1734 and 1743. Heller (2007) considers the first edition (1743), while Dundee (1994) considers the second (1754) edition as the Linnaean source. Amphibians and reptiles have the same pagination in both. The first edition (Catesby 1743) is proposed here as the Linnaean source due to the presence of a copy in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a) and the citations in the student dissertation preceding 1754. The book was not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896).

Catesby, M. 1747. *Appendix. The natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama islands: containing the figures of birds, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, and plants: particularly, the forest-trees, shrubs, and other plants, not hitherto described, or very incorectly figured by authors. Together with their descriptions in English and French. To which, are added observations on the air, soil, and waters: with remarks upon agriculture, grain, pulse, roots, &c. To the whole, is prefixed a new and correct map of the countries treated of. Vol. 2.-Histoire naturelle de la Caroline, la Floride, & les Isles Bahama: contenant les desseins des oiseaux, animaux, poissons, serpents, insectes, & plantes. Et en particulier, des arbres des forets, arbrisseaux, & autres plantes, qui n'ont point été decrits, jusques à present par les auteurs, ou peu exactement dessinés. Avec leur descriptions en françois et en anglois. A quoi on a adjouté, des observations sur l'air, le sol, & les eaux, aves des remarques sur l'agriculture, les grains, les legumes, les racines, &c. Le tout est precedé d'une carte nouvelle & exacte des païs dont ils s'agist. Tome II.* London, Author: 1–20 + [vii], Pl. 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.62015>. (Figure 29)

Abbreviated as Catesb. car. 3.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: *Stellio aquaticus minor Americanus* (p. 10; pl. 10).

Linné (1766: 370): Under [*Lacerta*] *punctata*. 45. Catesb. car. 3. p. 10. t. 10. f. 10. Stellio.

Comments: Appendix generally bound at the end of the second volume of Catesby's Natural History (see previous comment).

Available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). Dundee (1994) has not covered the appendix and while Heller (2007) refers to it as a Linnaean source, it did not list it for [*Lacerta*] *punctata*.

Ceruto, B. & A. Chiocco. 1622. *Musaeum Franc. Calceolari Ivn. Veronensis a benedicto cervto medico incæptvm, et ab Andrea Chiocco Med. Phÿsico excellentiss. collegii Luculenter Descriptum & Perfectum. In quo multa ad naturalem, moralemq; philosophiã spectantia, non pauca ad rem medicam pertinentia erudité pro-*

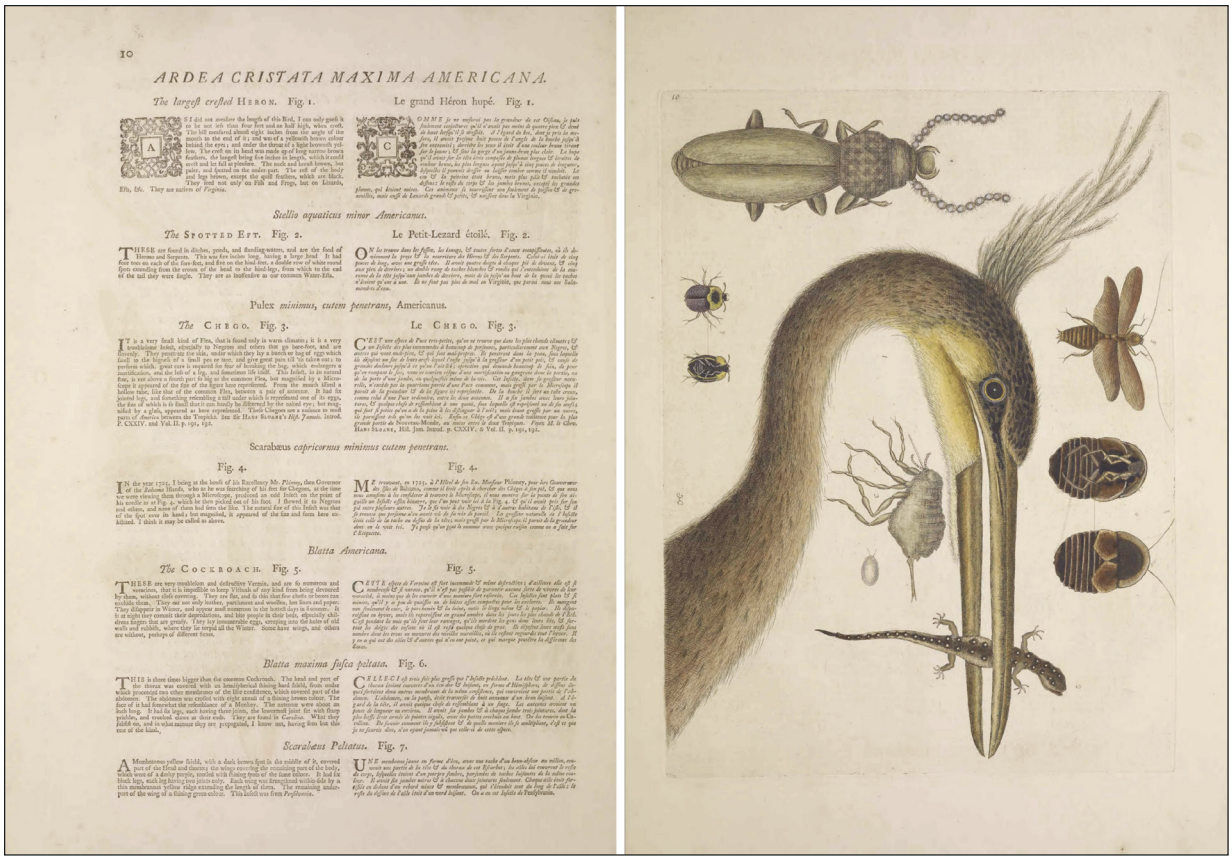


Figure 29. Appendix to Catesby's *The natural history of Carolina* (1747).

***ponuntur, & explicantur, non sine magna rerum exoticarum supellectile, quae artifici plané manu in æs incisæ, studiosis exhibentur.* Veronae, Angelum Tamum: [xlvii] + [1–2]–746. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/298799>.** (Figure 30)

Abbreviated as Calceol. mus.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Herpetological information is in *Sectio Prima* (*Ranarum illarum* Genus, p. 79-80), *Sectio Quinta* (medicinale uses of snakes on pages 497 and 501) and *Sectio Sexta* [*Crocodilus terrestris* (655), *Lacerta chalcidica* (656), *Cameleon terrestris* (658), *Chamaeleon aereus* (668), and *Salamandra aquatilis* (676)].

Linnaeus (1766): [*Lacerta*] *Chamaeleon* (*Calceol. mus.* 658. *t.* 661. Chamaeleon terrestris).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (under Chioccus; see Anonymous 1896). The book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Charas, M. 1670. *Nouvelles experiences svr La Vipere, ov l'on verra vne description exacte de toutes ses parties, la sovrce de son venin, ses divers effets et les remedes exqvis que les artistes peuvent tirer de la Vipere, tant pour la Guerison de ses Morsures, que pour celle de plusieurs autres Maladies.* Paris, Avtevr, Olivier de Varennes: [iv] + [vi] + 1–278 + [iv] +[ii], 3 Pl. <https://books.google.at/books?id=xCZkAAAAcAAJ>. (Figure 31)

Abbreviated as Charas.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763).

Contents: Anatomie de la Vipere (1-63); Experiences sur la Vipere (pp. 63-116); Remedes tirez de la Vipere (125-201). Acrell refers to the content of Chapter IV, *Du venin de la morsure de la Vipere, & de son action* (pp. 91-99).

Acrell (1762: 9; 1763: 206): "*...In Galia puta ubi Moyses Charas, Chirurgus Regis primarius non incelebris, theoriam serpentum explicaturus magno molimine contendit, venenum in excandescentia spirituum animalium consistere, atque proinde penes viperam non esse lethaliter ut sauciat, nisi antea iratam...*" ["...In France, it is said that Moses Charas, the king's chief surgeon, not without renown, strived

Figure 30. Title page and illustration of *Cameleon terrestris* by Ceruto& Chiocco (1622).

with great effort to explain the theory of serpents, asserting that venom consists in the overheating of the animal spirits, and consequently, the viper does not possess a lethal bite unless it has previously become enraged…"].

Comments: Charas's work was first published in 1669 and had numerous reeditions. It was not possible to accurately identify which edition was the one analyzed by Acrell, but the presence of a copy of that of 1670 in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a), leads us to conclude that this could have been the source. The first 1669 edition and the 1670 edition have the same content and pagination. The work of Charas was not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not cover the book.

Charletono, G. [Charletoni, G.]. 1677. *Exercitationes de Differentiis & Nominibus Animalium. Quibus accedunt Mantissa Anatomica, Et quædam De variis Fossilium generibus, Deque differentiis & nominibus Colorum. Editio secunda, duplo fere auctior priori, novisque iconibus ornata.*

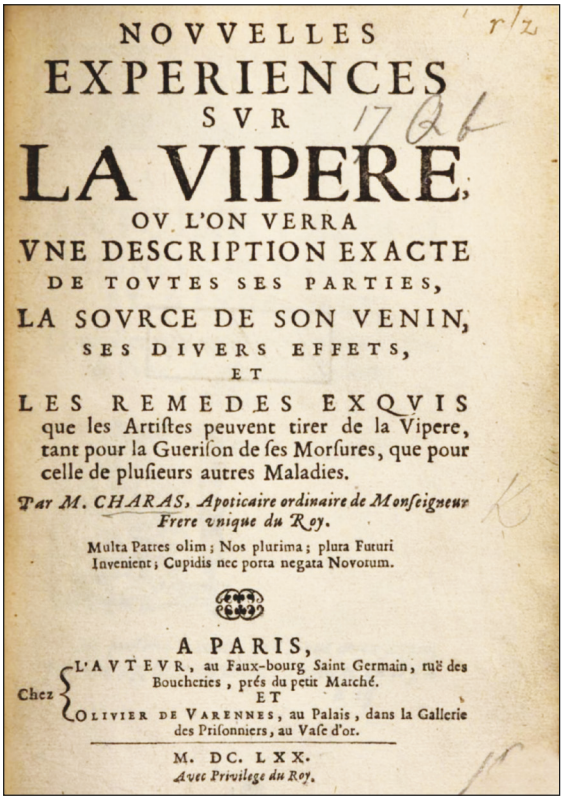
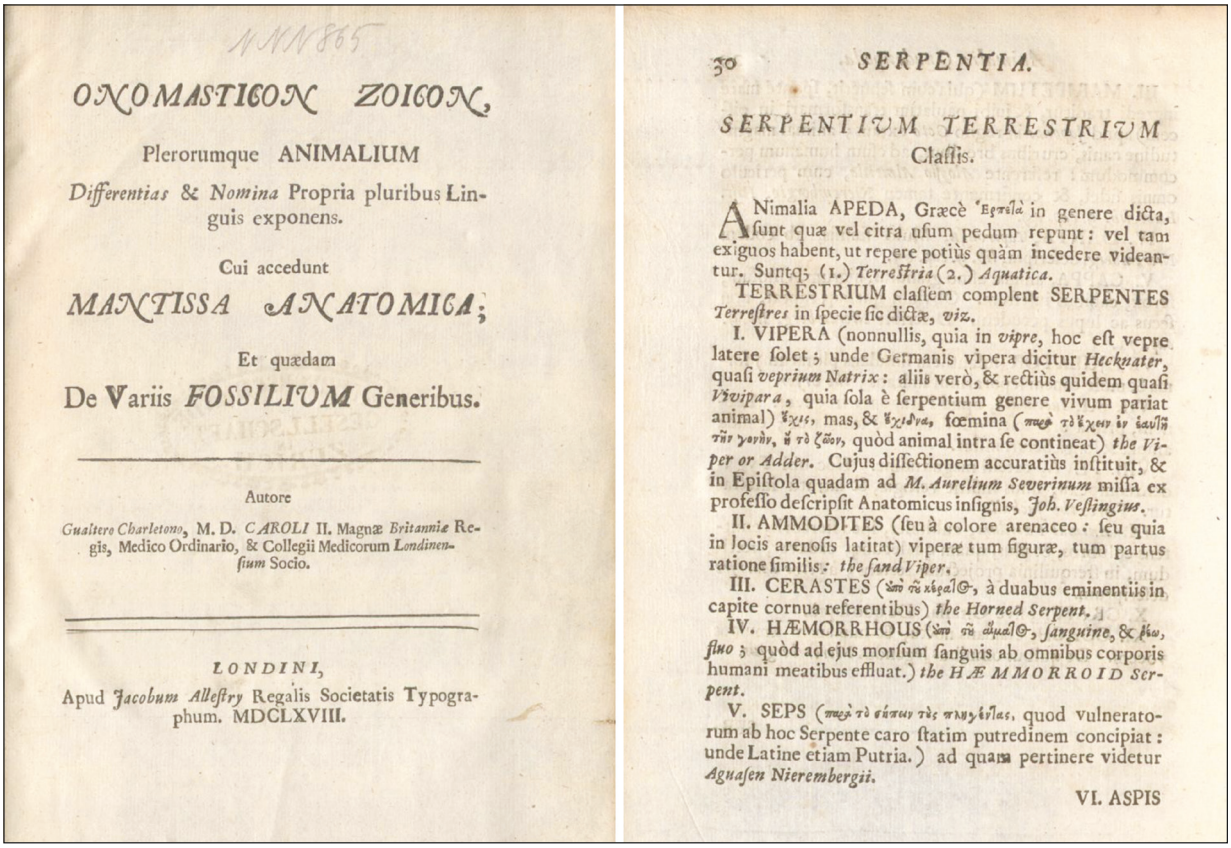


Figure 31. Title page of *Nouvelles experiences svr La Vipere* (1670) by Charas, the edition we conclude was the source used by Linnaeus.



NNN865

ONOMASTICON ZOICON,

Plerorumque ANIMALIUM

Differentias & *Nomina* Propria pluribus Linguis exponens.

Cui accedunt

MANTISSA ANATOMICA;

Et quædam

De Variis *FOSSILIUM* Generibus.

Autore

Gualtero Charletono, M. D. *CAROLI* II. Magnæ *Britanniæ* Regis, Medico Ordinario, & Collegii Medicorum *Londinensium* Socio.

LONDINI,

Apud *Jacobum Allestry* Regalis Societatis Typographum. MDCLXVIII.

30 SERPENTIA.

SERPENTIUM TERRESTRIUM Classis.

ANimalia APEDA, Græcè Ἑρπετὰ in genere dicta, sunt quæ vel citra usum pedum repunt: vel tam exiguos habent, ut repere potiùs quàm incedere videantur. Suntq; (1.) *Terrestria* (2.) *Aquatica*.

TERRESTRIUM classem complent SERPENTES *Terrestres* in specie sic dictæ, *viz.*

I. VIPERA (nonnullis, quia in *vipre*, hoc est vepre latere solet; unde Germanis vipera dicitur *Heckpater*, quasi *veprium Natrix*: aliis verò, & rectiùs quidem quasi *Viviparа*, quia sola è serpentium genere vivum pariat animal) ἔχις, mas, & ἔχιδνα, fœmina (παρὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὴν γονὴν, ἤ τὸ ζῶον, quòd animal intra se contineat) *the Viper or Adder*. Cujus dissectionem accuratiùs instituit, & in Epistola quadam ad *M. Aurelium Severinum* missa ex professo descripsit Anatomicus insignis, *Joh. Veslingius*.

II. AMMODITES (seu à colore arenaceo: seu quia in locis arenosis latitat) viperæ tum figuræ, tum partus ratione similis: *the sand Viper*.

III. CERASTES (ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων, à duabus eminentiis in capite cornua referentibus) *the Horned Serpent*.

IV. HÆMORRHOUS (ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος, *sanguine*, & ῥέω, *fluo*; quòd ad ejus morsum sanguis ab omnibus corporis humani meatibus effluat.) *the HÆMMORROID Serpent*.

V. SEPS (παρὰ τὸ σήπειν τὰς πληγείσας, quod vulneratorum ab hoc Serpente caro statim putredinem concipiat: unde Latine etiam Putria.) ad quam pertinere videtur *Aguasen Nierembergii*.

VI. ASPIS

Figure 32. Title page and the first page of the SERPENTIA chapter in *Exercitationes de Differentiis & Nominibus Animalium* (1677) by Charletono.

Oxoniae, E. Turatro Sheldoniano: [vi] + [xii] 1–119 + 1–106 + [i] + 1–78 + [iii] + [xv]. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10871319>. (Figure 32)

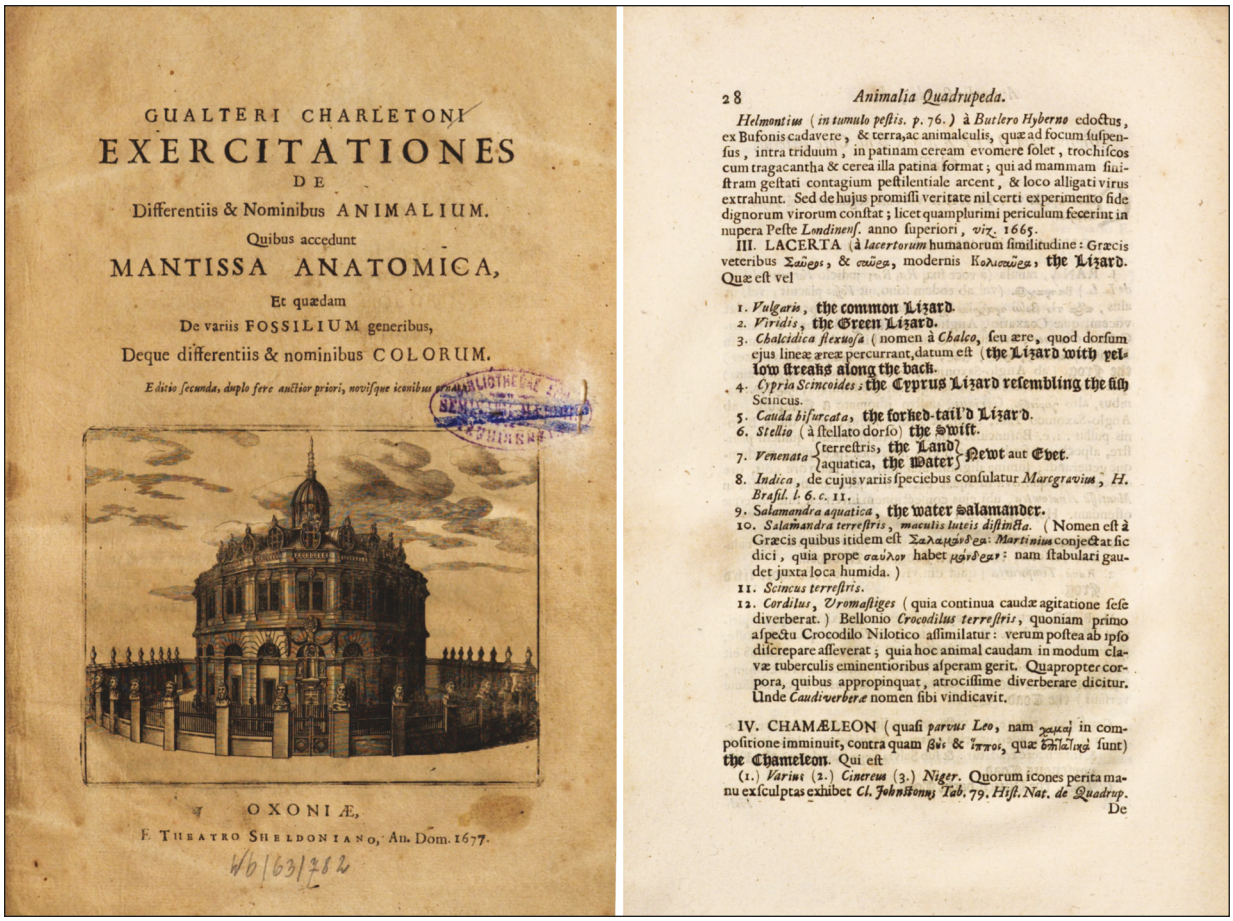
Abbreviated as Charlet. excercit.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749).

Contents: (27) ANIMALIA QUADRUPEDIA. Digitatorum oviparorum cute tectorum classis: Cutaneorum classis constituunt. I. *Rana, ranula.* 1. *Ranunculus viridis.* 2. *Rana temporaria*. II *Bufo, Rubeta.-Geophagus.-Gibbosus* (27). III. *Lacerta.* 1. *Vulgaris.* 2. *Viridis.* 3. *Chalcidica flexuosa.* 4. *Cypria Scincoides.* 5. *Cauda bifurcata.* 6. *Stellio.* 7. *Venenata* (*a. terrestris. B. aquatica*). 8. *Indica.* 9. *Salamandra aquatica.* 10. *Salamandra terrestris.* 11. *Scincus terrestris.* 12. *Cordilus Uromastiges* (28). IV. *Chamaeleon.* 1. *Varius.* 2. *Cinereus.* 3. *Niger.* (28-29) V. *Crocodilus.* (29) Oviparum crusta tectorum classis. I. *Testudo.* 1. *Terrestris.* 2. *Aquatica.* 3. *Marina.* 4. *Lutaria.* 5. *Cagado de terra.* (30-31) SERPENTIA. *Serpentium terrestrium classis.* I. *Vipera.* II. *Ammodytes.* III. *Cerastes.* IV. *Haemorrhous.* V. *Seps.* VI. *Aspis.* VII. *Dipsas.* VIII. *Scytale* (32). IX. *Amphisbaena.* X. *Caecilia.* XI. *Cenchrus.* XII. *Acontias.* XIII. *Drynus.* XIV. *Elaps.* XV (33, erroneously numbered as 36). *Anguis* (33-34). XVI. *Basiliscus. Serpentes terrestres exotici.* I. *Boicininga.* II. *Ibiboca.* III. *Boiguacu.* (34) IV. *Mater formicarum.* V. *Caninana. Serpentium aquaticorum classis.* I. *Hydrus.* II. *Natrix torquata.* III. *Natrix Rubetaria.* IV. *Boas.* V. *Caprimulgus anguis.* VI. *Serpens marinus Norvegicus.* VII. *Scolopendra marina.* VIII. *Hydrus marinus.* The list also includes "all the exotic snakes described by Nieremberg in books 7 and 12" (35).

Hast (1745: 8, 16, 25; 1749: 116, 122, 131): 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Charlet: excercit. pag. 35. *Natrix torquata*); 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Charlet. exercit. p. 29. *Crocodilus*); 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (Charlet. excercit. p. 28. *Salamandra terrestris maculis luteis distincta*).

3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV. in Hast (1745) was renamed 3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, cau-



GUALTERI CHARLETONI
EXERCITATIONES
DE
Differentiis & Nominibus ANIMALIUM.
Quibus accedunt
MANTISSA ANATOMICA,
Et quædam
De variis FOSSILIUM generibus,
Deque differentiis & nominibus COLORUM.
Editio secunda, duplo fere auctior priori, novisque iconibus ornata.

OXONIÆ,
E THEATRO SHELDONIANO, An. Dom. 1677.

28 *Animalia Quadrupeda.*

Helmontius (*in tumulo pestis. p. 76.*) à *Butlero Hyberno* edoctus, ex Bufonis cadavere, & terra, ac animalculis, quæ ad focum suspensus, intra triduum, in patinam ceream evomere solet, trochiscos cum tragacantha & cerea illa patina format; qui ad mammam sinistram gestati contagium pestilentiale arcent, & loco alligati virus extrahunt. Sed de hujus promissi veritate nil certi experimento fide dignorum virorum constat; licet quamplurimi periculum fecerint in nupera Peste *Londinens.* anno superiori, *viz.* 1665.

III. LACERTA (à *lacertorum* humanorum similitudine: Græcis veteribus Σαῦρος, & σαῦρα, modernis Κολισαῦρα, **the Lizard.** Quæ est vel

1. *Vulgaris*, **the common Lizard.**
2. *Viridis*, **the Green Lizard.**
3. *Chalcidica flexuosa* (nomen à *Chalco*, seu ære, quod dorsum ejus lineæ æreæ percurrant, datum est (**the Lizard with yellow streaks along the back.**
4. *Cypria Scincoides*; **the Cyprus Lizard resembling the fish** Scincus.
5. *Cauda bifurcata*, **the forked-tail'd Lizard.**
6. *Stellio* (à stellato dorso) **the Swift.**
7. *Venenata* {terrestris, **the Land**; aquatica, **the water**} **Newt** aut **Eyet.**
8. *Indica*, de cujus variis speciebus consulatur *Marcgravius*, *H. Brasil. l. 6. c.* 11.
9. *Salamandra aquatica*, **the water salamander.**
10. *Salamandra terrestris*, *maculis luteis distincta.* (Nomen est à Græcis quibus itidem est Σαλαμάνδρα: *Martinius* conjectat sic dici, quia prope σαύλον habet μάνδραν: nam stabulari gaudet juxta loca humida.)
11. *Scincus terrestris.*
12. *Cordilus*, *Uromastiges* (quia continua caudæ agitatione sese diverberat.) Bellonio *Crocodilus terrestris*, quoniam primo aspectu Crocodilo Nilotico assimilatur: verum postea ab ipso discrepare asseverat; quia hoc animal caudam in modum clavæ tuberculis eminentioribus asperam gerit. Quapropter corpora, quibus appropinquat, atrocissime diverberare dicitur. Unde *Caudiverberæ* nomen sibi vindicavit.

IV. CHAMÆLEON (quasi *parvus Leo*, nam χαμαὶ in compositione imminuit, contra quam βοῦς & ἵππος, quæ βαθυλογικὰ sunt) **the Chameleon.** Qui est

(1.) *Varius* (2.) *Cinereus* (3.) *Niger.* Quorum icones perita manu exsculptas exhibet *Cl. Johnstonus Tab. 79. Hist. Nat. de Quadrup.*

De

Figure 33. Title page and the *Lacerta* page of Charletono's *Onomasticon Zoicon* (1668).

dalibus LXXXV. in Hast (1749).

Comments: This is an augmented version of the *Onomasticon zoicon* (Charletono 1668, *vide infra*), and thus the reference to a second edition in the title. Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). See comments under *Charl. onom.*

Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Charletono, G. 1668. *Onomasticon Zoicon, Plerorumque Animalium Differentias & Nomina Propria pluribus Linguis exponens. Cui accedunt Mantissa Anatomica; Et quædam De Variis Fossilium Generibus.* Londini, Jacobum Allestry: [xiv] + [i] + [i] + [i] + [i] + 1–309 + [xxxiv], 10 Pl. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/318929>. (Figure 33)

Abbreviated as: Charl. onom.

Cited in Linnaeus (1745; 1746a; 1761).

Contents: (pp. 24-28) Digitatorum OVIPARORUM cute tectorum classis. Quadrupeda Ovipara vel cute teguntur, vel testa sive crusta. Cutaneorum classem: I. *Rana.* 1. *Ranunculus viridis, Calamites.* 2. *Rana temporaria* (24). II. *Bufo. Geophagus. Gibbosus* (24-25). III. *Lacerta.* 1. *Vulgaris.* 2. *Viridis.* 3. *Chalcidica flexuosa.* 4. *Cypria scincoides* (25). 5. *Cauda bifurcata.* 6. *Stellio.* 7. *Venenata.* 8. *Indica.* 9. *Salamandra aquatica.* 10. *Salamandra terrestris, macula luteis distincta.* 11. *Scincus terrestris. Cordilus (sic), Uromastiges* (26). IV. *Chamaeleon. Varius. Cinereus. Niger* (26-27). V. *Crocodilus (27). Oviparorum crusta tectorum classis. Digitata ovipara crustacea:* I. *Testudo. Terrestris. Aquatica* (27). *Marina* (27-28). *Lutaria. Cagado de terra.* (28). *Serpentium terrestrium classis.* I. *Vipera.* II. *Ammodytes.* III. *Cerastes.* IV. *Haemorrhous.* V. *Seps* (30). VI. *Aspis.* VII. *Dipsas.* VIII. *Scytale.* IX. *Amphisbaena.* X. *Caecilia.* XI. *Cenchrus.* XII. *Acontias* (31). XIII. *Drynus.* XIV. *Elaps.* XV. *Anguis.* XVI. *Basiliscus.* Serpentes terrestres exotici. I. *Boicininga.* II. *Ibiboca* (32). III.

Boiguacu. IV. *Mater formicarum.* V. *Caninana.* Serpentium aquaticorum classis. I. *Hydrus.* II. *Natrix torquata.* III. *Natrix Rubetaria* (33). IV. *Boas* (33-34). V. *Caprimulgus anguis.* VI. *Serpens marinus Norvegicus.* VII. *Scolopendra marina.* VIII. *Hydrus marinus.* The list also includes "all the exotic snakes described by Nieremberg in books 7 and 12" (35).

Linnaeus (1745: 154): Rana temporaria Charl. onom. 24.

Linnaeus (1746a: 94, 95, 96, 97): 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Charl. onom*. 24. Rana temporaria), 252. *Rana viridis* (*Charl. Onom*. 24. Ranunculus viridis), 253. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Charl. onom*. 24. Bufo), 256. LACERTA pedibus inermibus fissis (*Charl. onom*. 26. Salamandra aquatica), 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Charl. onom*. 30. Vipera), 258. ANGUIS squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Charl. Onom*. 31. Caecilia Typhlos), and 259. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII (*Charl. onom*. 33. Natrix torquata).

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 102, 104, 105): 275. RANA *Bufo* corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque (*Charl. onom*. 24. Bufo), 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Charl. onom*. 24. Rana temporaria), 280. RANA *arborea* corpore laevi subtus punctis contiguis tuberculato (*Charl. onom*. 24. Ranunculus viridis), 281. LACERTA *palustris* cauda ancipiti lanceolata (*Charl. onom*. 26. Salamandra aquatica), 286. COLUBER ♂ *Berus* scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Charl. onom*. 30. Vipera), 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*Charl. onom*. 33. Natrix torquata), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Charl. onom*. 31. Caecilia Typhlos).

Comments: As mentioned in the comment of the previous entry, this is the first edition of what subsequently was called *Exercitationes de Differentiis & Nominibus Animalium* (Charletono 1677). Linnaeus did not own a copy (Anonymous 1896), but could have consulted the copy of the 1668 Londini edition housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Cleyer [Cleijer], A. 1684. Observatio 7, De Serpente magno Indiæ Orientalis, Urobubalum deglutiente. *Miscellanea curiosa medico-physica Academiae naturae curiosorum sive Ephemerides Germanicae, Decuria II, Annus II*: 18-20, 1 Pl. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/163150>. (Figure 34)

Abbreviated as: Cleijero; Cleyerus in ephemeridibus germanicis.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: *Serpente magno Indiae Orientalis* (18).

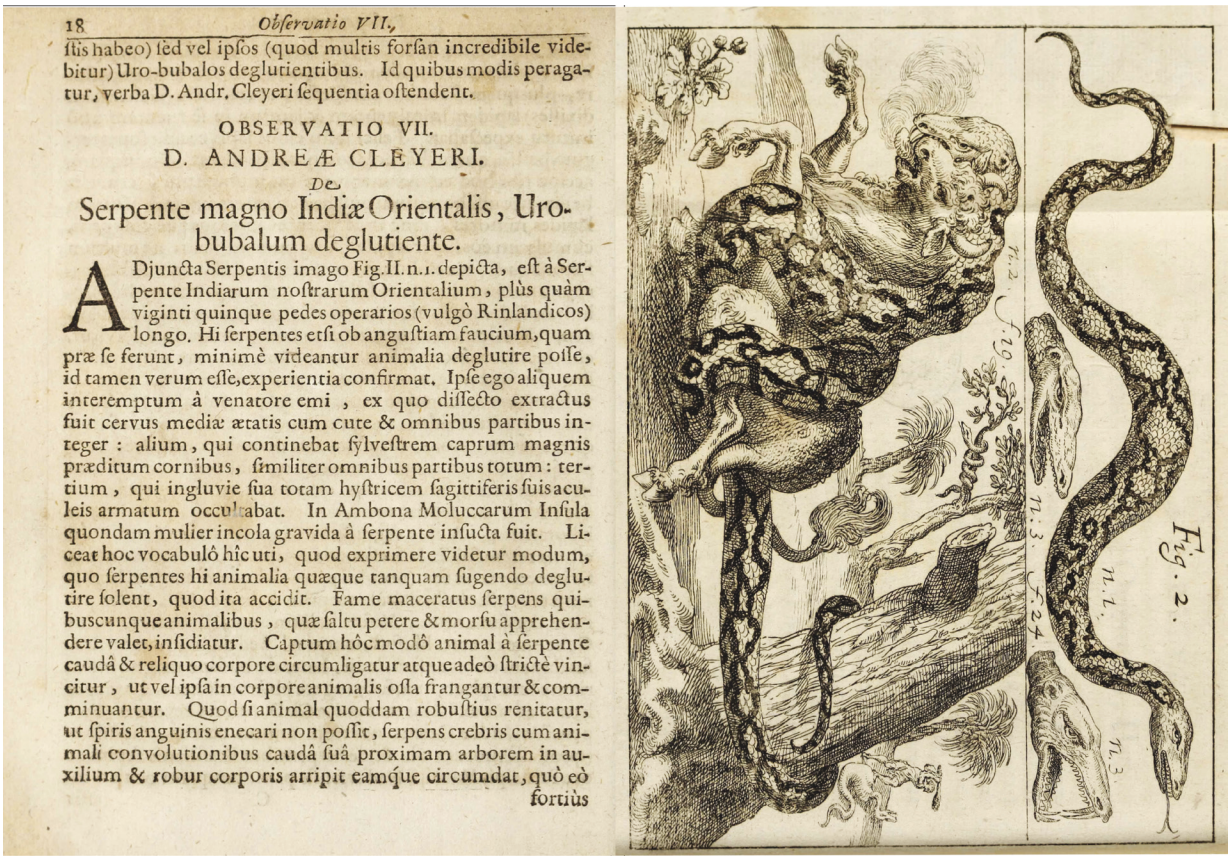
Acrell (1762: 4; 1763: 200): "... *Sic Cleijero teste, Boas Javanensis integrum deglutiit Bubalum*..." ["…Thus, according to Cleijer, a Javanese boa swallowed an entire buffalo…".

Sundius (1748: 22; 1749: 499): Secondary reference, taken from Kaempfer (1712). On page 22/499, when describing 16. CENCHRIS s*cutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV, Sundius noted: "... *Kaempf. amoenit. 573. Constringentes ita dicti, quia nescio quo astu quadrupedia circumdare & dum morianturconstringere, suffocata demum deglutire dicuntur: an uros etiam, quod Cleyerus in ephemeridibus germanicis retulit, id nunquam comperi, vel a fide dignis audivi*..." ["…Kaempfer, Amoenitates, p. 573. They are called 'constrictors' because, by some unknown cunning, they are said to wrap themselves around quadrupeds and squeeze them until they die, and then, once suffocated, swallow them. Whether they also do so with aurochs, as Cleyer reported in the German Ephemerides, I have never discovered nor heard from any trustworthy sources…"].

Comments: The publication was not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), still he could have consulted the journal in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have not covered the reference.

Clusius, C. 1605. *Exoticorum Libri Decem: Quibus Animalium, Plantarum, Aromatum, aliorumque peregrinorum Fructuum historiæ describuntur: Item Petri Bellonii Observationes, eodem Carolo Clusio interprete. Series operis post Præsationem indicabitur.* Raphelengii (Officina Platiniana): [iii] + [i] + [x] + 1–378 + [viii] + [i]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.7108>. (Figure 35)

Abbreviated as: Clus. exot.



18 *Observatio VII.*

ſtis habeo) ſed vel ipſos (quod multis forſan incredibile videbitur) Uro-bubalos deglutientibus. Id quibus modis peragatur, verba D. Andr. Cleyeri ſequentia oſtendent.

OBSERVATIO VII.

D. ANDREÆ CLEYERI.

De

Serpente magno Indiæ Orientalis, Urobubalum deglutiente.

ADjuncta Serpentis imago Fig. II. n. 1. depicta, eſt à Serpente Indiarum noſtrarum Orientalium, plùs quàm viginti quinque pedes operarios (vulgò Rinlandicos) longo. Hi ſerpentes etſi ob anguſtiam faucium, quam præ ſe ferunt, minimè videantur animalia deglutire poſſe, id tamen verum eſſe, experientia confirmat. Ipſe ego aliquem interemptum à venatore emi, ex quo diſſecto extractus fuit cervus mediæ ætatis cum cute & omnibus partibus integer: alium, qui continebat ſylveſtrem caprum magnis præditum cornibus, ſimiliter omnibus partibus totum: tertium, qui ingluvie ſua totam hyſtricem ſagittiferis ſuis aculeis armatum occultabat. In Ambona Moluccarum Inſula quondam mulier incola gravida à ſerpente inſucta fuit. Liceat hoc vocabulò hîc uti, quod exprimere videtur modum, quo ſerpentes hi animalia quæque tanquam ſugendo deglutire ſolent, quod ita accidit. Fame maceratus ſerpens quibuscunque animalibus, quæ ſaltu petere & morſu apprehendere valet, inſidiatur. Captum hôc modô animal à ſerpente caudâ & reliquo corpore circumligatur atque adeò ſtrictè vincitur, ut vel ipſa in corpore animalis oſſa frangantur & comminuantur. Quod ſi animal quoddam robuſtius renitatur, ut ſpiris anguinis enecari non poſſit, ſerpens crebris cum animali convolutionibus caudâ ſuâ proximam arborem in auxilium & robur corporis arripit eamque circumdat, quò eò fortiùs

Figure 34. Description and illustration of the Javanese boa by Cleyer (1684).

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: The fifth book of Clusius *Exoticorum* contains the description of two serpents and three lizards, *Serpens peregrinus* (ch. xviii, p. 113-114), *Serpens indicus* (ch. xix, p. 114-115), *Lacertus indicus* (ch. xx, p. 115), *Lacertus peregrinus alius* (ch. xxi, p. 115-116) and *Yvana* (ch. xxii, p. 115-118).

Hast (1745: 21; 1749: 127): 13. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX*. (Clus. exot. p. 115. tab. 115. *Lacertus indicus*).

Linnaeus (1758: 203, 207), Linné (1766: 262, 366): *Lacerta ameiva* (*Clus. exot.* 115. Lacertus indicus), *L. igvana* (*Clus. exot.* 116. Yvana).

Sundius (1748: 21; 1749: 498): 16. CENCHRIS *scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Serpens peregrinus. Clus. exot. 113).

Comments: *Exoticorum* is a collection of ten books written, edited, translated and/or commented on by Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Escluse). Includes six books by Clusius, a translation of Orta's Aromatum[69] (Book VII), Acosta[70] (Book IX), Monardes[71] (book. X), two by Belon[72] (see comments in *Bell. It.*) and an addendum[73]. Book VIII is not formally identified and can refer either

69 *Aromatum, et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium Historia, primum quidem a Garçia ab Horto, proregis Indiae Medico: Deinde Latino sermone in Epitomen contracta, & iconibus ad vivum expressis, locupletioribusque annotatiunculis illustrata a Carolo Clusio Atrebate. Quinta Editio, Castigatior & multis locis auctior.*

70 *Aromatum el medicamentorum in Orientali India nascentium Historia, plurimum lucis adferens iis quae a Doctore Garcia de Ort in hoc gener scripta sunt. Auctore Christophoro a Costa Medico & Cheirurgo: Caroli autem Clusi opera ex Hispanico sermone Latina facta, in Epitomen contracta, & ejes aliquot capita scholiis illustrata. Tertia editio, castigatior & actior.*

71 *Simplicium Medicamentorum ex novo orbe delatorum, quorum in Medicina usus est, Historia, Hispanico sermones tribus libris descripta a D. Nicolaeo Monardo, Hispanis Medico; Latio deinde donata, & in unum volumen contracta, insuper locupletibus scholiis iconibusque affabre depictis illustrata a Carolo Clusio Atrebate. Quarta Editio, auctior & castigatior ex postrema Auctoris recognitione.*

72 *Petri Bellonii Observationum Libri III, y De neglecta stirpium cultura Lib. I.*

73 *Auctarium ad Exoticorum Libros. Caroli Clusi Atrebatis*

Figure 35. Title page and page 115 of Clusius's *Exoticorum* (1605).

to *Indicarum aliquot historiae plantarum* or to *Perutiles quaedam in aromatum Garciae Historiam notae*, both by Clusius. Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). Book not housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Columna, F. 1616. *Minvs cognitarvm rariorumque nostro coelo orientium* ΕΚΦΡΑΣΙ*C. Qua non paucae ab antiquioribus, Theophrasto, Dioscoride, Plinio, Galeno, alijsq; descriptae, praeter illas etiam in* φυτοβασανω *editas disquiruntur ac declarantur. Item De aquatilibus aliisque nonnullis animalibus libellus.* Romae. Iacobum Mascardum. [iv] + [i] + [3]–340 + i–lxxiii + [vii]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.723>. (Figure 36)

Abbreviated as: Column. ecphr. 1.; Column. Ecphr. 1.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: The second part of this book, "*Aquatilium et terrestrium aliquot animalium, aliarumq. naturalium rerum observationes*", contains the description of one lizard, *Seps, lacerta Chalcidica, vel Chalcides* (xxxv-xxxviii; depicted in a plate on page xxxvi).

Linnaeus (1758: 210), Linné (1766: 370): *Lacerta Chalcides* (*Column. ecphr*. 1. *p.* 35. *t.* XXXVI. Seps, Lacerta Chalcidica s. Chalcides).

Linnaeus (1759: 74): 42. L. cauda tereti longa, pedibus tridactylis (*Column. Ecphr.* 1. *p.* 35. *t.* 36).

Comments: The numbers of pages and plates of the reference *Column. ecphr. 1. p. 35. t. xxxvi* are coincident with those of the second book (not the first), that has an independent pagination. Dundee (1994) noted the edition as "16??" explaining that he had not been able to read the date on the Readex microfiche at hand and also noted that the first edition was published in 1606. Heller (2007) mentioned two editions, 1606 and 1616, explaining that the latter had an additional

Figure 36. The second (1616) edition of Columna's Ekphrasis

chapter (*Minus cognitarum Stirpium pars altera*), but it was not clear which of them had been analyzed by Linnaeus. Finally, Bauer (2012), having failed to examine the edition of 1606, noted that the one of 1616 was consistent with Linnaeus references. Both editions (Columna 1606; 1616) have the same pagination. The 1606 edition was housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). The second edition (Columna 1616) is considered here as the source consulted by Linnaeus, given the presence of a copy in his personal library (Anonymous 1896).

Cuba, J. 1491. *Ortus sanitatis*. Moguntiae, Jakob Meydenbach: 454 unnumbered folios. <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/zuph7pum/items?canvas=4>. (Figure 37)

Abbreviated as: CUBA; Hortum edidit Sanitatis.

Cited in Österdam (1766; 1769).

Contents: The book is divided into six tractates, *De herbis*, *De animalibus vitam in terris ducentium*, *De avibus*, *De piscibus*, *De lapidibus* and *De urinis*, plus two tables, *Tabula* and *Tabula generalis*. The second *tractatus* contains descriptions of herpetological interest, including (8) *Affudio*, (10) *Aspis*, (17) *Borar* & *Botracha*, (17) *Bufo*, (36) *Cecula*, *Celidros* & *Cenchrus*, (37) *Cerastes*, (43) *Coluber*, (44) *Cocodrillus*, (48) *Draco*, (49) *Draconpedes*, (51) *Dypsa*, (60) *Emorrois*, *Enidros* & *Excedra*, (67) *Camaleon*, (69) *Glandola* & *Gnatrix*, (76) *Iaculus* & *Ipnalis*, (78) *Lacertus*, (103) *Nepa*, (104) *Neumon*, (121) *Pader*, *Parias* & *Prester*, (122) *Rana*, (123) *Rubetum sive Rubeta*, (129) *Salamandra*, (130) *Saura* & *Stellio*, (133) *Salpiga*, *Scitalis* & *Seps*, (134) *Sytula*, *Spues* & *Syrena*, (137) *Seta*, *Simultas* & *Solifuga*, (146) *Tyrus*, (148) *Tortuca* & *Taranta*, (154) *Vipera* and (162) *Ydra*.

Österdam (1766: 2, 3; 1769: 312, 313): "... *Prodeat speciminis loco gravis isto tempore auctor CUBA, qui statim post miseram hanc barbarae superstitionis noctem Hortum edidit Sanitatis, ubi facies historiae naturalis istius aevi ex fequentibus colligi potest*..." ["... Let Cuba, that weighty author of this time, come forth as an example, who immediately after that wretched night of barbaric superstition, published the Hortus Sanitatis, from which the features of the natural history of that age can be gathered from its contents..."], to include, among

Figure 37. First Latin edition of *Ortus* (or *Hortus*) *sanitatis* by Cuba (1491).

these fantastic animals, *Cerastus, Jaculus, Pegasus, Griphes, Opimachus, Lephus, Ono-Centaurus, Harpya, Draconcopedes, Basiliscus, Zitiron, Nereis, Platanista, Sirena, Monachus Marinus, Lepus Marinus, Koky,* and *Eqvus Marinus.*

Comments: *Ortus* (or *Hortus*) *sanitatis* was first published in German in 1485), under the title *Gart der Gesundheit* (Cuba 1485), and later translated to Latin in 1491 as *Ortus sanitatis*, and to French in 1500, as *Jardin de Santé* (Cuba 1500), to be frequently reedited (e.g. Cuba 1511). Linnaeus had a copy of the first Latin edition in his personal library (Anonymous 1896) and the same edition was additionally housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a), therefore should be the one consulted by Österdam. Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have not covered this reference.

Darelius, J.A. 1751. XXI. Lignum Colubrinum præside Dn. D. Carolo Linnæo, S:æ R:æ. Maj:s Archiatro, Med. & Botan. Profess. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Berolin. Stockholm. & Upsal. Socio; Pro Gradu Doctoris Rite Obtinendo, Publico Examini Submisit Johan. Andr. Darelius, W-Gothus. Upsaliæ 1749. Mart. 11. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 2: 100–125. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910.>. (Figure 38)

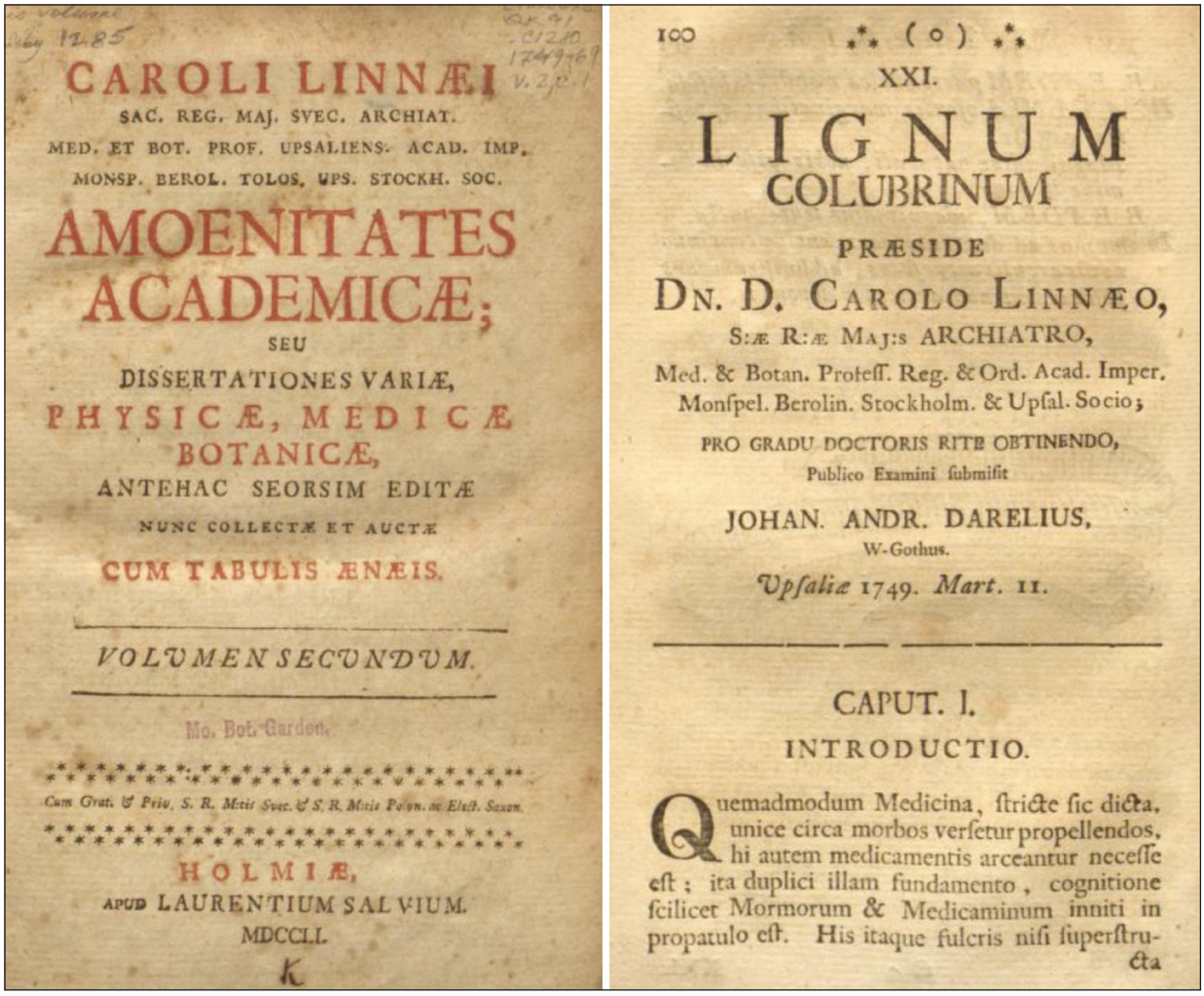
Abbreviated as: Amoen. Acad. V.; Amoen. Acad. 2.; Darelii Dissertatio.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763).

Contents: *Colubros*, *Aspidis, Cerastis, Viperae, Sepis, Dipsadis, Presteris* and *Naja* (p. 106 ss.).

Acrell (1762: 18; 1763: 215): "... *Nec multum in ejus adumbratione desudabimus, quod nobis in hac re otium fecit D:ni Adsessoris Darelii Dissertatio longe elegantissima...*". ["...Nor shall we toil much in its depiction, since in this matter, the most elegant Dissertation of the distinguished Assessor Darelius has spared us the effort... "].

Acrell (1762: 18-19):"...*Amoen. Acad. 2 p. 100. an itaque masticata Ruta sputum in Serpentem cadens eum paralyticum reddat, ne se contrahat, & sic ad mordendum reddat impotentem...*". ["...*Amoen. Acad. 2 p. 100*....Thus: does chewed rue, when its spittle falls upon a serpent, render it paralytic, so that it cannot contract itself, and thereby make it incapable of biting?..."]. In Acrell (1763: 216):"...


CAROLI LINNÆI
SAC. REG. MAJ. SVEC. ARCHIAT.
MED. ET BOT. PROF. UPSALIENS. ACAD. IMP.
MONSP. BEROL. TOLOS. UPS. STOCKH. SOC.
AMOENITATES ACADEMICÆ;
SEU
DISSERTATIONES VARIÆ,
PHYSICÆ, MEDICÆ BOTANICÆ,
ANTEHAC SEORSIM EDITÆ
NUNC COLLECTÆ ET AUCTÆ
CUM TABULIS ÆNÆIS.
VOLUMEN SECUNDUM.
Mo. Bot. Garden.
Cum Grat. & Priv. S. R. Mtis Suec. & S. R. Mtis Polon. ac Elect. Saxon.
HOLMIÆ,
APUD LAURENTIUM SALVIUM.
MDCCLI.

100 (o)
XXI.
LIGNUM COLUBRINUM
PRÆSIDE
DN. D. CAROLO LINNÆO,
S:Æ R:Æ MAJ:S ARCHIATRO,
Med. & Botan. Profeſſ. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper. Monſpel. Berolin. Stockholm. & Upſal. Socio;
PRO GRADU DOCTORIS RITE OBTINENDO,
Publico Examini ſubmiſit
JOHAN. ANDR. DARELIUS,
W-Gothus.
Upſaliæ 1749. *Mart.* 11.
CAPUT. I.
INTRODUCTIO.
Quemadmodum Medicina, ſtricte ſic dicta, unice circa morbos verſetur propellendos, hi autem medicamentis arceantur neceſſe eſt; ita duplici illam fundamento, cognitione ſcilicet Mormorum & Medicaminum inniti in propatulo eſt. His itaque fulcris niſi ſuperſtructa

Figure 38. Title page of the second, Stockholm volume of *Amoenitates Academicae* (1751) and first page of the dissertation *Lignum colubrinum*.

Amoen. Acad. V. II. p. 100...."

Comments: Dissertation originally published in 1749. Analyzed in Lindell (2012).
Linnaeus's own copy of *Amoenitates Academicae* is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same Stockholm edition of *Amoenitates Academicae*.

E. Brander (pers. comm. Erik Brander) **Not located.**

Abbreviated as E. Brander.

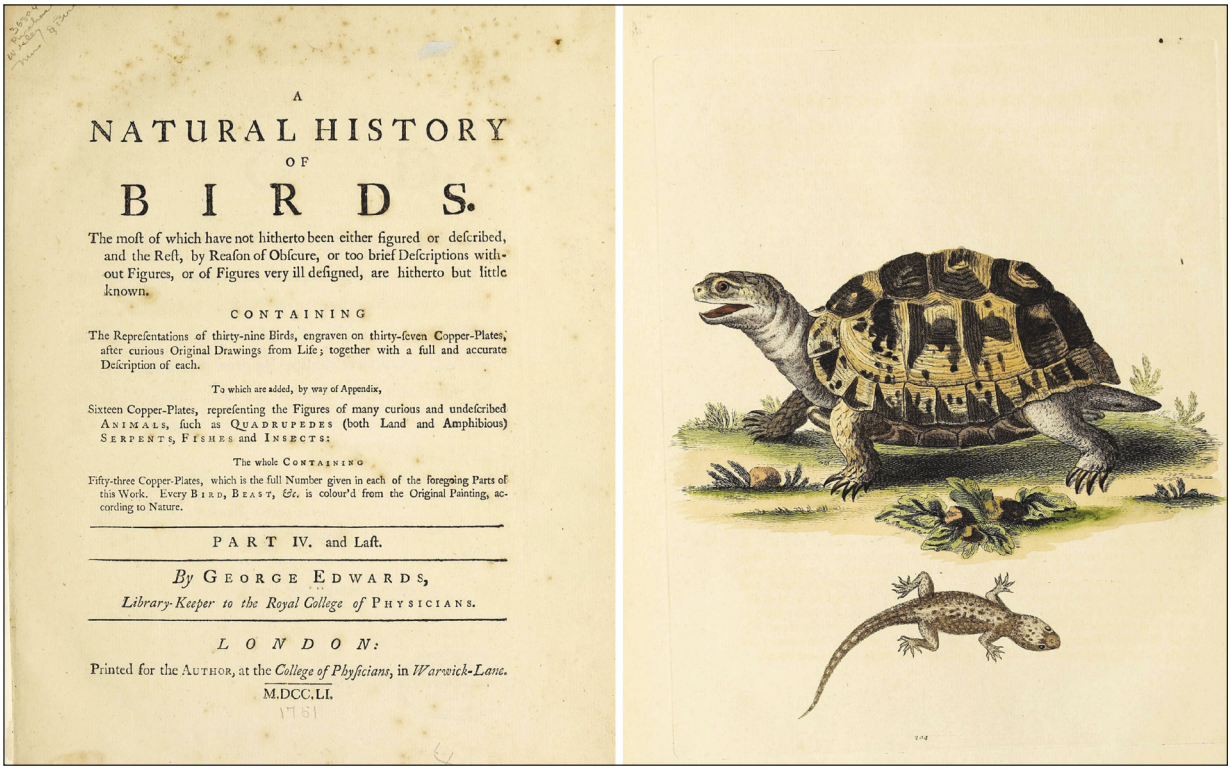
Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Probably a personal communication of Erik Brander (1722-1814) Swedish civil servant and scholar, between 1753–1766 consul in Algiers, who collected specimens mostly from Algiers and the western Mediterranean.

Linnaeus (1758: 202, 203, 219), Linné (1766: 361, 363, 379): *Lacerta mauritanica* (Habitat in Mauritania. E. Brander. ["…Lives in Mauritania. E. Brander...."]); *Lacerta algira* (Habitat in Mauritania. E. Brander. ["…Lives in Mauritania. E. Brander...."]); *Coluber maurus* (Habitat Algiriæ. E. Brander. ["…Lives in Algeria. E. Brander...."]).

Comments: References to Brander were recorded by Dundee (1944) and Heller (2007).

Edwards, G. 1751. *A natural history of birds. The most of which have not hitherto been either figured or described, and the rest, by reason of obscure, or too brief descriptions without figures, or of figures very ill designed, and hitherto but little known. Containing the representations of thirty-nine birds, engraved on thirty-seven copper-plates, after curious original drawings from life; together with a full and accurate description*



A
NATURAL HISTORY
OF
BIRDS.

The most of which have not hitherto been either figured or described, and the Rest, by Reason of Obscure, or too brief Descriptions without Figures, or of Figures very ill designed, are hitherto but little known.

CONTAINING

The Representations of thirty-nine Birds, engraven on thirty-seven Copper-Plates, after curious Original Drawings from Life; together with a full and accurate Description of each.

To which are added, by way of Appendix,

Sixteen Copper-Plates, representing the Figures of many curious and undescribed Animals, such as Quadrupedes (both Land and Amphibious) Serpents, Fishes and Insects:

The whole Containing

Fifty-three Copper-Plates, which is the full Number given in each of the foregoing Parts of this Work. Every Bird, Beast, &c. is colour'd from the Original Painting, according to Nature.

PART IV. and Last.

By George Edwards,
Library-Keeper to the Royal College of Physicians.

LONDON:
Printed for the Author, at the College of Physicians, in Warwick-Lane.
M.DCC.LI.

Figure 39. Title page and plate 204 from Part IV of *A natural history of birds* by Edwards (1751).

***of each. To which are added, by way of appendix, sixteen copper-plates, representing the figures of many curious and undescribed animals, such as quadrupedes (both land and amphibious) serpents, fishes and insects. The whole containing fifty-three copper-plates, which is the full number given in each of the foregoing parts of this work. Every bird, beast, &c. is colour'd from the original painting, according to nature. Part IV. and last.* London, Author-College of Physicians: [i] + [ii] + [ii] + 158–248, Pl. 158–210. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.148448>.** (Figure 39)

Abbreviated as Edw. av. [a].

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: The book contains eight species of reptiles, including two teratological: the thorn-tailed indian lizard (p./pl. 190), the large green and spotted lizard (p./pl. 202), the great spotted lizard, with a forked tail (p./pl. 203; the plate also contains drawings of three eggs, one of them hatching, and a juvenile.), the African land tortoise (p./pl. 204), the small spotted gray lizard (p./pl. 204), the land tortoise from Carolina (p./pl. 205), the sea tortoise (p./pl. 206) and the double-headed snake (p./pl. 207, with additional comments on p. 230).

Linnaeus (1758: 198; 202): *Testudo graeca* (Testudo tessellata minor africana. *Edw. av.* 204. *t.* 204.), *T. carolina* (Testudo tessellata minor caroliniana. *Edw. av.* 205. *t.* 205), *Lacerta turcica* (*Edw. av.* 204. *t.* 204. Lacerta minor cinerea maculata asiatica), *L. ameiva* (*Edw. av.* 202. *t.* 202, 203. Lacertus major viridis).

Linnaeus (1759: 71): 6. T. pedibus subdigitatis, testa gibba margine laterali obtusissimo, scutellis planiusculis (*Edw. av. t* . 204), 7. T. pedibus digitatis, testa gibba, cauda nulla (*Edw. av. t.* 205).

Linné (1766: 353, 362): *Testudo carolina* (Testudo tessellata minor caroliniana. *Edw. av.* 205. *t.* 205), *T. pusilla* (Testudo tessellata minor africana. *Edw. av.* 204. *t.* 204.), *Lacerta turcica* (*Edw. av.* 204. *t.* 204. Lacerta minor cinerea maculata asiatica), *L. ameiva* (*Edw. av.* 202. *t.* 202, 203. Lacertus major viridis).

Comments: Note that *Testudo tessellata minor africana*. *Edw. av.* 204. *t.* 204 is in the synonymy of *Testudo greca* in Linnaeus (1758) and in that of *T. pusilla* in Linné (1766).

Linnaeus did not own a copy of the book (Anonymous 1896) but could have analyzed the copy at the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source.

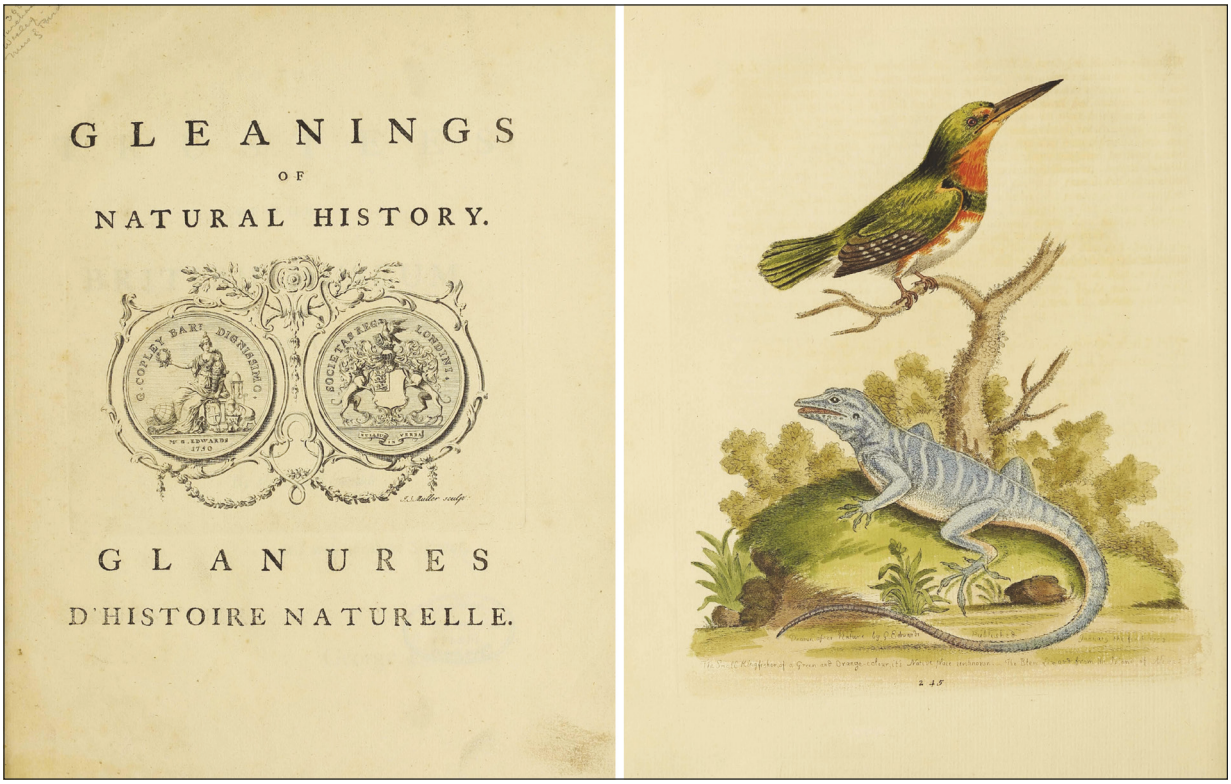


Figure 40. Title page and illustration of the blue lizard in Edwards's (1758) *Gleanings of Natural History*.

Edwards, G. 1758. *Gleanings of Natural History, exhibiting figures of quadrupeds, birds, insects, plants, &c. Most of which have not, till now, been either figured or described. With descriptions of seventy different subjects, designed, engraved and coloured after nature, on fifty copper-plate prints.* London, Printed for the author, at the Royal College of Physicians: 1--108, Pl. 211–260. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.153666>. (Figure 40)

Abbreviated as Edw. av. [b].

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Four lizards, The little brown lizard-Le petit lezard brun (p. 33, pl. 225); the blue lizard-le lezard bleu (p. 73, pl. 245); the Gernsey lizard-le lezard de Guernesey (p. 77, pl. 247) and the water lizard-le lézard d'eau (p. 105, pl. 259).

Linné (1766: 363, 367, 368, 369, 370): *Lacerta agilis* β (*Edw. av*. 3. *p*. 78. *t*. 247. *f*. 2), *L. calotes* (*Edw. av*. 74. *t*. 245), *L. marmorata* (*Edw. av*. *t*. 245. *f*. 2), *L. aurata* (*Edw. av. t*. 247), *L. palustris* (*Edw. av.* t. 259).

Comments: The reference *Edw. av. 3. p. 78. t. 247. f. 2.*, in the synonymy of *Lacerta agilis*, is erroneous; it is not in the third volume of "*Gleanings*..." (Edwards 1760), but in the first (Edwards 1758); reference to plate 247 is repeated in the synonymy of *Lacerta aurata*. The Little Brown Lizard could not be identified. Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896), and a copy was available at the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have not covered this reference.

Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz, G. 1535. *Primera parte de la historia natural y general de las indias yslas y tierra firme del mar oceano: escripta por el capitan gonçalo hernandez de Ouiedo y valdes: alcayde de la fortaleza de la ciudad de sancto Domingo de la ysla Española/y cronista dela sacra caesarea y catholicas majestades del emperador don carlos quinto de tal nōbre: rey de españa: y de la serenissima y muy poderosa reyna doña Juana su madre nuestros señores. Por cuyo mandado el auctor escriuio las cosas maravillosas que ay en diuersas yslas y partes destas indias y imperio de la corona real de castilla: segū lo vido y supo en veynte y dos años y mas que ha que biue y reside en aquellas partes. La qual historia comiença en el primero descubrimiento destas indias: y se contiene en veynte libros este primero volumen.* Sevilla, Juam Cronberger. [vi6] + CCXCII folios numbered in recto. <https://www.loc.gov/

Figure 41. First edition of Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz's The General and Natural History of the Indies (1535).

resource/rbc0001.2019gen06809>. (Figure 41)

Abbreviated as Ovied. amer.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Snakes, lizards and crocodiles are commented in Lib. XII, cap. VIII (folios 100, recto and verso, f. 101. recto); iguanas in Lib. XIII. cap. III (f. 102 verso, f. 103 recto and verso); turtles in Lib. XIII. cap. IX (f. 105 verso, f. 106, recto), and frogs and toads in Lib. XIII. cap. XI (f. 108 recto).

Hast (1745: 18; 1749: 124): 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Ovied. amer. lib. 13. c. 3. *Yvana*).

Linnaeus (1758: 207), Linné (1766: 366): *Lacerta igvana* (Ovied. amer. l. 13. c. 3).

Comments: From this first contribution on the Neotropical fauna Linnaeus (1758) Linné (1766) included only *yvana serpiēte* (102v-103rv), in the synonymy of *Lacerta igvana*. Three editions were suggested as the consulted, including that of 1526 (AnimalBase) (Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz 1526), 1535 (AnimalBase, Heller, 2007), and 1547 (Dundee, 1994) (*fide* Bauer, 2012) (Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz 1547). *I.u.ana* is restricted to a short paragraph on Chapter LVI, folio XXXII recto of the 1526 edition (which is not divided into "books"), and therefore is excluded as the source. In the other two editions (Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz 1535; 1547) iguana is in Book XIII, folio CII. As neither of these two editions were recorded in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b), arbitrarily the oldest is considered as the Linnaean source (Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz 1535). It is possible that this was a secondhand reference, probably taken from Hernandez (1651).

Feuillé, L. 1714a. ***Journal des observations physiques, mathematiques et botaniques. Faites par l'ordre du Roy sur les Côtes Orientales de l'Amerique Meridionale, & dans les Indies Occidentales, depuis l'année 1707. jusques en 1712. Tome Premier*****. Paris, Pierre Giffart: [iv] + [iv] + [v] + [1]–504, 12 Pl., 1 map.<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96363749>.** (Figure 42)

Abbreviated as: Fevill. peruv. 2.; Fewill. peruv. 2.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: *Salamandra aquatique et noire* (abbreviated as *Salamandra aquatique* in the plate), described on pages 319-320, with one plate between pages 318-319, explicitely numbered as page 319.

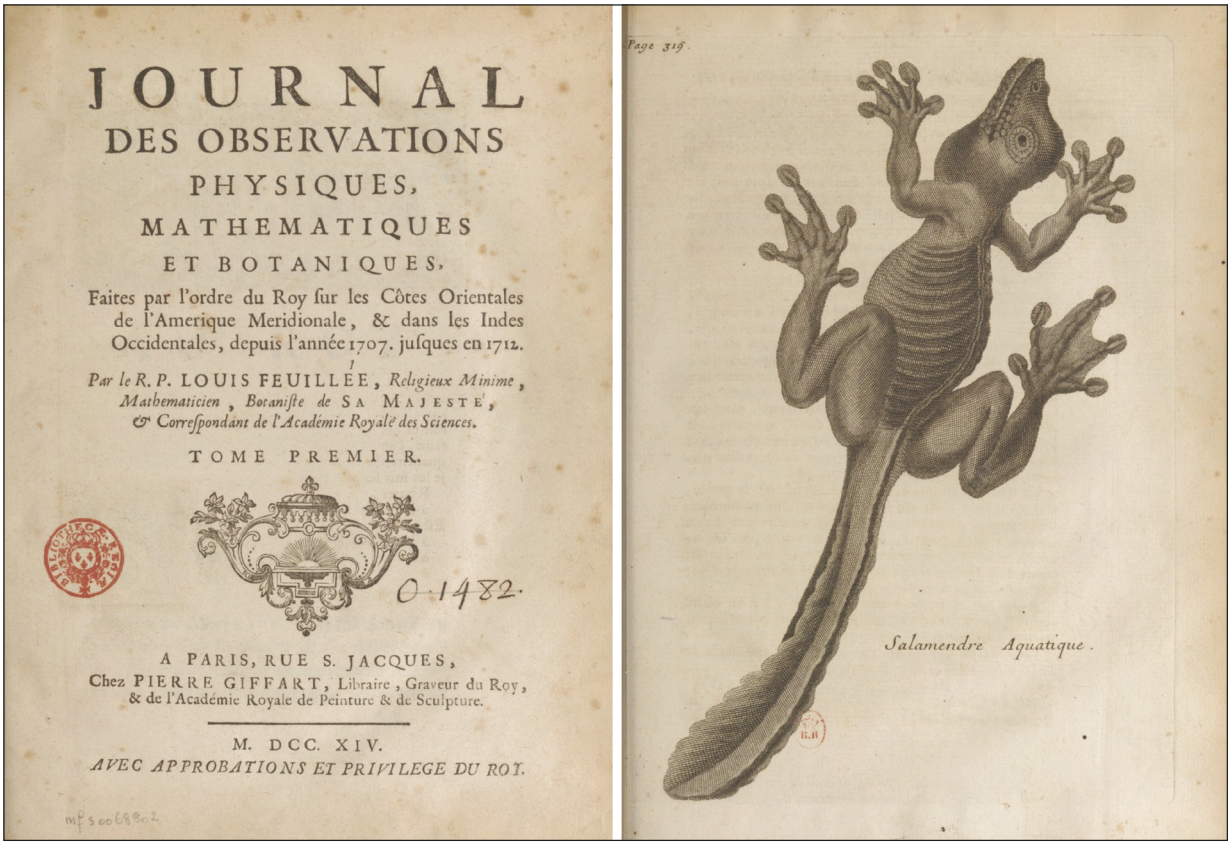
Linnaeus (1758: 200): [*Lacerta*] *Caudiverbera* (*Fevill. peruv.* 2. *p.* 319. *t.* 319).

Linné (1766: 359): [*Lacerta*] *Caudiverbera* (*Fevill. peruv.* 2. *p.* 319. *t.* 319), [*Lacerta*] *Caudiverbera* (*Fewill. peruv.* 2. *p.* 319. *t.* 319).

Linnaeus (1759: 72): 2. L. cauda depresso-plana pinnatifida, pedibus palmatis (*Fevill. peruv.* 2. *t.* 319).

Comments: Linnaeus's reference is erroneous. The description is in the first volume of Feuille's Journal; the second (Feuillé, 1714b) runs from page 503 to 768. Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). The similarity of the error with that of Seba (1734) justifies the assumption that this is a secondhand reference.

Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source.



JOURNAL
DES OBSERVATIONS
PHYSIQUES,
MATHEMATIQUES
ET BOTANIQUES,
Faites par l'ordre du Roy ſur les Côtes Orientales de l'Amerique Meridionale, & dans les Indes Occidentales, depuis l'année 1707. juſques en 1712.
Par le R. P. LOUIS FEUILLÉE, Religieux Minime, Mathematicien, Botaniſte de SA MAJESTÉ, & Correſpondant de l'Académie Royale des Sciences.
TOME PREMIER.
A PARIS, RUE S. JACQUES,
Chez PIERRE GIFFART, Libraire, Graveur du Roy, & de l'Académie Royale de Peinture & de Sculpture.
M. DCC. XIV.
AVEC APPROBATIONS ET PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

Page 319.
Salamendre Aquatique.

Figure 42. Title page and page 319 of the 1714 book by Louis Éconches Feuillée (1660–1732) describing his observations in South America and the Antilles.

Geoffroy, C.-J. & F.J. Hunauld. 1740. Mémoire dans lequel on examine si l'huile d'olive est un spécifique contre la morsure des viperes. *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences. Année M.DCCXXXVII. Avec les mémoires de mathématique et de physique*: 183–205. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/4004>. (Figure 43)

Abbreviated as *Act. paris. 1737.*

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763).

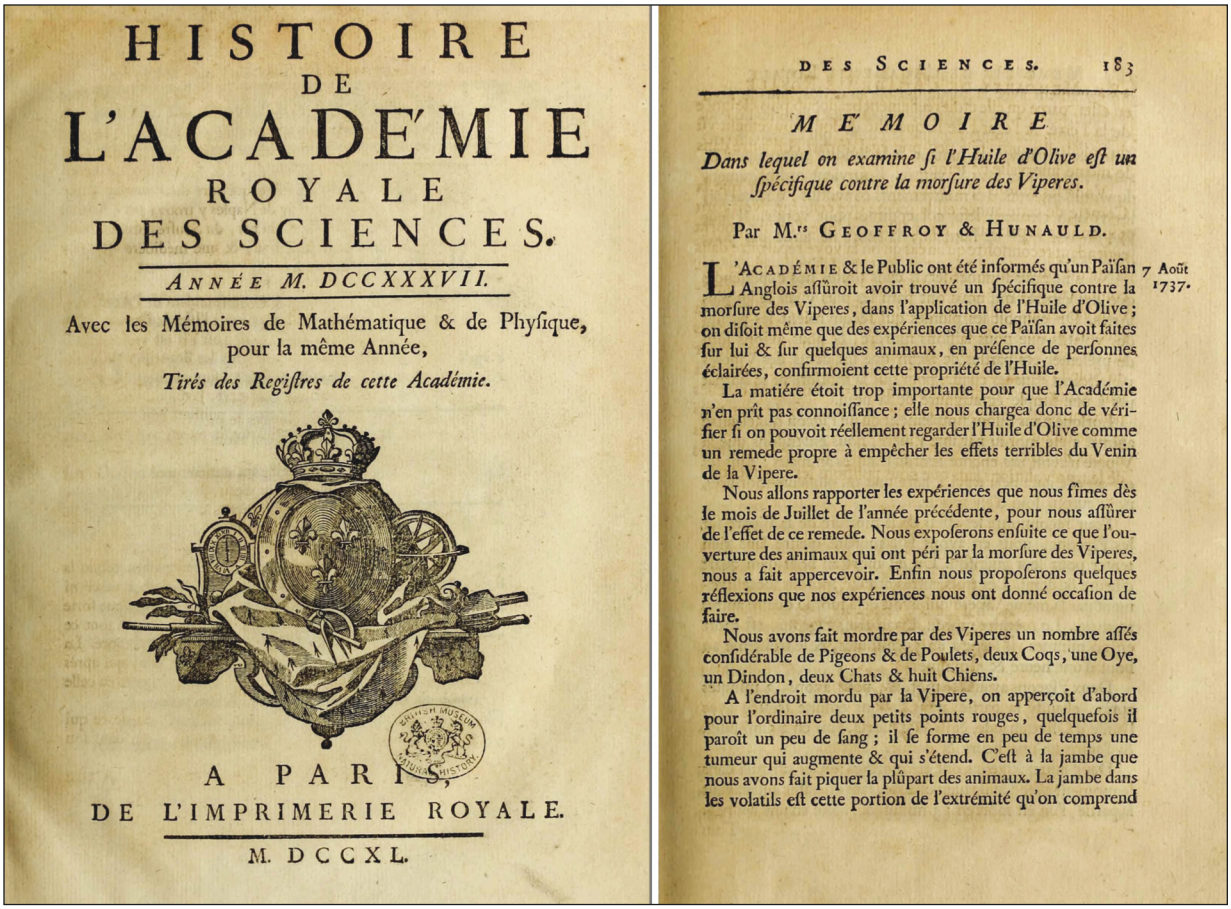
Contents: Work on the properties of olive oil (or salad oil) as an antidote against snake bites.

Acrell (1762: 16; 1763: 213): "... *Apud Europaeos* olei olivarum, *vel Olei cujusvis expressi, usus est fortissimus. Propinatur autemo eum illud majori copia ac ad semilibram interdum & amplius, e bibendum, dum simul leasa pars hoc eodem olo saepius & copiosissime perungitur. De hoc ipso medicamento, non minus ac de felici ejus effectu, consuli possunt* Acta Anglicana p. 443. Act. paris. 1737...". ["...Among Europeans, the use of olive oil—or of any expressed oil—is very widespread. It is administered orally, and indeed in rather large quantity, sometimes up to half a pound or more to be drunk, while at the same time the affected part is repeatedly and most liberally anointed with this same oil. On this very remedy, and equally on its successful effect, one may consult the Acta Anglicana, p. 443, and the Acta Parisiensia, 1737..."].

Comments: Although the article was presented in 1737, the volume containing it was published in 1740.

Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), but journal available in Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Gesner, C. 1586. *Historiæ Animalium Liber II. quiest de Quadrupedibus Oviparis. Nvncdenvo recognitvs ac plvribvs in locis ab ipso authore ante obitum emendatus & actus, atq; aliquot novis Iconibus & descriptionibus locupletatus, ac denique brevibus in margine Annotationibus illustratus. Adiecti svnt indices alphabetici vndecim super nominibus Oviparorum quadrupedum in totidem linguis diversis: & ante illos Enumeratio co ordine quo in hoc volumine continentur.*



HISTOIRE DE L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE DES SCIENCES.

ANNÉE M. DCCXXXVII.

Avec les Mémoires de Mathématique & de Physique, pour la même Année,

Tirés des Registres de cette Académie.

A PARIS, DE L'IMPRIMERIE ROYALE.

M. DCCXL.

DES SCIENCES. 183

MEMOIRE

Dans lequel on examine si l'Huile d'Olive est un spécifique contre la morsure des Viperes.

Par M.rs Geoffroy & Hunauld.

L'Académie & le Public ont été informés qu'un Païsan Anglois assûroit avoir trouvé un spécifique contre la morsure des Viperes, dans l'application de l'Huile d'Olive; on disoit même que des expériences que ce Païsan avoit faites sur lui & sur quelques animaux, en présence de personnes éclairées, confirmoient cette propriété de l'Huile. 7 Août 1737.

La matiére étoit trop importante pour que l'Académie n'en prît pas connoissance; elle nous chargea donc de vérifier si on pouvoit réellement regarder l'Huile d'Olive comme un remede propre à empêcher les effets terribles du Venin de la Vipere.

Nous allons rapporter les expériences que nous fîmes dès le mois de Juillet de l'année précédente, pour nous assûrer de l'effet de ce remede. Nous exposerons ensuite ce que l'ouverture des animaux qui ont péri par la morsure des Viperes, nous a fait appercevoir. Enfin nous proposerons quelques réflexions que nos expériences nous ont donné occasion de faire.

Nous avons fait mordre par des Viperes un nombre assés considérable de Pigeons & de Poulets, deux Coqs, une Oye, un Dindon, deux Chats & huit Chiens.

A l'endroit mordu par la Vipere, on apperçoit d'abord pour l'ordinaire deux petits points rouges, quelquefois il paroît un peu de sang; il se forme en peu de temps une tumeur qui augmente & qui s'étend. C'est à la jambe que nous avons fait piquer la plûpart des animaux. La jambe dans les volatils est cette portion de l'extrémité qu'on comprend

Figure 43. Title page of the 1740 volume of *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences* and that of the snakebite treatment paper by Geoffroy & Hunauld.

Francofvrdi, Roberti Cambieri: [ii] + [ii] + 1-119. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.61119>. (Figure 44)

Abbreviated as: Gesner. quadr.; Gesn. ovip.; Gesn. quadr.; Gesn. ov.

Cited in Hast (1745, 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1754; 1758; 1759; 1761; 1763), Linné (1766, 1772), Sidrén (1750; 1751).

Contents: *De Chalcide seu chalcidica lacerta* (1-2), *De Chamaeleonte* (2-9), *De Crocodilo* (9-23), *De Crocodilo Nilotico* (23), *De Crocodilo terrestri*, *De AEgyptiaco vel Arabico* (23), *De Crocodilo terrestri Bresiliensi* (24), *De Scinco, De quem & Crocodilium terrestrem vocant* (24-31), *De Scinco ex Bellonio* (31), *De Lacerto aquatico* (31-32), *De Lacerto* (32-40), *De Lacerto viridi* (40-43), *De Lacertis diversis* (43-45), *De Rana aquatica et innoxia: et de iis quae ad ranas quasuis in genere spectant* (46-60), *De Ranis temporariis vel aestivis* (60), *De Ranunculo viridi, De sive Rana calamite aut dryopete* (60-63), *De Rana sive Rubeta Gibbosa, & aliis mutis ranis in genere* (63-64), *De Ranis Rubetis tum palustris tum terrestris* (64-79), *De Rana venenata fossili* (79), *De Ranis. Rursus ex Bellonio* (79), *De Cordula sive Cordulo* (79-80), *De Salamandra* (80-90), *De Stellione* (90-97), *De Testudinibus in genere* (97-107), *De Testudine terrestri* (107-110), *De Testudinibus quae in aqua dulci vivunt sive palustri sive fluente* (110-112), *De Testudine marina* (112-118), *De Testudinibus rursus ex Bellonio* (118-119) and *De Testudine polypode* (119).

Hast (1745: 16, 25, 32; 1749: 122, 131, 138): 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Gesner. quadr. p. 9. *Crocodilus*); 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (Gesner. quadr. p. 80. *Salamandra*); 22. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum duobus, plantarum unico* (Gesner. quadr. p. 78. *Testudo marina*).

Linnaeus (1746a: 94, 96): 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Gesn. ovip*. 46. Rana aquatica sive innoxia), 252. *Rana viridis* (*Gesn. ovip*. 60.

CONR. GESNERI
TIGVRINI, MEDICINÆ
ET PHILOSOPHIAE PROFESSORIS
in Schola Tigurina, Historiæ Animalium Liber II.
qui est de Quadrupedibus Ouiparis.

NVNC DENVO RECOGNITVS AC PLVRIBVS IN locis ab ipso authore ante obitum emendatus & auctus, atq; aliquot nouis Iconibus & descriptionibus locupletatus, ac denique breuibus in margine Annotationibus illustratus.

ADIECTI SVNT INDICES ALPHABETICI VNDECIM super nominibus Ouiparorum quadrupedum in totidem linguis diuersis: & ante illos Enumeratio eo ordine quo in hoc volumine continentur.

FRANCOFVRDI
Ex officina Typographica Ioannis Wecheli,
Impensis Roberti Cambieri.
MDLXXXVI.
Cum gratia & priuilegio S. Cæsareæ Maiestatis ad decennium.

10 De Quadrup. Ouiparis

Arabicæ prædictæ non abludunt. Crocodili Ægyptij *champsa* (χάμψας, ἢ χάμψαι legeres, accederet vox ad Arabicam *temsa*) vocantur: Iones appellauêre crocodilos, illi generi crocodilorum quod apud eos in sepibus gignitur, quantum ad corporis speciem, comparantes, Herodotus. Cum legissem apud Herodotum in Euterpe, ab Ægyptijs olim *champsæ* appellatos: rogaui Turcum quendã, ecquid ei nunc esset nominis? Respondit: *Kimpsac*. Iul. Scaliger. Videtur autem Herodotus loco citato per crocodilos in sepibus nascentes, scincos, id est, crocodilos terrestres, aut stelliones, aut aliud lacerti genus intelligere: vt & Varinus, aut quisquis est à quo ille desumpsit hæc verba, Crocodilus animalculum paruum est. Scribitur autem Græcè Κροκόδιλος, & quandoque Κροκόδειλος, per enallagen literarum, Idem. Apud Paulũ Ægineta μικροκροκόδιλος legimus, hoc est fluuiatiles è Nilo, ad differentiam terrestrium quos proximè nominarat. Δοδείτης, crocodilus, Hesychius & Varinus. In Nilo sunt animalia quædam ad similitudinem draconis, vulgò *Cocatrix* vocant, Haithonus Armenus: subijcit autem statim crocodili descriptionem. Albertus & alij Barbari scriptores *Cocodrillum* nominant. Germani, Illyrij, & aliæ gentes, Europæ saltem, pleræq; omnes crocodili nomen retinent.

B.

Quibus in regionibus reperiantur crocodili. Crocodilum Ægyptus fert, Aristot. Crocodilum habet Nilus, terra pariter ac flumine infestum, Plinius. est enim amphibius, vt in C. dicam. Nilus hippopotamos, crocodilosq; vastas beluas gignit, Mela. Ingens eorum multitudo est in Nilo & stagnis propinquis, Diodorus Siculus. Mauritaniæ flumina crocodilos habent, Strabo. Bambotum amnis iuxta Atlantem Africæ montem, crocodilis & hippopotamis refertus est, Plinius lib. 5. cap. 1. & Solin. cap. 27. Ibidem Plinius Datat Mauritaniæ flumen memorat, in quo crocodili gignãtur. Scincos in Libya duos cubitos excedere Pausanias existimat, Hermolaus. atqui Pausaniæ locus in Atticis hîc est, Aqua iuxta Atlantẽ turbida est, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ τῶν κροκοδείλων (videtur numerus deesse in excusis codicibus, Hermolaus legit δυεῖν ἢ τριῶν) ἐκ εἰδότες. id est, & iuxta fontẽ crocodili erant non minores duobus cubitis. (Abrahamus Lœscherus vertit, *cubito vno non minores*) accedentibus autem hominibus mergebantur in fontem. Vnde apparet Pausaniam hîc crocodilis proprie dictis, id est aquaticis vel amphibijs loqui, non autem de scincis qui terrestres crocodili sunt. In Bithynia Chalcedonis agro ferè, crocodilos minutos quodam fonte nasci qui *Acaritis* dicatur, Strabo meminit, fortasseq; pro scincis accipit, quòniam paruos esse tradat, Hermolaus simili vt supra errore lapsus. Syagro maximo totius orbis promontorio in Arabia thurifera, propinqua est insula Dioscoridis (cuius & Stephanus meminit) in qua crocodili & viperæ plurimæ sunt, Arrianus. Crocodili in Nilo & alijs quibusdam & Indiæ fluuijs versantur, Albertus. Apollonius & socij cum per flumen Indum nauigio vehterentur, equos fluuiales complures ferunt sibi occurrisse, multos etiam crocodilos illis simillimos qui in Nilo reperiuntur, Philostratus.

In Nilo. Bamboto Africæ fluuio, Datat Mauritaniæ flumine. *In Bithynia. In insula Syagro Africæ promontorio propinqua. In Indiæ fluuiis.*

Species duæ. ¶ Crocodilum maiorem quanquam amphibium, authores tamen (Aristoteles) sæpe fluuiatilem cognominant, ad differentiam terrestris, qui in terra tantum agit, multo minor, & scincus etiam vocatur.

Figure 44. Title page and page 10 of the chapter *De Crocodilo* from the second edition (1586) of *Historiæ Animalium Liber II. quiest de Quadrupedibus Oviparis* by Gesner.

Ranunculus viridis s. Dryopetes), 257. LACERTA pedibus inermibus fissis, manibus tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, cauda teretiuscula (*Gesn. ovip*. 31. Lacertus aquaticus).

Linnaeus (1754: 40, 45): *Lacerta crocodilus* (Gesn. quadr. 9), *Lacerta salamandra* (Gesn. quadr. 80).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 200, 205, 206, 212), Linné (1766: 350, 359, 371, 370, 357): *Testudo mydas* (*Gesn. quadr.* 78. Testudo marina), *Lacerta crocodrilus* (*Gesn. quadr.* 9. Crocodilus), *L. salamandra* (*Gesn. quadr.* 80 Salamandra), *L. aquatica* (*Gesn. ovip.* 31. Lacertus aquaticus), *Rana temporaria* (*Gesn. ovip.* 46. Rana aquatica innoxia).

Linnaeus (1759: 75): 13. R. dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Gesn. ov.* 46).

Linnaeus (1761: 102): 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Gesn. ovip*. 46. Rana aquatica sive innoxia), 280. RANA *arborea* corpore laevi subtus punctis contiguis tuberculato (*Gesn. ovip*. 60. Ranunculus viridis s. Dryopetes).

Linnaeus (1763: 12): Rana aquatica seu innoxia *Gesn. ovip*. 46

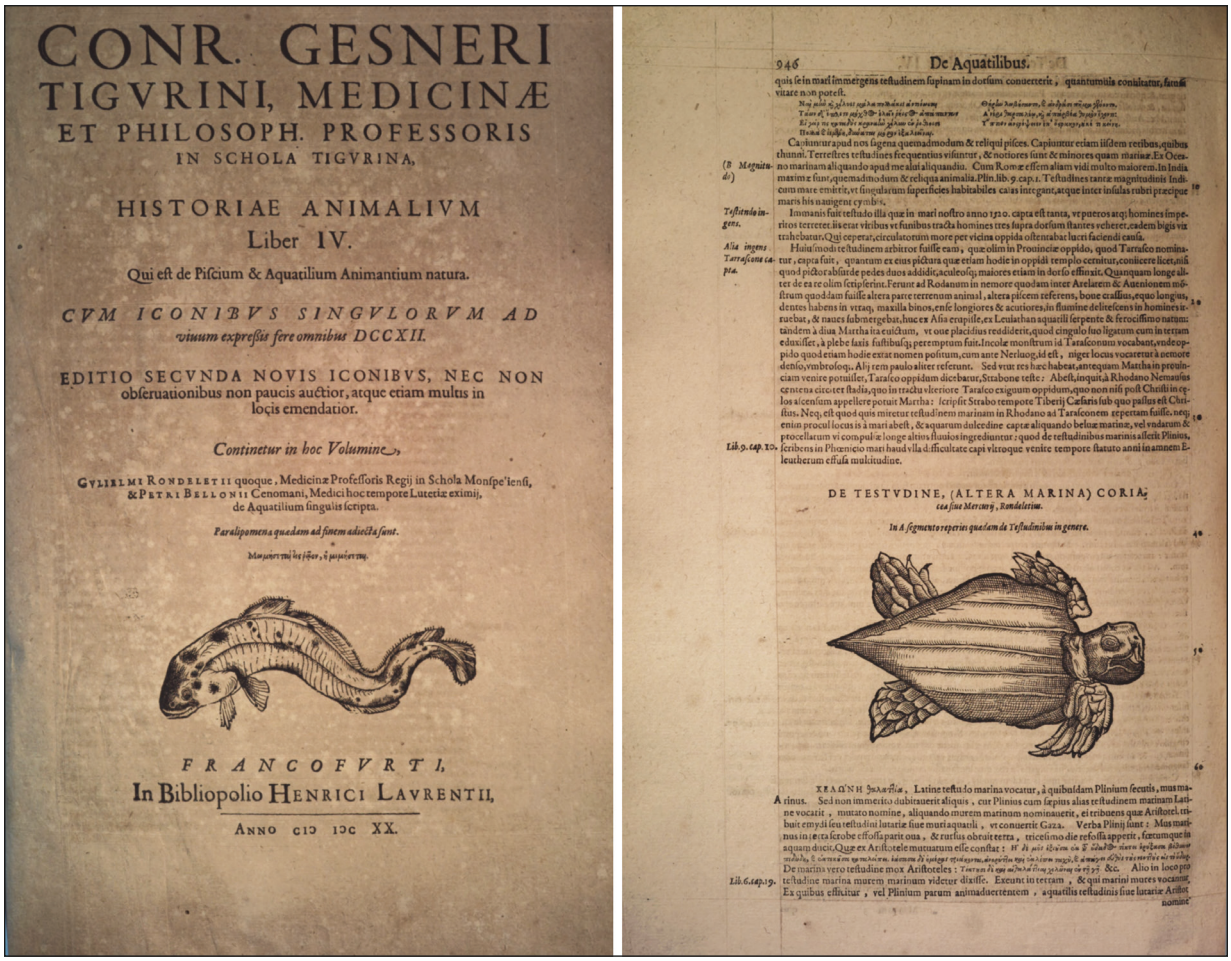
Linné (1772: 18): Rana aquatica s. innoxia. *Gesn. ovip.* 46.

Sidrén (1750: 11; 1751: 318): RANA manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice longiore (Rana aquatica s. innoxia. *Gesn. ovip.* 46).

Comments: Hast (1745: 32; 1749: 138), in the characterization of *Testudo unguibus acuminatis, palmarum duobus, plantarum unico* erroneously noted the reference Gesner. quadr. p. 78. *Testudo marina*, and as such was transcribed by Linnaeus (1748a, 1758). No turtle is described in page 78 of any of Gesner's works.

Gessner (1586) depicted *Testudine marina* on page 113 of his work (Krecsák 2025).

Dundee (1994) considered as the Linnaean source the edition of 1586, while Heller (2007) considered that of 1554. Although Linnaeus had a copy of the third edition in his personal library (Gesner



CONR. GESNERI
TIGVRINI, MEDICINÆ
ET PHILOSOPH. PROFESSORIS
IN SCHOLA TIGVRINA,

HISTORIAE ANIMALIVM
Liber IV.

Qui est de Piſcium & Aquatilium Animantium natura.

CVM ICONIBVS SINGVLORVM AD vivum expreſſis fere omnibus DCCXII.

EDITIO SECVNDA NOVIS ICONIBVS, NEC NON obſeruationibus non paucis auctior, atque etiam multis in locis emendatior.

Continetur in hoc Volumine,

GVLIELMI RONDELETII quoque, Medicinæ Profeſſoris Regij in Schola Monſpe'ienſi, & PETRI BELLONII Cenomani, Medici hoc tempore Lutetiæ eximij, de Aquatilium ſingulis ſcripta.

Paralipomena quædam ad finem adiecta ſunt.

FRANCOFVRTI,
In Bibliopolio HENRICI LAVRENTII,
ANNO CIↃ IↃC XX.

946 De Aquatilibus.

quis ſe in mari immergens teſtudinem ſupinam in dorſum conuerterit, quantumuis conitatur, ſuma vitare non poteſt.

Capiuntur apud nos ſagena quemadmodum & reliqui piſces. Capiuntur etiam iiſdem retibus, quibus thunni. Terreſtres teſtudines frequentius viſuntur, & notiores ſunt & minores quam marinæ. Ex Oceano marinam aliquando apud me alit aliquandiu. Cum Romæ eſſem aliam vidi multo maiorem. In India maxime ſunt, quemadmodum & reliqua animalia. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 1. Teſtudines tantæ magnitudinis inſulas cum mare emiſit, vt ſingularum ſuperficies habitabiles cæſas intergant, atque inter inſulas rubri præcipue maris his nauigent cymbis.

(B Magnitudo)

Immanis fuit teſtudo illa quæ in mari noſtro anno 1510. capta eſt tanta, vt pueros atq; homines imperitos terreret, iis erat vtribus vt funibus tracta homines tres ſupra dorſum ſtantes vehereret, eadem bigis vix trahebantur. Qui coperat, circulatorum more per vicina oppida oſtentabat lucri faciendi cauſa.

Teſtiendo ingens.

Alia ingens Tarraſcone capta.

Hiuſmodi teſtudinem arbitror fuiſſe eam, quæ olim in Prouinciæ oppido, quod Tarraſco nominatur, capta fuit, quantum ex eius pictura quæ etiam hodie in oppidi templo cernitur, coniicere licet, niſi quod pictor abſurde pedes duos addidit, aculeoſq; maiores etiam in dorſo effinxit. Quanquam longe aliter de ea re olim ſcripſerint. Ferunt ad Rodanum in nemore quodam inter Arelatem & Auenionem moſtrum quodam fuiſſe altera parte terrenum animal, altera piſcem referens, bone craſſus, equo longius, dentes habens in vtraq; maxilla binos, enſe longiores & acutiores, in flumine delitiſcens in homines iturbat, & naues ſubintergebat, hucet Aſia erupiſſe, ex Leuiathan aquatili ſerpente & ferociſſimo natum: tandem à diua Martha ita euictum, vt oue placidius reddideritq, quod cingulo ſuo ligatum cum in terram eduxiſſet, à plebe ſaxis fuſtibuſq; peremptum fuit. Incolæ monſtrum id Tarraſconum vocabant, vnde oppido quod etiam hodie exrat nomen poſitum, cum ante Nerluog, id eſt, niger locus vocaretur à nemore denſo, vmbroſoq.. Alij tem paulo aliter referunt. Sed vtut res hæc habeat, antequam Martha in preuincam venire potuiſſet, Tarraſco oppidum dicebatur, Strabone teſte: Abeſt, inquit, à Rhodano Nemauſus centena cito ter ſtadia, quo in tractu vlteriore Tarraſco exiguum oppidum, quo non niſi poſt Chriſti in cœlos aſcenſum appellere potuit Martha: ſcripſit Strabo tempore Tiberij Cæſaris ſub quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus. Neq; eſt quod quis miretur teſtudinem marinam in Rhodano ad Tarraſconem repertam fuiſſe. neq; enim procul locus is à mari abeſt, & aquarum dulcedine captæ aliquando beluæ marinæ, vel vadarum & procellarum vi compulſæ longe altius fluuios ingrediuntur: quod de teſtudinibus marinis aſſerit Plinius, ſcribens in Pliœnicio mari haud vlla difficultate capi vtroque venire tempore ſtatuto anni in amnem Eleutherum effuſa multitudine.

Lib. 9. cap. 10.

DE TESTVDINE, (ALTERA MARINA) CORIACEA ſiue Mercuij, Rondeletiu.

In A ſegmento reperies quædam de Teſtudinibus in genere.

ΧΕΛΩΝΗ ſeu Λαφίνα, Latine teſtudo marina vocatur, à quibuſdam Plinium ſecutis, mus marinus. Sed non immerito dubitauerit aliquis, cur Plinius cum ſerpiuis alias teſtudinem marinam Latine vocatit, mutato nomine, aliquando murem marinum nominauerit, ei tribuens quæ Ariſtoteles tribuit emydi ſeu teſtudini lutariæ ſiue muri aquatili, vt conuertit Gaza. Verba Plinij ſunt: Mus marinus in terra ſerobe effoſſa parit oua, & rurſus obruit terra, tricesimo die refoſſa apperit, ſeruatque in aquam ducit. Quæ ex Ariſtotele mutuatum eſſe conſtat: Ὁ δὲ μῦς ὠοτοκεῖ ὅτε ἂν ὀρύξῃ τὸν τόπον ἐφεῖσαν βάθος πολλοῦ, ἐὰν τεσσαρακοστὸν ἀφ' οὗ ἐφῆκεν ἡμέραν ἀνοιγῇ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἀνοιγεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιφανείας τὸν τόπον. De marinis vero teſtudine mox Ariſtoteles: Ταύτας δὲ τὰς χελώνας ἐπίσης γαλεὸν τε καὶ ὄφιν &c. Alio in loco pro teſtudine marina murem marinum videtur diuiſſe. Exeunt in terram, & qui marini mures vocantur. Ex quibus effinitur, vel Plinium parum animaduertentem, aquatilis teſtudinis ſiue lutariæ Ariſtotelis nomine

Lib. 6. cap. 19.

quaedam ad finem adiecta sunt. **Francofurti. Henrici Laurentii. [vi] + [iv] +[xi] + [i] + [xvi] + [1]–1052 + 1–30. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11362014>.** (Figure 45)

Abbreviated as: Gesn. aqu.; Gesn. pisc.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759; 1766)

Contents: *De Cordylo* (300-303), *De Crocodilo* (303-304), *De Crocodilo terrestri* (304-305), *De Hydro, id est Serpente palustri aut fluviatili* (containing also comments on *Chersydro*, *Natrice*, *Hydra*, *Boa* and several others, p. 442-454), *De Hydro* B (454-457), *De Hydra multicipite, fabulosa* (457-460), *De serpentibus aquaticis diversis* (460), *De Ranis in genere* (804-805), *De Ranis fluviorum et rivorum* (805-807), *De Rana palustri et venenata* (*id est, Bufone aquatili*) (807), *De Rubeta sive Phryno* (807-808), *De Calamite* (808), *De Rana caelitus demissa* (808), *De Rana dryophite* (808), *Corollarium I de Ranis in Genere* (including a dichotomous synoptic table for frogs and toads and a brief description of 1. *Calamite*, 2. *Bufones*,

3. *Rubetae*, 4. *Gibossam rubetam*, illustrated, 5. *Cornibus exasperari rubetarum*, 6. *Fossiles*, 7. *Fluviatiles*, 8. *Palustres*, 9. *Lacunales*), *Corollarium* II. *De Rana in genere, simul & de fluviatili Rana* (810-811), *Corollarium* III. *De Rana rubeta, aliisque diversis* (811-813), *De Salamandra, aquatili* (822-824), *De Scinco* (837-838), *De Testudinibus* (942-944), *De Testudine* (*marina prima*) (944-946), *De Testudine,* (*altera marina*) *coriacea sive Mercurii* (946-947), *De Testudine Cornigera sive Troglodytica, & alba* (947), *De Testudine Lutaria* (947-948), *Corollarium* I. *De Testudinibus in genere: quibus etiam nonnulla simpliciter de testudine scripta adduntur, cum ad quam potissimum specimen referas, non contest* (including a dichotomous synoptic table on terrestrial and aquatic turtles on p. 948-951), *Corollarium II. De Testudine marina* (951-953), *Corollarium* III. *De Testudinibus marinis diversis, sive simpliciter, sive pro regionum duntaxat & magnitudinis discrimine* (953), *Corollarium* IV. *De Testudinibus dulcium aquarum, Lutaria & Fluviatilis* (953), and *Corollarium V. De Testudine terretris* (954).

Linnaeus (1758: 210, 213): *Rana bufo* (*Gesn. pisc.* 807. Rubeta s. Phrynum), *R. hyla* (*Gesn. pisc.* 809. Rana gibbosa 4, 5), *Rana arborea* (*Gesn. pisc.* 808. Ranunculus viridis).

Linnaeus (1759: 75): 15. R. dorso angulato transverse gibbo, abdomine fascia replicata inguinali intercepto (*Gesn. pisc.* 809).

Linné (1766: 350, 354, 357,): *Testudo coriacea* (*Gesn. aqu.* 946. Testudo coriacea s. mercurii), *Rana bufo* (*Gesn. pisc.* 807. Rubeta s. Phrynum), *Rana arborea* (*Gesn. pisc.* 808. Ranunculus viridis).

Comments: Dundee (1994) made no references to the Linnaean abbreviations *Gesn. Pisc.* or *Ges. aqu.*, commenting only *Gesn. ovip.* and *Gesn. quadr.* (*vide supra*). Meanwhile, Heller (2007) considers that of 1558 as the source analyzed by Linnaeus, while Bauer (2012) indicates that the identification of the source is ambiguous, because AnimalBase (www.animalbase.uni-goettingen.de) considered the Zurich edition of 1558 as such, while Myers & Stothers (2006) indicate as probable those of 1604 or 1620. There is no coincidence in the page numbers between Linnaeus references and the edition of 1558. In turn, the editions of 1604 and 1620 are identical, and the pagination match with the alluded references. Linnaeus had a copy bound in three volumes of the third edition in his personal library (dated "1620-21" in Anonymous 1896). This third edition (although the title page indicates second) of the *Historia animalium* was published in Frankfurt by Heinrich Laurent between 1617 and 1621, and consists of five books: (a) *Liber II, De quadripedibus oviparis*, and *Liber III, De avium natura*, published in 1617; (b) *Liber primus, De quadripedibus viviparis*, and *Liber IV, De piscium et aquatilium animantium natura*, in 1620, and (c) *Liber V, De serpentum natura*, in 1621 (*vide infra*).

Ranunculus viridis (Gesn. Pisc. 808) refers to a drawing ("*Effigiem hanc Ranunculi viridis ex nostro De Quadripedibus Oviparis libro repetivimus*"), under the title *De Calamite* (808), while *Rana gibbosa* 4, 5 (in the synonymy of *Rana hyla* in Linnaeus, 1758 and in that of *Rana esculenta* in Linnaeus, 1766) refers to two "species", 4. *Gibbosam rubetam* and 5. *Cornibus exasperati rubetarum*.

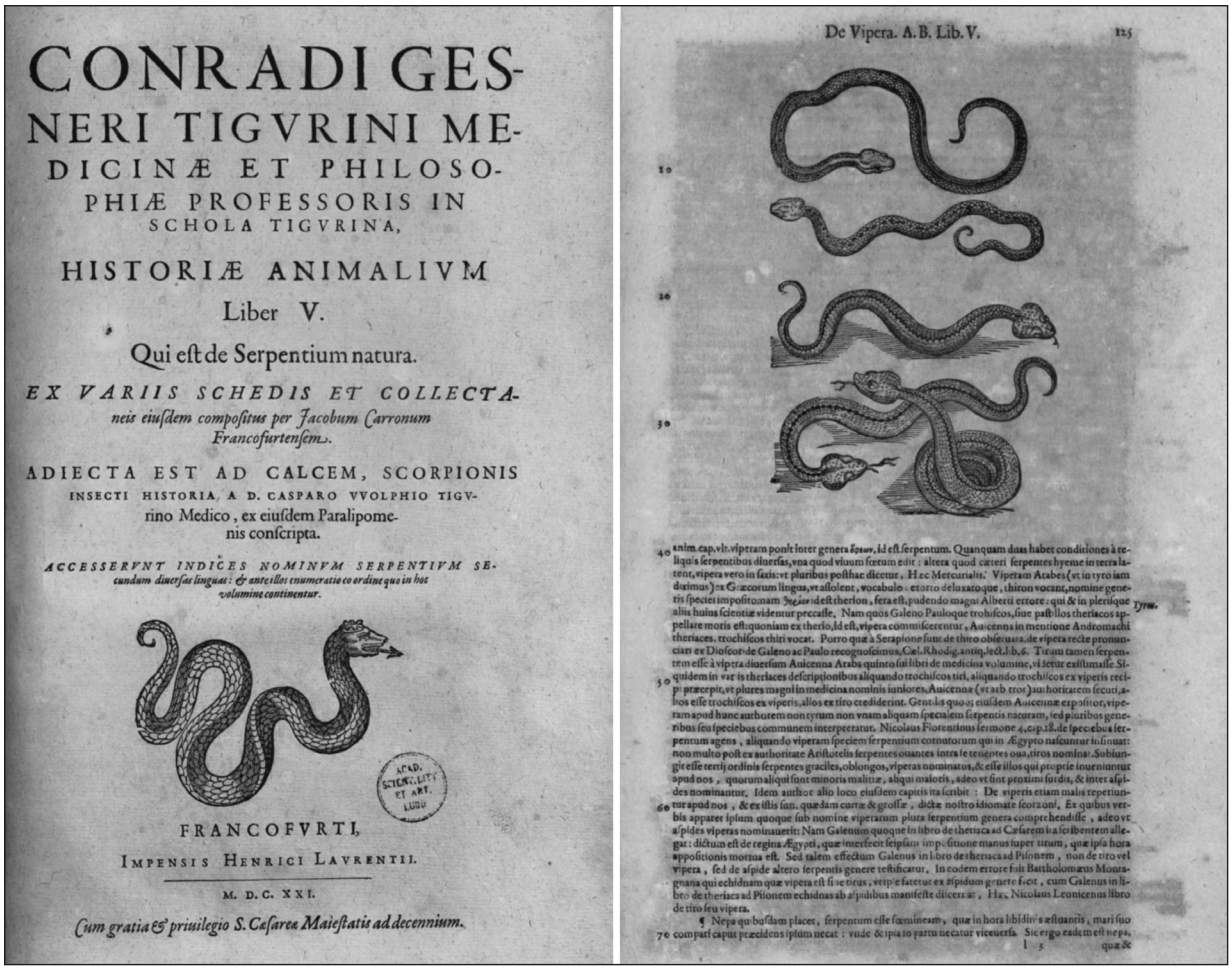
A copy of this edition was additionally housed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a).

Gesner, C. 1621. *Historiæ Animalium Liber V. Qui est de Serpentium natura. Ex variis schedis et collectaneis eiusdem compositus per Jacobum Carronum Francofurtensem. Adiecta est ad calcem, Scorpionis insecti historia a D. casparo Wolphio Tigvrino Medico, ex eiusdem Paralipomenis conscripta. Acceservnt indices nominvm serpentivm secundom diversas linguas: & anteillos enumeratio co ordine quo in hoc volumine continentur*. Francofvrti, Henrici Laurenti: [vii] +[ii] + [i] + [iii] + 1–170. <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=nGpR3jJBIyUC&pg=GBS.PP1&hl=en_GB>. (Figure 46)

Abbreviated as: Gesner. serpent.; Gesn. Serp.; Gesn. serp.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749); Linnaeus (1746a; 1761; 1763), Linné (1772), Sidrén (1750; 1751).

Contents: *De Serpentis historia generalis* (1), *De Acontia vel Iaculo* (38), *De Ammodyte* (49), *De Amphisbaena* (41), *De Angue* (43), *De Arge serpente* (46), *De Argolis serpentibus* (47), *De Aspide* (47), *De Basilisco* (55), *De Bero* (59), *De Boa* (60), *De Cecilia serpente quae er Typhlops a Graecis dicitur* (60), *De Cencrhine serpente qui et miliaris*



CONRADI GESNERI TIGVRINI MEDICINÆ ET PHILOSOPHIÆ PROFESSORIS IN SCHOLA TIGVRINA,

HISTORIÆ ANIMALIVM

Liber V.

Qui est de Serpentium natura.

EX VARIIS SCHEDIS ET COLLECTANEIS eiusdem compositus per Iacobum Carronum Francofurtensem.

ADIECTA EST AD CALCEM, SCORPIONIS INSECTI HISTORIA, A D. CASPARO VVOLPHIO TIGVRINO Medico, ex eiusdem Paralipomenis conscripta.

ACCESSERVNT INDICES NOMINVM SERPENTIVM SECUNDUM diuersas linguas: & ante illos enumeratio eo ordine quo in hoc volumine continentur.

FRANCOFVRTI,

IMPENSIS HENRICI LAVRENTII.

M. D. C. XXI.

Cum gratia & priuilegio S. Cæsareæ Maiestatis ad decennium.

De Vipera. A. B. Lib. V. 125

Figure 46. The second Frankfurt edition of Gesner's *Historiae Animalium Liber V* (1621).

Latine dicitur (62), *De Ceraste* (64), *De Ceristali, Triscali, cristali vel sirtali,* (68), *De Colubro* (68), *De Dipsade* (71), *De Dracone* (84), *De Dracone Pythio seu Pythone* (91), *De serpentibus alatis quos vulgos dracones vocat* (94), *De Drynos qui et Chelydrus dicitur* (95), *De Elephantiis serpentibus* (97), *De Elope vel Elape* (98), *De Haemorrhoo* (98), *De Hyaena Serpente* (101), *De Hydro qui et Chersydrus et Natrix dicitur* (101), *De Hydra multicipite fabulosa, quam Hercules confecit* (107), *De serpentibus aquaticis diversis* (109), *De Lybie serpente* (111), *De Molyro* (111), *De Myagro, Orophia et Spathiuro serpentibus domesticis et murium venatoribus* (111), *De Partea* (112), *De Peliade* (113), *De Porphyro* (113), *De Prestere* (114), *de Scytale* (115), *De Sepedone et Sepede Sepedone* (117), *De Sepe* (118), *De Serpente Marino* (120), *De Serpente rubescente* (122), *De Spondyle* (123), *De Tyro* (124) and *De Vipera* (124).

Hast (1745: 5, 8): 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (*Vipera.* Gesner. serpent. pag. 124.); 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (*Anguis* Gesner. serpent. pag 43.).

Hast (1749: 116): 3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (*Anguis* Gesner. serpent. pag 43.).

Linnaeus (1746a: 96, 97): 258. ANGUIS squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Gesn. serp*. 60. Caecilia Typhlos Graecis), 259. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII (*Gesn. serp*. 43. Anguis), 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI, squamis caudae XXXIX (*Gesn. serp.* 124. Vipera).

Linnaeus (1761: 104, 105): 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*Gesn. serp*. 43. Anguis), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Gesn. serp*. 60. Caecilia Typhlos Graecis).

Linnaeus (1763: 13): Vipera *Gesn. Serp.* 124

Linné (1772: 19): Vipera *Gesn. Serp.* 124.

Sidrén (1750: 12; 1751: 319): COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 145, fquamis caudalibus 36. (Vipera.

Gesn. Serp. 124).

Comments: Hast (1749) deleted the reference from 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (*Vipera.* Gesner. serpent. pag. 124.).
Page numbers match the edition of 1621 (in Linnaeus's personal library; Anonymous 1896). Heller's (2007) suggestion, the 1587 edition (Gesner 1587) is eliminated since its pages are only numbered in recto and there are no matches with Hast (1745; 1749) or Linnaeus (1746a; 1761) references.
This edition was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) did not cover this book.

Gråberg, J. M. 1741. Slotts-Conducteuren J. M. GRÅBERGS Berättelse om en lefwande GRODA, funnen på Gothland wid Burswik uti fasta och täta Stenen, inemot 8 alnar neder i Stenbrottet, … inskickad till Wetenskaps Academien af Johan Pihl, Med. Doct. ock Assessor samt Provincial-Medicus i Gothland. *Kongliga Swenska Wetenskaps Academiens handlingar,* 1741 (IV): 248–255, Pl. VIII. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/177142>. (Figure 47)

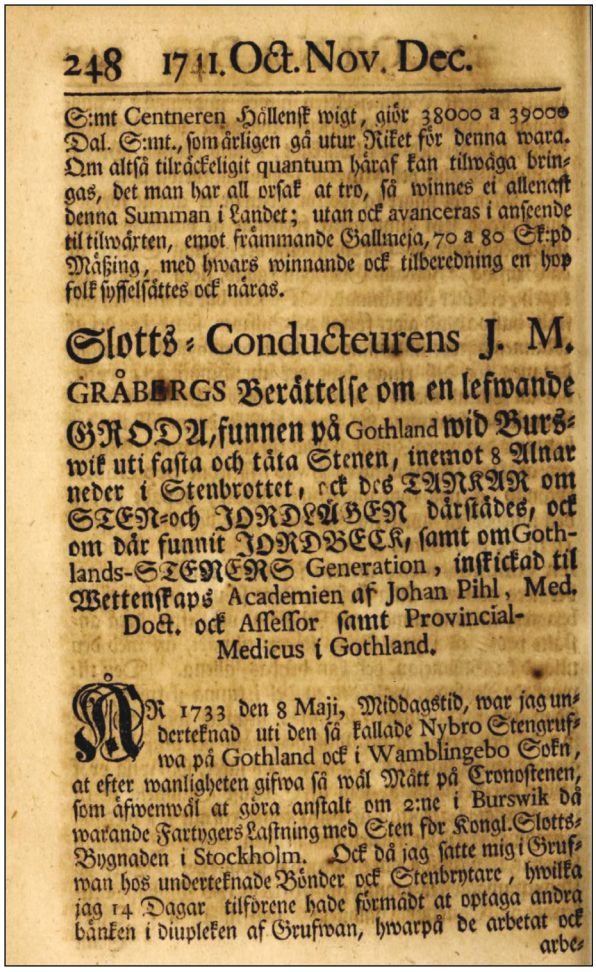
Abbreviated as: Wettenskaps Acad. Handlingar 1741 p. 228.

Cited in Linnaeus (1745).

Contents: An unidentified *Rana*, probably either a moor frog, *Rana arvalis* or an agile frog, *Rana dalmatina* (Wahlgren 2012).

Linnaeus (1745: 300): "... Grodan, som blef funnen wid Burswiken uti sielfwa hårda Sandstenen, med en fullkommen berättelse deröfwer, communicarde äfwen Assessor Phil, hwilken kan ses uti Wettenskaps Acad. Handlingar åhr 1741. p. 248..." ["…The frog, which was found at Burswiken in the very hard sandstone, along with a complete account of it, was also communicated by Assessor Phil, which can be seen in the *Wettenskaps Acad. Handlingar*, year 1741, p. 248…"].

Comments: Linnaeus's own copy is probably lost (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not cover this reference.


248 1741. Oct. Nov. Dec.

S:mt Centneren Hällensk wigt, giör 38000 a 39000 Dal. S:mt., som årligen gå utur Riket för denna wara. Om altså tilräckeligit quantum häraf kan tilwåga bringas, det man har all orsak at tro, så winnes ei allenast denna Summan i Landet; utan ock avanceras i anseende til tilwärten, emot fränmande Gallmeja, 70 a 80 Sk:pd Måßing, med hwars winnande ock tilberedning en hop folk sysselsättes ock nåras.

Slotts-Conducteurens J. M. GRÅBERGS Berättelse om en lefwande GRODA, funnen på Gothland wid Burswik uti fasta och täta Stenen, inemot 8 Alnar neder i Stenbrottet, ock des TANKAR om STEN- och JORDLÅGEN dårstådes, ock om där funnit JORDBECK, samt om Gothlands-STENERS Generation, inskickad til Wettenskaps Academien af Johan Pihl, Med. Doct. ock Assessor samt Provincial-Medicus i Gothland.

ÅR 1733 den 8 Maji, Middagstid, war jag underteknad uti den så kallade Nybro Stengrufwa på Gothland ock i Wamblingebo Sokn, at efter wanligheten gifwa så wäl Mått på Cronostenen, som åfwenwäl at göra anstalt om 2:ne i Burswik då warande Fartygers Lastning med Sten för Kongl. Slotts-Bygnaden i Stockholm. Ock då jag satte mig i Grufwan hos underteknade Bönder ock Stenbrytare, hwilka jag 14 Dagar tilförene hade förmådt at optaga andra bänken i diupleken af Grufwan, hwarpå de arbetat ock arbe-

Figure 47. Titel page of the paper by Gråberg published in the 1741 volume of *Kongliga Swenska Wetenskaps Academiens handlingar*.

Grew, N. 1681. *Museum regalis Societatis. or a Catalogue & Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Belonging to the Royal. Society and preserved at Gresham College.* London, W. Rawlins: [i] + [ii] + [vi] +1–386 + [ii] + [i] + [i] + 1–43, Pl. 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.105136>. (Figure 48)

Abbreviated as: Grew. mus.; Grew. Mus.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: The catalog of the museum of the Royal Society contains the description of various turtles or their parts (35-40), Chamaeleon (40-41), crocodiles (41-45), green lizard (45), senembi or iguana (45) , a fast or speckled lizard, also called Stellio (45-46), Uromastix or Caudiverbera, also called Cordilus or Crocodilus terrestris, p. 46), Bugelugey or lacertus indicus (p. 46), a scaly lizard (46-47), a terrestrial salamander (47), various efts (47-48) and one skink (48). Among the snakes includes Caecilia (48), Viper and its parts (48), a

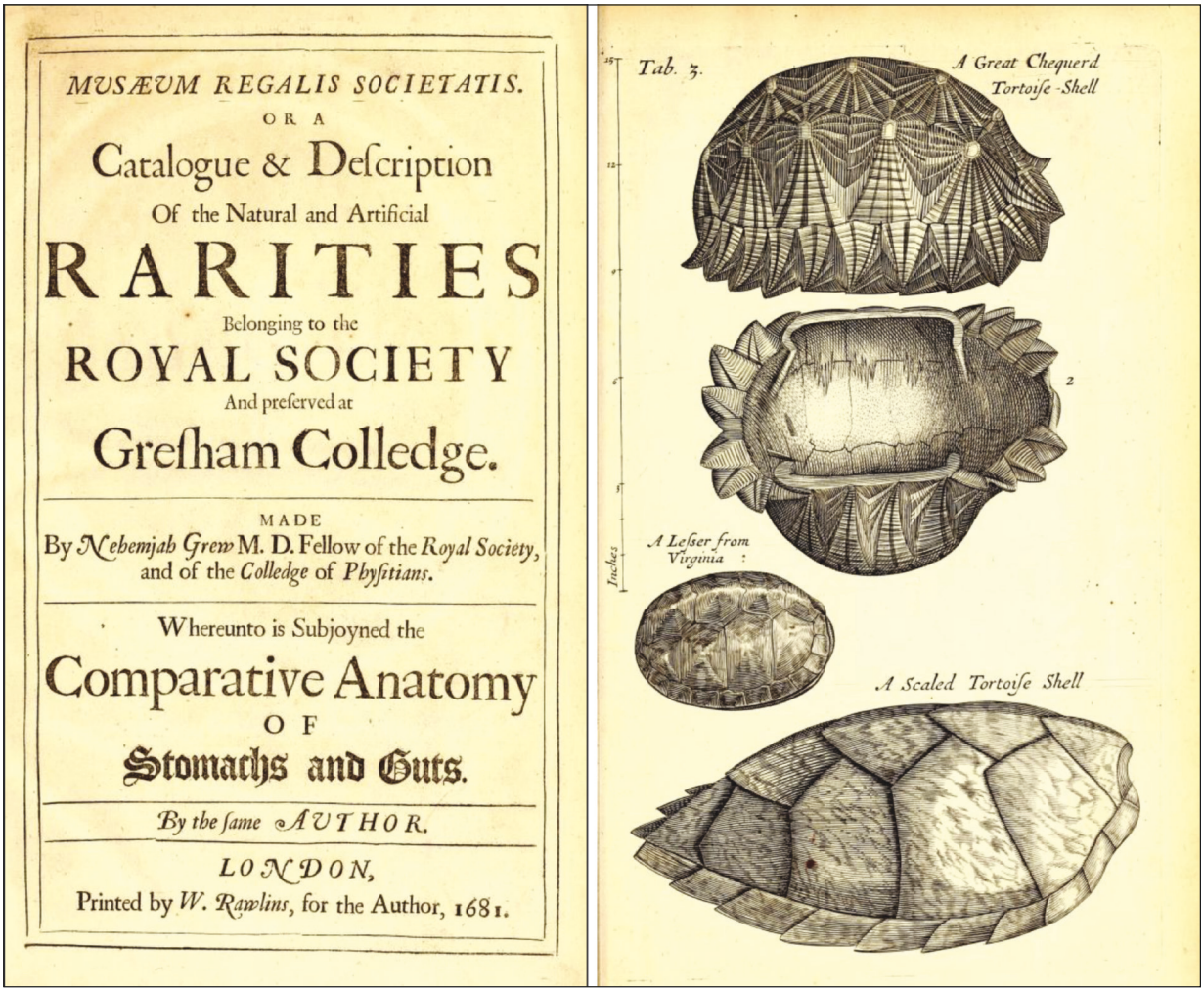

MUSÆUM REGALIS SOCIETATIS.
OR A
Catalogue & Deſcription
Of the Natural and Artificial
RARITIES
Belonging to the
ROYAL SOCIETY
And preſerved at
Greſham Colledge.
MADE
By Nehemjah Grew M. D. Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Colledge of Phyſitians.
Whereunto is Subjoyned the
Comparative Anatomy
OF
Stomachs and Guts.
By the ſame AUTHOR.
LONDON,
Printed by W. Rawlins, for the Author, 1681.

Figure 48. Grew's (1681) catalog of the museum of the Royal Society.

collection of skins of Boiguacu (49-50), Ibibaboca (50), rattlesnakes (50-51) and various rattles (51), together with the powder taken from the head of a snake (51-52) and a snake stone (52), probably false.

Hast (1745: 32, 33, 34; 1749: 138, 139): 22. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum duobus, plantarum unico* (Grew. mus. p. 38. tab. 3. fig. 4.*Testudo marina*); 23. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque quaternis* (Grew. mus. p. 38. tab. 3. fig. 3. *Testudo virginica*) and 24. TESTUDO *picta vel stellata* (Grew. mus. p. 36. tab. 3. fig. 1.2. *Testudo testa tessellata major, e madagascar*).

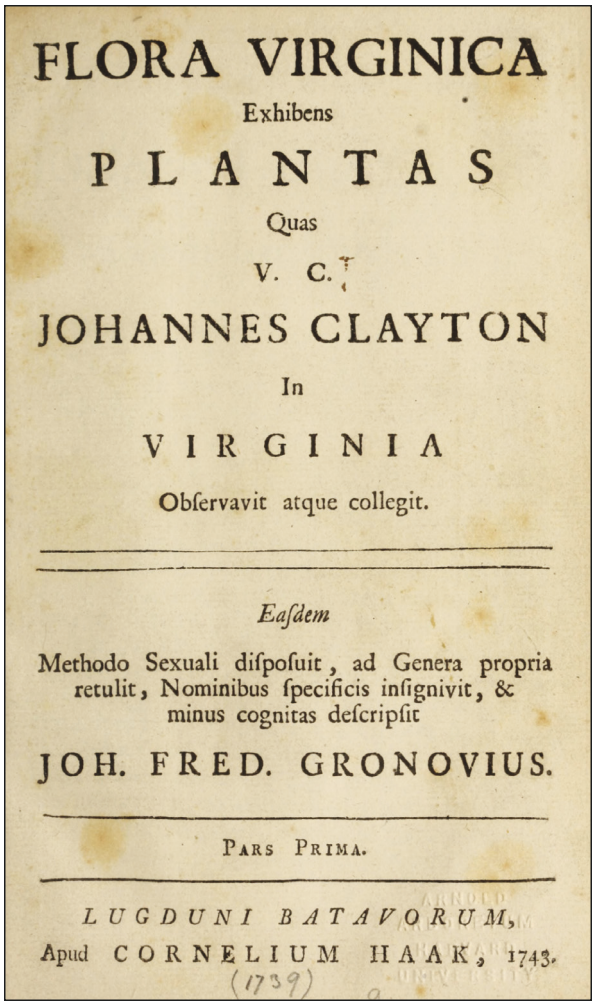
Linnaeus (1754: 50): *Testudo atra* (Grew. Mus. t. 3. f. 4).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 199), Linné (1766: 350, 353): *Testudo mydas* (*Grew. mus.* 38. *t.* 3. *f.* 4.), *T. geometrica* (*Grew. mus.* 36. *t.* 3. *f.* 1, 2. Testudo tessellata major), *T. pusilla* (*Grew. mus.* 38. *t.* 3. *f.* 3. Testudo virginea).

Linnaeus (1759: 71): 1. T. pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum binis, plantarum solitariis, testa ovata (*Grew mus.* 38. *t.* 3. *f* 4), 10. T. testa hemisphaerica: scutellis convexis-trapeziis margine striatis disco punctatis (*Grew. mus. t.* 3. *f.* 3).

Comments: This catalog had numerous editions, and the references are coincident, at least, with those of 1681 and 1685. Linnaeus had a copy of the first in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Gronovius, J.F. 1743. *Flora Virginica Exhibens Plantas Quas V. C. Johannes Clayton In Virginia Observavit atque collegit. Easdem Methodo Sexuali disposuit, ad Genera propria retulit, Nominibus specificis insignivit, & minus cognitas descripsit. Pars Prima*. Lugduni Batavorum,


FLORA VIRGINICA
Exhibens
PLANTAS
Quas
V. C.
JOHANNES CLAYTON
In
VIRGINIA
Obſervavit atque collegit.

Eaſdem
Methodo Sexuali diſpoſuit, ad Genera propria retulit, Nominibus ſpecificis inſignivit, & minus cognitas deſcripſit
JOH. FRED. GRONOVIUS.

Pars Prima.

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Apud CORNELIUM HAAK, 1743.
(1739)

Figure 49. Title page of Gronovius's *Flora Virginica* (1743).

Cornelium Haak: [iv] + 3–128 + [vi]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.106609>. (Figure 49)

Abbreviated as: Gronov. Flor. Virgin. 80; Gronovius, Flora Virginica.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749), Hast (1745; 1749); Linnaeus (1743b, 1744b, 1751b).

Contents: Botanical work containing the description of *Polygala* in page 80.

Balk (1746: 21, 1749: 299): When discussing *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX,* Balk noted: "... *(f) Antidotum hujus morsus est radix Polygalae caule simplici erecto, foliis ovato lanceolatis alternis integerrimis, racemo terminatrice erecto. Gronov. flor. vir. 180.*(*sic*).." ["…(f) The antidote to this bite is the root of *Polygala*, with a simple upright stem, ovate-lanceolate leaves that are alternate and entirely smooth, and an erect terminal raceme. — *Gronovius, Flora Virginica*, p. 180… (*sic*)"]. Page 180 was a typo, the description is on page 80 of the work.

Hast (1745: 3; 1749: 112): When discussing *Viperae caudisonae*, Hast noted that one of the antidotes against its venom was "... *radix POLYGALAE caule simplici, erecto; foliis ovato lanceolatis, alternis, integerrimis; racemo terminatrice, erecto.* Gronov. Flor. Virgin. 80...".

Linnaeus (1743b: unnumbered p. 2; 1744b: unnumbered p. 6, 1751: 436): When discussing *Viperae caudisonae* and it antidote the Sennagar (Rattlesnake-root) "...*POLYGALAE caule simplici, erecto; foliis ovato lanceolatis, alternis, integerrimis; racemo terminatrice, erecto.* Gronov. Flor. Virgin. 80...".

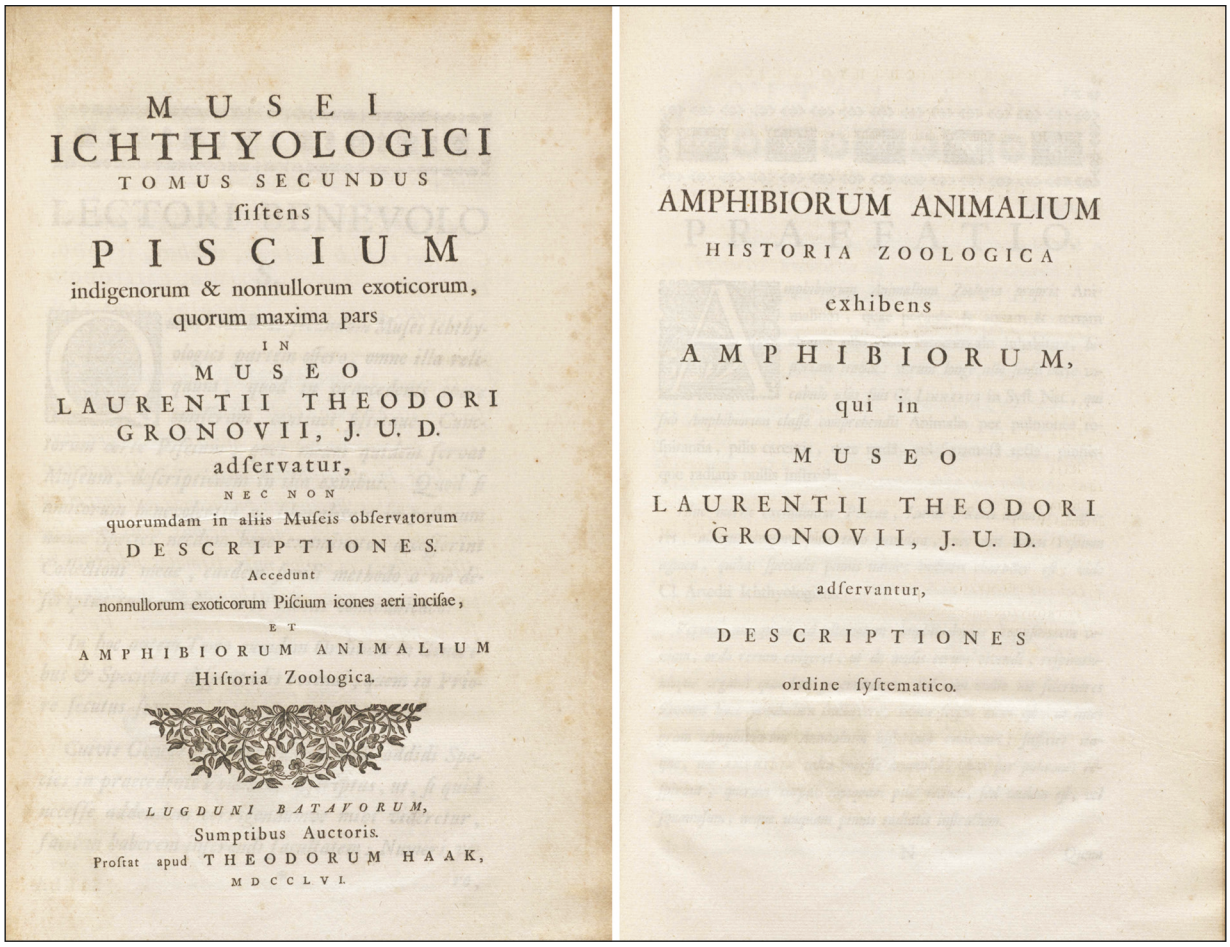
Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) itemized this edition as the Linnaean source.

Gronovius, L. T. 1756. *Musei Ichthyologici tomus secundus sistens Piscium indigenorum & nonnullorum exoticorum, quorum maxima pars in Museo Laurentii Theodori Gronovii, J. U. D. adservantur, nec non quorumdam in aliis Museis observatorum Descriptiones. Accedunt nonnullorum exoticorum Piscium icones aeri incisae, et Amphibiorum Animalium Historia Zoologica.* Lugduni Batavorum, Theodorum Haak: [ii] + [iii] + [i] + 1-88, Pl. V–VII. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.169114>. (Figure 50)

Abbreviated as: Grew. mus. 2; Gron. mus. 2; Gron. mus.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759; 1766)

Contents: Seventy amphibians and reptiles were described by Gronovius in the section *Amphibiorum animaliumhistoria zoologica...*, one of the best zoological books of its time. They are 1 - *Caecilia rugis* cxxxv (52), 2 - *Amphisbaena annulis abdominalibus* CCIX. & *annulis caudalibus* XXV (52), 3 - *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* CCXXX, & *squamis caudalibus* VII (52 - 53), 4 - *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* CCXXVII, & *squamis caudalibus* XIV (53), 5 - *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* CXCV, & *squamis caudalibus* VII (53 - 54), 6 - *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* C:LXXIX & *squamis caudalibus* VII (54), 7 - *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* CLXXVII, & *squamis caudalibus* XXXVII (54), 8 - *Anguis squamis*



MUSEI
ICHTHYOLOGICI
TOMUS SECUNDUS
ſiſtens
PISCIUM
indigenorum & nonnullorum exoticorum,
quorum maxima pars
IN
MUSEO
LAURENTII THEODORI
GRONOVII, J. U. D.
adſervatur,
NEC NON
quorumdam in aliis Muſeis obſervatorum
DESCRIPTIONES.
Accedunt
nonnullorum exoticorum Piſcium icones aeri inciſae,
ET
AMPHIBIORUM ANIMALIUM
Hiſtoria Zoologica.

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Sumptibus Auctoris.
Proſtat apud THEODORUM HAAK,
MDCCLVI.

AMPHIBIORUM ANIMALIUM
HISTORIA ZOOLOGICA
exhibens
AMPHIBIORUM,
qui in
MUSEO
LAURENTII THEODORI
GRONOVII, J. U. D.
adſervantur,
DESCRIPTIONES
ordine ſyſtematico.

Figure 50. The second, 1756, volume of *Musei Ichthyologici* by Gronovius containing the description of seventy amphibians and reptiles.

abdominalibus CXXXVII, & *squamis caudalibus* XLIII (54 - 55), 9 - *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* CXXVI, & *squamis caudalibus* CXXXVI (55), 10 - *Scytale scutis abdominalibus* CCL, & *scutis caudalibus* XXVI (55 - 56), 11 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CCLXXII, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXX (56), 12 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CCXVI, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* CIV (56 - 57), 13 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CCVII, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* ClII (57), 14 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CCIl, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* XCVI (57 - 58), 15 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXCI, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXXV (58), 16 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* cxc, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* cxxxv (58 - 59), 17 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXXIX, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* CXXII (59), 18 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXXIX, *scutis caudalibus* IV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* XLIV (59), 19 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXXVII, *squamarum caudalium paribus* CLXVIII (59 - 60), 20 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXX, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXXX (60), 21 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXVI, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* XLVI & ultra (60 - 61), 22 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXIV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* (61), 23 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXIl, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* CXLII (61), 24 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* CLII (61 - 62), 25 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXXV (62 - 63), 26 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXIlI, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXXVII (63), 27 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXIV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LVIII (63), 28 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLX, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LX (64), 29 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLIX, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* XLII (64), 30 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* CXXIII

(64 - 65), 31 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXII (65), 32 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLI, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LI (65 - 66), 33 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLIII, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* L (66), 34 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXLIX, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXIII (66), 35 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXLIV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXXII (66 - 67), 36 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXLII, & squamarum caudalium paribus LX (67), 37 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXXXVIII, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXXIV (67), 38 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXXXVI, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* XXXIX (67 - 68), 39 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXXXV, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* XLII (68), 40 - *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXX, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* LXVII (68), 41 - *Vipera scutis abdominalibus* CXLI, & *squamarum caudalium paribus* XXIV (68 - 69), 43 - *Cenchris scutis abdominalibus* CCXLVIII, & *scutis calidalibus* LX (60 - 70), 44 - *Cenchris scutis abdominalibus* CCLIV, & *scutis calidalibus* LXIX (70), 45 - *Crotalophorus scutis abdominalibus* CLXXIV *scutis caudalibus* XXII, *tribusque intermediis squamarum paribus* (70 - 71), 46 - *Draco* (73 - 74), 47 - *Crocodilus maxillis depressis, conicis, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis tetradactylis palmatis* (74 - 75), 48 - *Scincus pedibus pentadactylis, ungiculatis, digitis teretibus* (75 - 76), 49 - *Scincus pedibus pentadactylis, inermibus, digitis lobatis* (76), 50 - *Chamaeleon* (76 - 77), 51 - *Salamandra alepidota, verrucosa, cauda ancipilti, pedibus inermibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis* (77 - 78), 52 - *Salamandra alepidota, cauda teretiuscula, pedibus inermibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis* (78), 53 - *Salamandra squamofa, & verrucosa, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis, subtus lunulato - imbricatis* (78), 54 - *Salamandra corpore nudo, laevi, manibus tetradactylis; plantis pentadactylis, cauda longiuscula ancipiti* (79), 55 - *Cordylus* (79), 56 - *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore triplo longiore, squamis laevissimis, abdominalibus oblongo - quadratis* (80), 57 - *Lacerta cauda corpore parum longiore, squamis laevissimis, abdominalibus oblongo - quadratis* (80 - 81), 58 - *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore parum longiore, squamis laevissimis, abdominalibus subquadratis, minimis* (81), 59 - *Lacerta cauda corpore longiore, squamis omnibus, exceptis dorsalibus longitudinaliter carinatis, aculeatis* (82), 60 - *Iguana cauda tereti, longa, cylindrica; crista gulae pendula antice dentata, sutura dorsali denticulata* (82 - 83), 61 - *Iguana cauda longissima tereti conica, crista dorsali vel gulae nulla* (83), 62 - *Iguana cauda longissima tereti conica, dorso tantum cristato* (83 - 84), 63 - *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis semipalmatis, unguibus digitorum subrotundis, corpore laevi, pone angustato* (84), 64 - *Rana manibus tetradactylis, fissis apicibus digitorum quadrifidis, quadrifidis pedibus pentadactylis palmatis inermibus* (84), 65 - *Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice breviore* (84), 66 - *Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice longiore* (85), 67 - *Rana pedibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis hexadactylis, corpore laevi* (85), 68 - *Testudo pedibus natatoriis, unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque unico* (85), 69 - *Testudo pedibus natatoriis, unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque binis* (85 - 86), and 70 - *Testudo pedibus cursoriis, unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque quinis* (86).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 218, 220, 224, 225, 226, 228, 229), Linné (1766: 351, 354, 357, 358, 359, 370, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 370, 366, 369, 372, 374, 373, 374, 378, 380, 381, 380, 386, 387, 389, 388, 391, 392, 393): *Testudo caretta* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 85. *n.* 69. Testudo pedibus natatoriis, unguibus acuminatis binis), *Draco volans* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 73. *n.* 46. Draco), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 74. *n.* 47. Crocodilus), *L. palustris* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 77. *n.* 51. Salamandra alepidota verrucosa), *L. cordylus* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 79. *n.* 55. Cordylus), *L. ameiva* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 80. *n.* 56. Lacerta cauda tereti corpore triplo longiore, squamis laevissimis, abdominalibus oblongo-quadratis), *L. agilis* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 80. *n.* 57. Lacerta cauda corpore parum longiore, squamis laevissimis), *L. chamaeleon* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 76. *n.* 50. Chamaeleon), *L. gecko* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 78. *n.* 53. Salamandra), *L. stincus* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 76. *n.* 49. Scincus), *L. aquatica* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 78. *n.* 52. Salamandra alepidota, cauda teretiuscula), *L. igvana* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 82. *n.* 60. Igvana), *L. aurata* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 75. *n.* 48. Scincus?), *Rana pipa* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 84. *n.* 64), *R. arborea* (*Gron.*

mus. 2. *p.* 84. *n.* 63. Rana), *Crotalus durissus* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 70. *n.* 45. Crotalophorus 174-22: 3?), *Boa scytale* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 55. *n.* 10), *B. constrictor* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 69. *n.* 43. Cenchris 248-60), *B. murina* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 70. *n.* 44. Coluber 254-69), *Coluber cobella* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 65. *n.* 32), *C. vittatus* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 65. *n.* 31. Coluber 155-62), *C. natrix* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 63. *n.* 27), *C. aesculapii* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 59. *n.* 18), *C. dipsas* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 64. *n.* 30), *C. petola* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 57. *n.* 13), *C. ahaetulla* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 61. *n.* 24), *C. mycterizans* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 59. *n.* 19), *C. pullatus* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 56. *n.* 12. Coluber 215-104), *Anguis maculata* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 53. *n.* 5), *A. reticulata* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 54. *n.* 7), *A. lumbricalis* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 52. *n.* 3), *A. scytale* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *n.* 4. Anguis 227-14), *A. eryx* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 35. *n.* 9. 126 -136), *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 1. Amphisbaena 209-25), *Caecilia tentaculata* (*Gron. mus.* 2. *n.* 1. *p.* 52).

Linnaeus (1759: 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81): 2. T. pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum plantarumque binis, testa ovata acute serrata (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 85. *n.* 69), 1. Draco (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 73. n. 46), 1. L. cauda compressa, pedibus triunguiculatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis tetradactylis palmatis (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 74. *n.* 47), 8. L. cauda ancipiti mediocri, pedibus muticis fissis; palmis tetradactylis (Salamandra *Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 77. n. 51), 9. L. cauda verticillata brevi: squamis denticulatis, corpore laevigato (*Gronov. mus.* 2. *p.* 79. n. 55), 14. L. cauda verticillata longa, scutis abdominis triginta, collari subtus ruga duplici (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 80),15. L. cauda verticillata longiuscula squamis acutis, collari subtus squamis constructo (*Gron. mus 2. p.* 80. *n.* 57), 19. L. cauda tereti brevi incurva, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis (Chamaeleon *Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 76. n. 50),21. L. cauda tereti mediocri, digitis subtus imbricatis, corpore verrucoso (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 78. *n.* 53);, 22. L. cauda tereti mediori apice compressa, digitis muticis marginatis (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 76. *n.* 49), 26. L. cauda teretiuscula mediocri, pedibus muticis fissis: palmis tetradactylis (*Gron. mus.* 2. p. 78. *n.* 52), 28. L. cauda tereti longa, sutura dorsali dentata, crista gulae denticulata (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 82. *n.* 60), 37. L. cauda tereti longiuscula, squamis rotundatis glabris, lateribus subfuscis (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 75. *p.* 48), *1. R. digitis anticis muticis quadridentatis, posticis unguiculatis* (*Gron. mus. 2. p. 84. n. 64*), 16. R. corpore laevi: subtus punctis contiguis tuberculato, pedibus fissis, unguibus orbiculato-dilatatis (*Gron. Mus.* 2. *p.* 84. *n.* 63), 196. Durissus (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 70. n. 45), 276. Scytale (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 55. n. 10), 319. Murina (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 70. n. 44), 204. Cobella (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 65. n. 32),220. Vittatus (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 65. n. 31), 230. Natrix (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 63. n. 27), 233. Aesculapii (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 59. n. 18), 287. Dipsas (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 64. n. 30), 299. Petola (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 57. n. 13), 313. Ahaetulla (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 61. n. 24), 325. Pullatus (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 56. n. 12); 359. Mycterizans (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 59. n. 19), 212. Maculata (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 53. n. 5), 214. Reticulata (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 54. n. 7), 237. Lumbricalis (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 52. n. 3), 253. Scytale (*Gron. Mus.* 2. *n.* 4), 262. Eryx (*Gron. Mus. 2. p.* 35. *n.* 9), 230. Fuliginosa (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 52. *n.* 2), 200. Constrictor (*Gron. mus.* 2. *p.* 69. n. 43).

Linné (1766: 379, 381, 386): C. ordinatus (*Gron. mus.* 37.), C. jaculatrix (*Gron. mus.* 63 *n.26.*); C. Dipsas (*Grew. mus.* 2. *p.* 64. n. 30.).

Comments: The reference in the synonymy of *Coluber dipsas* in Linné (1766) indicates *Grew. mus.* 2. *p.* 64. n. 30.

Bauer (2012) ommited *Draco volans* in the table of authors and taxa cited by Linnaeus (1758).

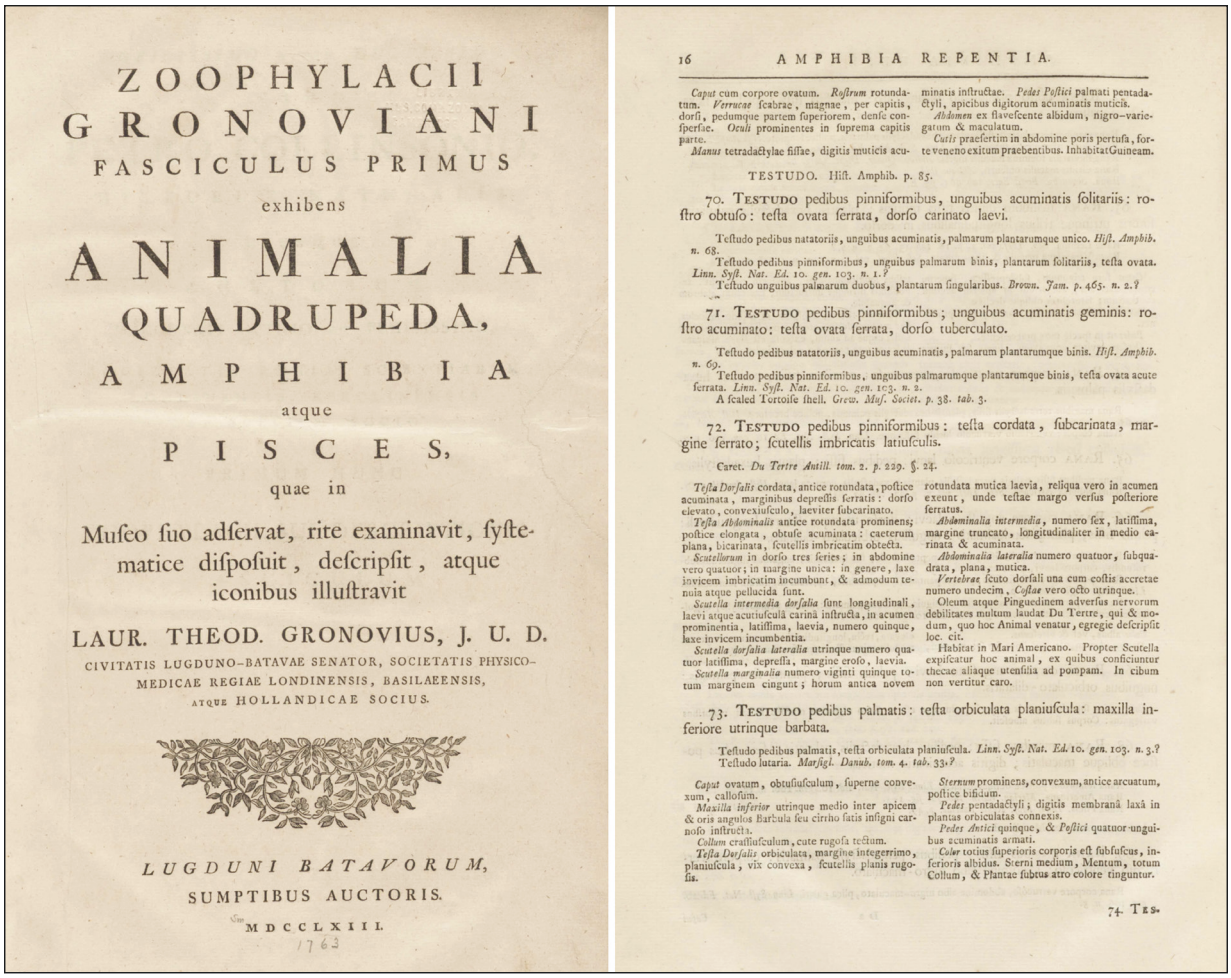
Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) itemized this edition as the Linnaean source.

Gronovius, L. T. 1763. *Zoophylacii Gronoviani Fasciculus Primus exhibens Animalia Quadrupeda, Amphibia atque Pisces, quae in Museo suo adservat, rite examinavit, systematice disposuit, descripsit, atque iconibus illustravit.* Lugduni Batavorum, Theodorum Haak et Socium et Samuelem et Johannem Luchtmans: [i] + 1–136. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.115893>. (Figure 51)

Abbreviated as Gron. zooph.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: *Draco* (10), *Crocodylus maxillis depressis conicis, plantis palmatis (10), Crocodylus maxillis depressis conicis, plantis vix semipalmatis (10),*



ZOOPHYLACII
GRONOVIANI
FASCICULUS PRIMUS
exhibens
ANIMALIA
QUADRUPEDA,
AMPHIBIA
atque
PISCES,
quae in
Museo suo adservat, rite examinavit, systematice disposuit, descripsit, atque iconibus illustravit
LAUR. THEOD. GRONOVIUS, J. U. D.
CIVITATIS LUGDUNO-BATAVAE SENATOR, SOCIETATIS PHYSICO-MEDICAE REGIAE LONDINENSIS, BASILAEENSIS, ATQUE HOLLANDICAE SOCIUS.

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
SUMPTIBUS AUCTORIS.
MDCCLXIII.
1763

16 AMPHIBIA REPENTIA.

Caput cum corpore ovatum. *Rostrum* rotundatum. *Verrucae* scabrae, magnae, per capitis, dorsi, pedumque partem superiorem, dense conspersae. *Oculi* prominentes in suprema capitis parte.
Manus tetradactylae fissae, digitis muticis acuminatis instructae. *Pedes Postici* palmati pentadactyli, apicibus digitorum acuminatis muticis.
Abdomen ex flavescente albidum, nigro-variegatum & maculatum.
Cutis praesertim in abdomine poris pertusa, forte veneno exitum praebentibus. Inhabitat Guineam.

TESTUDO. Hist. Amphib. p. 85.

70. TESTUDO pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus acuminatis solitariis: rostro obtuso: testa ovata serrata, dorso carinato laevi.

Testudo pedibus natatoriis, unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque unico. *Hist. Amphib. n.* 68.
Testudo pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum binis, plantarum solitariis, testa ovata. *Linn. Syst. Nat. Ed.* 10. *gen.* 103. *n.* 1.?
Testudo unguibus palmarum duobus, plantarum singularibus. *Brown. Jam. p.* 465. *n.* 2.?

71. TESTUDO pedibus pinniformibus; unguibus acuminatis geminis: rostro acuminato: testa ovata serrata, dorso tuberculato.

Testudo pedibus natatoriis, unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque binis. *Hist. Amphib. n.* 69.
Testudo pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarumque plantarumque binis, testa ovata acute serrata. *Linn. Syst. Nat. Ed.* 10. *gen.* 103. *n.* 2.
A scaled Tortoise shell. *Grew. Mus. Societ. p.* 38. *tab.* 3.

72. TESTUDO pedibus pinniformibus: testa cordata, subcarinata, margine serrato; scutellis imbricatis latiusculis.

Caret. *Du Tertre Antill. tom.* 2. *p.* 229. §. 24.

Testa Dorsalis cordata, antice rotundata, postice acuminata, marginibus depressis serratis: dorso elevato, convexiusculo, laeviter subcarinato.
Testa Abdominalis antice rotundata prominens; postice elongata, obtuse acuminata: caeterum plana, bicarinata, scutellis imbricatim obtecta.
Scutellorum in dorso tres series; in abdomine vero quatuor; in margine unica: in genere, laxe invicem imbricatim incumbunt, & admodum tenuia atque pellucida sunt.
Scutella intermedia dorsalia sunt longitudinali, laevi atque acutiusculâ carinâ instructa, in acumen prominentia, latissima, laevia, numero quinque, laxe invicem incumbentia.
Scutella dorsalia lateralia utrinque numero quatuor latissima, depressa, margine eroso, laevia.
Scutella marginalia numero viginti quinque totum marginem cingunt; horum antica novem rotundata mutica laevia, reliqua vero in acumen exeunt, unde testae margo versus posteriore serratus.
Abdominalia intermedia, numero sex, latissima, margine truncato, longitudinaliter in medio carinata & acuminata.
Abdominalia lateralia numero quatuor, subquadrata, plana, mutica.
Vertebrae scuto dorsali una cum costis accretae numero undecim. *Costae* vero octo utrinque.
Oleum atque Pinguedinem adversus nervorum debilitates multum laudat Du Tertre, qui & modum, quo hoc Animal venatur, egregie descripsit loc. cit.
Habitat in Mari Americano. Propter Scutella expiscatur hoc animal, ex quibus conficiuntur thecae aliaque utensilia ad pompam. In cibum non vertitur caro.

73. TESTUDO pedibus palmatis: testa orbiculata planiuscula: maxilla inferiore utrinque barbata.

Testudo pedibus palmatis, testa orbiculata planiuscula. *Linn. Syst. Nat. Ed.* 10. *gen.* 103. *n.* 3.?
Testudo lutaria. *Marsigl. Danub. tom.* 4. *tab.* 33.?

Caput ovatum, obtusiusculum, superne convexum, callosum.
Maxilla inferior utrinque medio inter apicem & oris angulos Barbula seu cirrho satis insigni carnoso instructa.
Collum crassiusculum, cute rugosa tectum.
Testa Dorsalis orbiculata, margine integerrimo, planiuscula, vix convexa, scutellis planis rugosis.
Sternum prominens, convexum, antice arcuatum, postice bifidum.
Pedes pentadactyli; digitis membranâ laxâ in plantas orbiculatas connexis.
Pedes Antici quinque, & *Postici* quatuor unguibus acuminatis armati.
Color totius superioris corporis est subfuscus, inferioris albidus. Sterni medium, Mentum, totum Collum, & Plantae subtus atro colore tinguntur.

74. TES-

Figure 51. Gronovius's Zoophylacii Gronoviani *Fasciculus Primus* (1763).

Crocodylus maxillis depressis conicis, plantis semipalmatis, digitis duobus exterioribus palmatis (10-11), Crocodylus maxillis teretibus, subcylindraceis (11), Scincus pedibus pentadactylis, unguiculatis, digitis teretibus (11), Scincus pedibus pentadactylis inermibus: digitis, lobatis (11), Scincus pedibus brevissimis, pentadactylis, unguiculatis; cauda truncoque longissimis (11), Scincus pedibus posticis brevissimis subulatis, monodactylis: anticis nullis: caudae apice nudo (11-12), Chamaeleon (12), Salamandra squamosa, verrucosa: pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis, subtus lunulato--imbricatis (12), Salamandra alepidota, verrucosa: cauda ancipiti: pedibus inermibus fissis; palmis tetradactylis; plantis pentadactylis (12), Salamandra alepidota: cauda teretiuscula: pedibus inermibus fissis; palmis tetradactylis; plantis pentadactylis (12), Salamandra corpore nudo laevi: manibus tetradactylis; plantis pentadactylis: cauda longa ancipiti (12), *Salamandra alepidota superne porosa: cauda conica, corpus subaequante: plantis pentadactylis; palmis tetradactylis; digitis fissis (12-13), Cordylus cauda corporeque verticillatis, squamis carinatis denticulatis majoribus (13), Iguana cauda tereti longa, cylindrica: crista gulae pendula, antice dentata: sutura dorsali denticulata (13), Iguana cauda longissima tereti conica, dorso tantum cristato (13), Iguana cauda subulata tereti longa: crista nulla: capite postice aculeato (13), Iguana cauda longissima tereti conica: crista dorsi vel gulae nulla (13-14), Lacerta squamis laevibus: lateribus abdominis plicatis: cauda longissima (14), Lacerta squamis laevibus: cauda elongata superne carinata (14), Lacerta squamis laevissimis: cauda longissima tereti cylindrica: collari subtus rugoso (p.14), Lacerta cauda longissima tereti cylindrica, squamis omnibus exceptis dorsalibus carinatis aculeatis (14), Lacerta cauda elongata crassiuscula cylindrica, squamis caudalibus acuminatis (14), Rana manibus fissis, apicibus digitorum quadrifidis: pedibus palmatis unguiculatis (14), Rana dorso planiusculo subangulato: manibus fissis: pedibus*

hexadactylis palmatis (15), Rana manuum digitis fissis muticis: plantis hexadactylis palmatis: suturis utrinque tribus longitudinalibus in dorso (15), Rana corpore ventricoso, verrucuso: manibus fissis; pedibus hexadactylis palmatis (15), Rana corpore ventricoso laevi: pedibus fissis; plantis hexadactylis (15), Rana corpore anguslato laevi: dorso utrinque sutura longitudinali: palmis fissis; plantis semipalmatis: unguibus orbiculato- dilatatis (15), Rana corpore angustato laevi: palmis fissis; plantis semipalmatis: unguibus orbiculato-dilatatis (15), Rana manibus fissis: pedibus hexadactylis palmatis, femoribus postice oblique maculatis; digitis acuminatis muticis (15), Rana manibus fissis: pedibus pentadactylis palmatis: corpore verrucoso ventricoso; abdomine albo nigro-maculato (15-16), Testudo pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus acuminatis folitariis: rostro obtuso: testa ovata serrata, dorso carinato laevi (16), Testudo pedibus pinniformibus; unguibus acuminatis geminis: rostro acuminato: testa ovata serrata, dorso tuberculato (16), Testudo pedibus pinniformibus: testa cordata, subcarinata, margine serrato; scutellis imbricatis latiusculis (16), Testudo pedibus palmatis: testa orbiculata planiuscula: maxilla inferiore utrinque barbata (16), Testudo pedibus palmatis: testa orbiculata planiuscula, scutellis dorsalibus carinatis (17), Testudo pedibus palmatis: testa orbiculari, subconvexa, dorso carinato laevi, margine obtuse serrato, scutellis Iaevibus (17), Testudo pedibus digitatis; unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque quinis: testa ovali convexa laevi (17), Testudo pedibus digitatis calloso-squamosis: testa ovali subconvexa; scutellis planis striatis medio punctatis (17), Caecilia rugis cxxxv (17), Amphisbaena annulis abdominalibus ccxxxiv, & annulis caudalibus xviii (17-18), Amphisbaena annulis abdominalibus ccix, & annulis caudalibus xxv (18), Anguis squamis abdominalibus ccxxx, & squamis caudalibus vii (18), Anguis squamis abdominalibus ccxxvii, & squamis caudalibus xiv (18), Anguis squamis abdominalibus cxcv, & squamis caudalibus vii (18), Anguis squamis abdominalibus clxxix, & squamis caudalibus vii (18), Anguis squamis abdominalibus clxxvii, & squamis caudalibus xxxvii (18), Anguis squamis abdominalibus cxxxvii, & squamis caudalibus xliii (18), Anguis squamis abdominalibus cxxvi, & squamis caudalibus cxxxvi (19), Scytale scutis abdominalibus ccl, & scutis caudalibus xxvi (19), Scytale scutis abdominalibus clxxx, & scutis caudalibus lxxii (19), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cclxxii, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxx (19), Coluber scutis abdominalibus ccxvi, & squamarum caudalium paribus civ (19), Coluber scutis abdominalibus ccvii, & squamarum caudalium paribus ciii (19), Coluber scutis abdominalibus ccii, & squamarum caudalium pa ribus xcvi (19), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cci, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxviii (19), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cc, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxiv (20), Coluber scutis abdominaiibus cxciii, & squamarum caudaliumt paribus lxii (20), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxcii, & squamarum caudalium paribus cxxv (20), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxci, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxxv (20), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxc, & squamarum caudalium paribus cxxxv (20), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxxix, & squamarum caudalium paribus cxxii (20), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxxix, scutis caudalibus iv & squamarum caudalium paribus xliv (21), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxxvii, & squamarum caudalibus paribus clxviii (21), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxxiv, & squamarum caudalium paribus lx (21), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxxi, & squamarum caudalium paribus xlvii (21), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxx, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxxx (22), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxx, & squamarum caudalium paribus cxxxiv & ultra (22), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxvi, & squamarum caudalium paribus xlvi. & ultra (22), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxiv, & squamarum caudalium paribus lx (22), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxxii, & squamarum caudalium paribus cxlii (22), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxv, & squamarum caudalium paribus clii (22), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxv, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxxv (22), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxiv, & squamarum caudalium paribus cxv (22), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxiv, & squamarum caudalium paribus lviii (23), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxiii, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxxvii* (23), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus clxiii, & squamarum caudalium paribus lv (23), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clx, & squamarum caudalium paribus lx* (23), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus clix, & squamarum caudalium paribus xlii (23), Coluber*

scutis abdominalibus clv, & squamarum caudalium paribus cxxiii (23), Coluber scutis abdominalibus clv, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxii (23), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cliii, & squamarum caudalium paribus l (23), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxlix, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxiii (23), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxlii, & squamarum caudalium paribus xxxv & ultra (23), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxlix, & squamarum caudalium paribus xliii (24), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxliv, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxxii (24), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxlii, & squamarum caudalium paribus lx (24), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxxxviii, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxxiv (24), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxli, & squamarum caudalium paribus lvi (24), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxxxvi, & squamarum caudalium paribus xxxix (24), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxxxv, & squamarum caudalium paribus xlii (24), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxx, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxvii (24), Coluber scutis abdominalibus cxix, & squamarum caudalium paribus lxxiv (25), Vipera scutis abdominalibus cxli, & squamarum caudalium paribus xxiv (25), Cenchris scutis abdominalibus ccliv, & scutis caudalibus lxix (25), Cenchris scutis abdominalibus ccxlviii, & scutis caudalibus lx (25), Cenchris scutis abdominalibus ccix, & scutis caudalibus lxxiv (25), Cenchris scutis abdominalibus ccv, & scutis caudalibus lxxix (25-26), Crotalophorus scutis abdominalibus clxxiv, scutis caudalibus xx, tribusque intermediis squamarum paribus (26), and *Crotalophorus scutis abdominalibus clxvi, abdominalibus xxvi, crepitaculis x (26).*

Linné (1766: 350, 351, 352, 359, 367, 370, 371): *Testudo imbricata* (*Gron. zooph*. 72), *T. scabra* (*Gron. zooph*. 74), *T. carolina* (*Gron. zooph*. 17. n. 77), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Gron. zooph*. 37, 38, 39, 40), *L. agama* (*Gron. zooph*. 13. n. 54), *L. chalcides* (*Gron. zooph*. 43. Scincus pedibus brevissimis pentadactylis unguiculatis, cauda truncoque longissimis cylindraceis), *L. anguina* (*Gron. zooph.* 44. Scincus pedibus brevissimis subulatis monodactylis, anticis nullis, cauda apice nudo).

Comments: Linné (1766) itemized and considered less than one tenth of the 138 species described by Gronovius.

Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the above edition as the Linnaean source.

Hasselqvist (pers. comm. Fredric Hasselquist) **Not located.**

Abbreviated as Hasselqvist.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Probably a personal communication by Fredric Hasselquist (1722–1752), physician and naturalist, apostle of Linnaeus, who collected in Turkey, northern Egypt, Syria, Land of Palestine and Cyprus (Adler 2012).

Linnaeus (1758: 218, 224, 225), Linné (1766: 386, 387): *Coluber Lebetinus* (201. Lebetinus. 155–46. Hasselqvist.); *Coluber Tyria* (Habitat in Ægypto. Hasselqvist. ["…Lives in Egypt. Hasselqvist...."]); *Coluber jugularis* (Habitat in Ægypto. Hasselqvist. ["…Lives in Egypt. Hasselqvist...."]).

Comments: References to Hasselqvist were recorded by Dundee (1944) and Heller (2007).

Hasselquist, F. 1751a. *Vipera* a Frider. Hasselquist. *Acta Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis*, 1744/1750: 24-26. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/164039>. (Figure 52)

Abbreviated as: *Hasselq. Act. Ups.* 1750. *p.* 24; *Hasselq. act. ups.* 1750. *p.* 24; *Hasselqv. Act. Ups.* 1750. *p.* 24.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758, 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: Description of *COLUBER Scutis* abdominalibus 118, *Squamis* caudalibus 40.

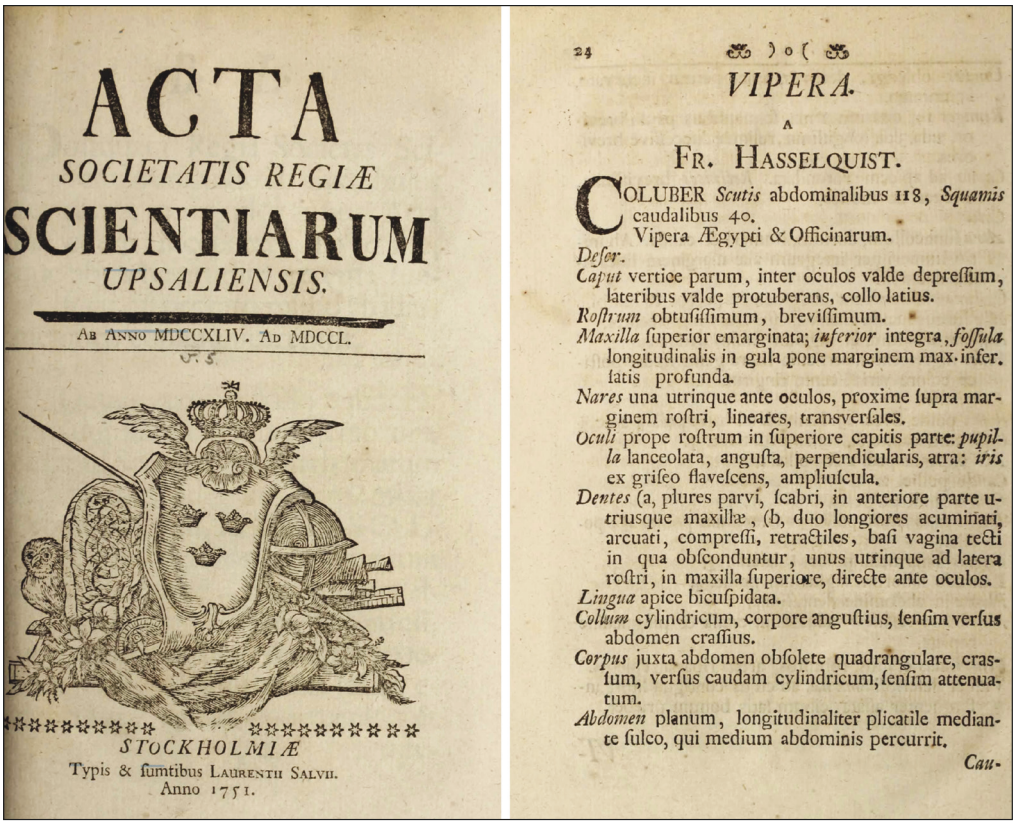
Linnaeus (1758: 216): *Coluber Vipera* (*Hasselqv. Act. Ups.* 1750. *p.* 24).

Linnaeus (1759: 77): *Coluber Vipera* (*Hasselq. Act. Ups.* 1750. *p.* 24).

Linné (1766): *Coluber Vipera* (*Hasselq. act. ups.* 1750. *p.* 24).

Comments: Linnaeus's own copy is not in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the abbreviation but did not discuss the papers separately.

Hasselquist, F. 1751b. *Coluber cornutus* descriptus a Frider. Hasselquist. *Acta Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis*, 1744/1750: 27–28. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/



ACTA
SOCIETATIS REGIÆ
SCIENTIARUM
UPSALIENSIS.

Ab Anno MDCCXLIV. Ad MDCCL.

STOCKHOLMIÆ
Typis & sumtibus Laurentii Salvii.
Anno 1751.

24) o (

VIPERA.

a

Fr. Hasselquist.

COLUBER *Scutis* abdominalibus 118, *Squamis* caudalibus 40.
Vipera Ægypti & Officinarum.

Descr.

Caput vertice parum, inter oculos valde depressum, lateribus valde protuberans, collo latius.

Rostrum obtusissimum, brevissimum.

Maxilla superior emarginata; *inferior* integra, *fossula* longitudinalis in gula pone marginem max. infer. satis profunda.

Nares una utrinque ante oculos, proxime supra marginem rostri, lineares, transversales.

Oculi prope rostrum in superiore capitis parte: *pupilla* lanceolata, angusta, perpendicularis, atra: *iris* ex griseo flavescens, ampliuscula.

Dentes (a, plures parvi, scabri, in anteriore parte utriusque maxillæ, (b, duo longiores acuminati, arcuati, compressi, retractiles, basi vagina tecti in qua obsconduntur, unus utrinque ad latera rostri, in maxilla superiore, directe ante oculos.

Lingua apice bicuspidata.

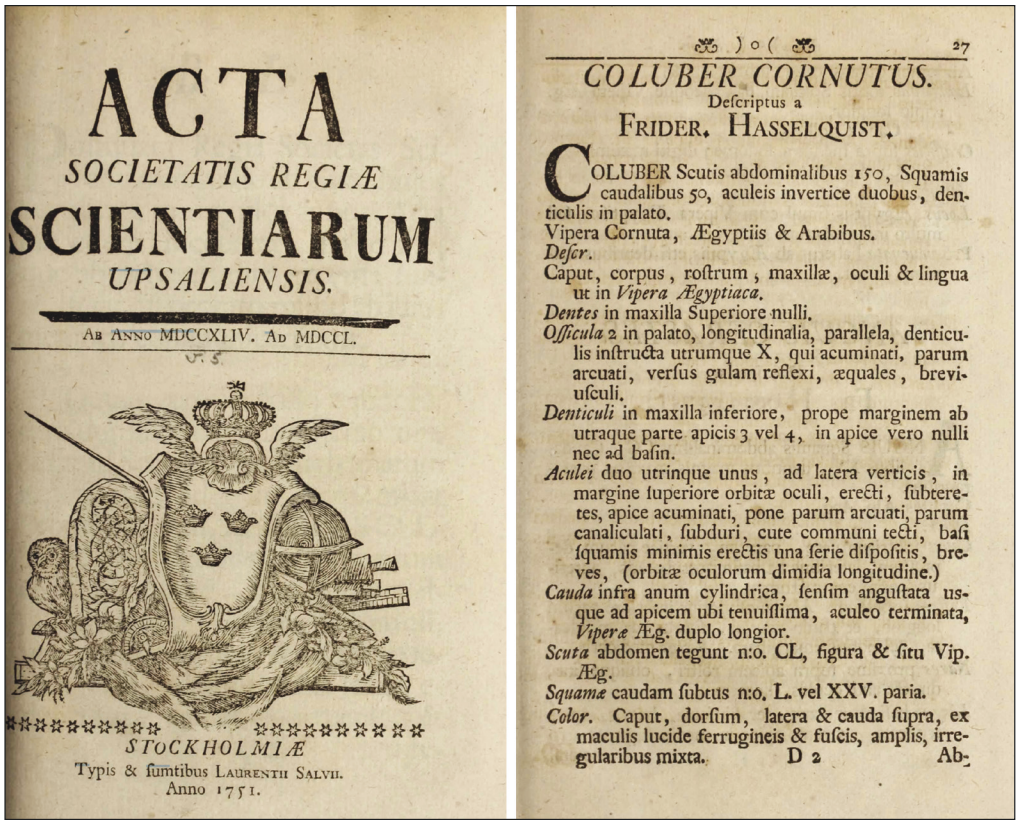
Collum cylindricum, corpore angustius, sensim versus abdomen crassius.

Corpus juxta abdomen obsolete quadrangulare, crassum, versus caudam cylindricum, sensim attenuatum.

Abdomen planum, longitudinaliter plicatile mediante sulco, qui medium abdominis percurrit.

Cau-

Figure 52. Description of *Coluber Vipera* by Fredrik Hasselquist (1722–1752).



ACTA
SOCIETATIS REGIÆ
SCIENTIARUM
UPSALIENSIS.

Ab Anno MDCCXLIV. Ad MDCCL.

STOCKHOLMIÆ
Typis & sumtibus Laurentii Salvii.
Anno 1751.

) o (27

COLUBER CORNUTUS.
Descriptus a
Frider. Hasselquist.

COLUBER Scutis abdominalibus 150, Squamis caudalibus 50, aculeis invertice duobus, denticulis in palato.
Vipera Cornuta, Ægyptiis & Arabibus.

Descr.

Caput, corpus, rostrum, maxillæ, oculi & lingua ut in *Vipera Ægyptiaca.*

Dentes in maxilla Superiore nulli.

Ossicula 2 in palato, longitudinalia, parallela, denticulis instructa utrumque X, qui acuminati, parum arcuati, versus gulam reflexi, æquales, breviusculi.

Denticuli in maxilla inferiore, prope marginem ab utraque parte apicis 3 vel 4, in apice vero nulli nec ad basin.

Aculei duo utrinque unus, ad latera verticis, in margine superiore orbitæ oculi, erecti, subteretes, apice acuminati, pone parum arcuati, parum canaliculati, subduri, cute communi tecti, basi squamis minimis erectis una serie dispositis, breves, (orbitæ oculorum dimidia longitudine.)

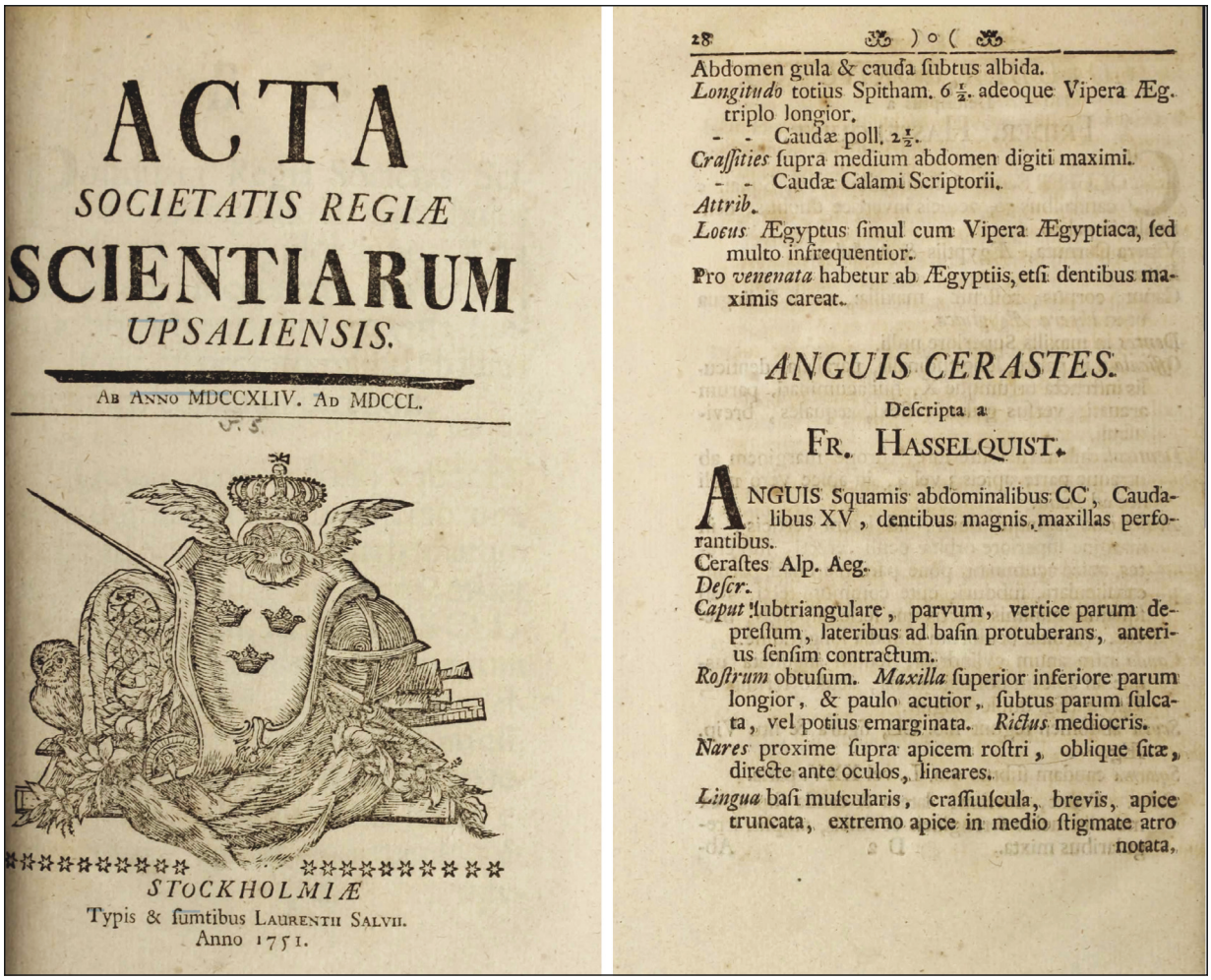
Cauda infra anum cylindrica, sensim angustata usque ad apicem ubi tenuissima, aculeo terminata, *Viperæ* Æg. duplo longior.

Scuta abdomen tegunt n:o. CL, figura & situ Vip. Æg.

Squamæ caudam subtus n:o. L. vel XXV. paria.

Color. Caput, dorsum, latera & cauda supra, ex maculis lucide ferrugineis & fuscis, amplis, irregularibus mixta. D 2 Ab-

Figure 53. Description of *Coluber cornutus* by Fredrik Hasselquist (1722–1752).



ACTA
SOCIETATIS REGIÆ
SCIENTIARUM
UPSALIENSIS.

Ab Anno MDCCXLIV. Ad MDCCL.

STOCKHOLMIÆ
Typis & sumtibus Laurentii Salvii.
Anno 1751.

28)o(

Abdomen gula & cauda subtus albida.
Longitudo totius Spitham. 6 ½. adeoque Vipera Æg. triplo longior.
- - Caudæ poll. 2½.
Crassities supra medium abdomen digiti maximi.
- - Caudæ Calami Scriptorii.
Attrib.
Locus Ægyptus simul cum Vipera Ægyptiaca, sed multo infrequentior.
Pro *venenata* habetur ab Ægyptiis, etsi dentibus maximis careat.

ANGUIS CERASTES.

Descripta a
Fr. Hasselquist.

ANGUIS Squamis abdominalibus CC, Caudalibus XV, dentibus magnis, maxillas perforantibus.
Cerastes Alp. Aeg.
Descr.
Caput subtriangulare, parvum, vertice parum depressum, lateribus ad basin protuberans, anterius sensim contractum.
Rostrum obtusum. *Maxilla* superior inferiore parum longior, & paulo acutior, subtus parum sulcata, vel potius emarginata. *Rictus* mediocris.
Nares proxime supra apicem rostri, oblique sitæ, directe ante oculos, lineares.
Lingua basi muscularis, crassiuscula, brevis, apice truncata, extremo apice in medio stigmate atro notata,

Figure 54. Description of *Anguis cerastes* by Fredrik Hasselquist (1722–1752).

item/164039>. (Figure 53)

Abbreviated as: Hasselqv. act. Ups. 1750. p. 27.; Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 27.; Actis Ups. 1750. p. 27.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758, 1759), Linné (1764a, 1766).

Contents: Description of COLUBER Scutis abdominalibus 150, Squamis caudalibus 50, aculeis invertice duobus, denticulis in palato.

Linnaeus (1758: 216, 217), Linné (1766: 375, 376): Footnote Vipera cornuta (Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 27), Coluber cerastes (Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 27).

Linnaeus (1759: 77): Footnote Vipera cornuta (Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 27), Coluber cerastes (Hasselqv. act. Ups. 1750. p. 27).

Linné (1764a: 43) Comment under Coluber vipera on page 43: "...Vipera Cornuta ab Hasselquist in Actis Ups. 1750. p. 27. descripta..." ["…Vipera Cornuta described by Hasselquist in the Acts of Uppsala, 1750, p. 27…"].

Comments: Linnaeus's own copy is not in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the abbreviation but did not discuss the papers separately.

Hasselquist, F. 1751c. *Anguis cerastes* descript a Fr. Hasselquist. *Acta Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis*, 1744/1750: 28–30. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/164039>. (Figure 54)

Abbreviated as: Hasselqv. act. ups. 1750. p. 28.; Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 28.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758, 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: Description of ANGUIS Squamis abdominalibus CC, Caudalibus XV, dentibus magnis, maxillas perforantibus.

Linnaeus (1758: 228; 1759: 81): Anguis cerastes (Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 28).

Linné (1766: 391): Anguis cerastes (Hasselqv. act. ups.

ACTA
SOCIETATIS REGIÆ
SCIENTIARUM
UPSALIENSIS.

Ab Anno MDCCXLIV. Ad MDCCL.

STOCKHOLMIÆ
Typis & sumtibus Laurentii Salvii.
Anno 1751.

30)o(

Longitudo Capitis poll. ½.
Crassities digiti minoris.
Locus Ægyptus, ubique.
Attributum maxime singulare est mobilitas dentium, quos elevare vel deprimere pro lubitu potest, proprietas haud dubio genus ejus vitæ respiciens, quod rescire non mihi datum fuit.
Pro venenato non habetur. Manducandi potius quam pungendi scopo inservire dentes magni videntur.

LACERTA SCINCUS.

Descripta a
Fr. Hasselquist.

LACERTA caudâ supreme cylindrica, apice attenuata compressa, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis lobato-squamosis.
Scincus Auctorum.
Descr.
Caput porrectum, corpori contiguum, oblongum, breviusculum, sensim usque ad apicem attenuatum, vertice subconvexum, lateribus parum compressum, sinuatum, sinu lato, ab apice ad basin capitis latera ejus percurrente.
Maxilla Superior inferiore longior, depressa, tenuis, obtusa, vel potius sublinearis, subtus plana integra, *rostrum* seu apicem capitis constituens, lateribus supra inferiorem extensa.
Maxilla inferior 3:angularis, apice obtusa.
Nares ad latera in margine rostri, circulares, ampliusculi.

Lingua

Figure 55. Description of *Lacerta scincus* by Fredrik Hasselquist (1722–1752).

1750. p. 28).

Comments: Linnaeus's own copy is not in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the abbreviation but did not discuss the papers separately.

Hasselquist, F. 1751d. *Lacerta scincus* descript a Fr. Hasselquist. *Acta Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis*, 1744/1750: 30–33. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/164039>. (Figure 55)

Abbreviated as: Hasselqv. act. ups. 1750. p. 30.; Hasselqv. Act. Ups. 1750. p. 30.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758, 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: Description of LACERTA caude supreme cylindrica, apice attenuata compressa, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis lobato-squamosis.

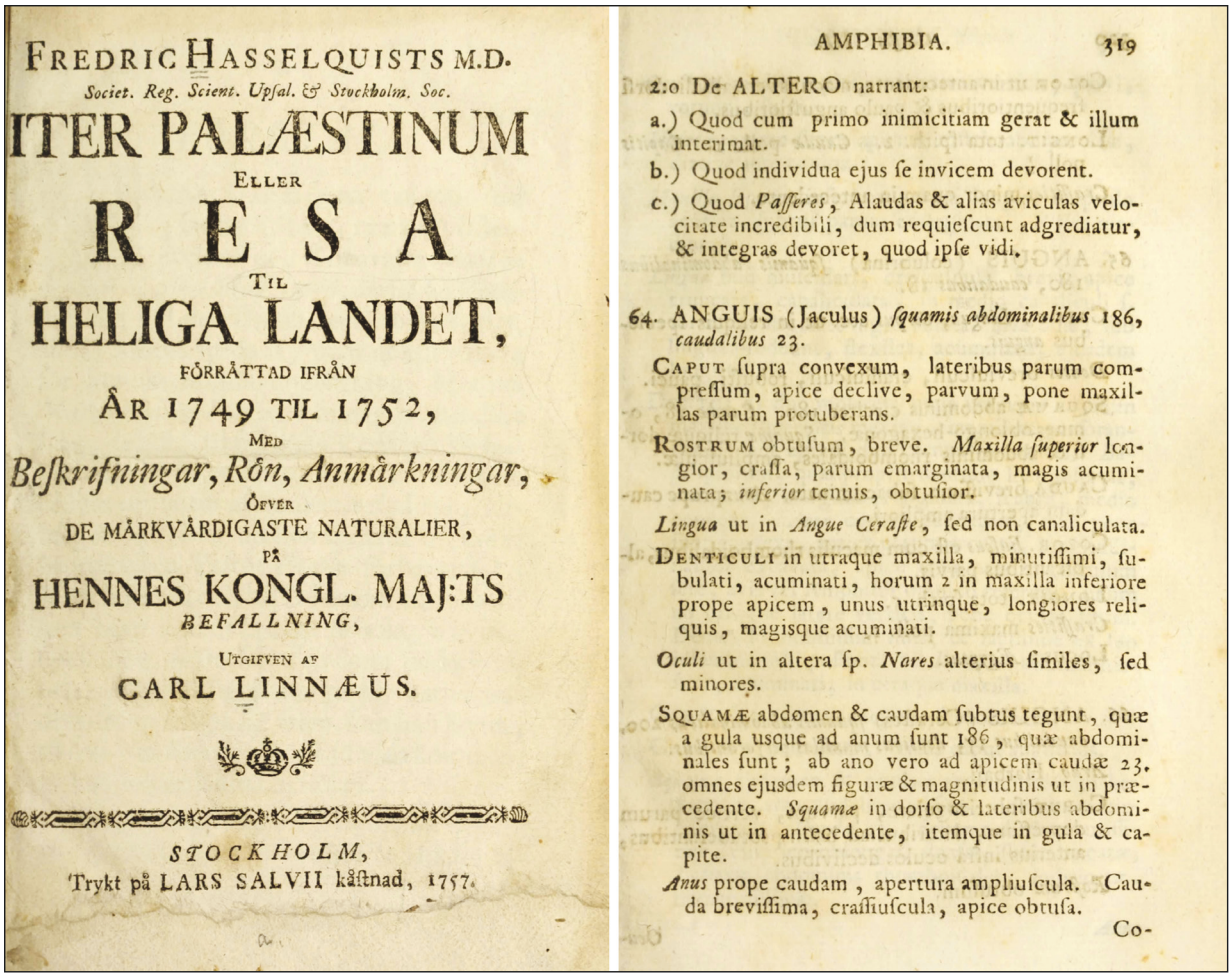
Linnaeus (1758: 205), Linné (1766: 365): Lacerta stincus (Hasselqv. act. ups. 1750. p. 30).

Linnaeus (1759: 73): 22. L. cauda tereti mediori apice compressa, digitis muticis marginatis (*Hasselqv. Act. Ups.* 1750. *p*. 30).

Comments: Linnaeus's own copy is not in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the abbreviation but did not discuss the papers separately.

Hasselquist, F. 1757. *Iter Palaestinum eller resa til heliga landet, förrättad ifrån år 1749 til 1752, med beskrisningar, rön, anmärkningar, öfver de märkvärdigaste naturalier, på hennes Kongliga Maj:ts befallning. Uitgifven af Carl Linnaeus.* Stockholm, Lars Salvii: [xiv] + [1]–619 + [i]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.112563>. (Figure 56)

Abbreviated as: Hasselq.; Hasselq. it.; Hasselq. iter.; Hasselq. itin.; Hasselqv. it.; Hasselqv. iter.;



FREDRIC HASSELQUISTS M.D.
Societ. Reg. Scient. Upsal. & Stockholm. Soc.
ITER PALÆSTINUM
ELLER
RESA
TIL
HELIGA LANDET,
FÖRRÅTTAD IFRÅN
ÅR 1749 TIL 1752,
MED
Beskrifningar, Rön, Anmärkningar,
ÖFVER
DE MÅRKVÅRDIGASTE NATURALIER,
PÅ
HENNES KONGL. MAJ:TS
BEFALLNING,
UTGIFVEN AF
CARL LINNÆUS.

STOCKHOLM,
Trykt på LARS SALVII kåstnad, 1757.

AMPHIBIA. 319

2:o De ALTERO narrant:

a.) Quod cum primo inimicitiam gerat & illum interimat.

b.) Quod individua ejus se invicem devorent.

c.) Quod *Passeres*, Alaudas & alias aviculas velocitate incredibili, dum requiescunt adgrediatur, & integras devoret, quod ipse vidi.

64. ANGUIS (Jaculus) *squamis abdominalibus* 186, *caudalibus* 23.

CAPUT supra convexum, lateribus parum compressum, apice declive, parvum, pone maxillas parum protuberans.

ROSTRUM obtusum, breve. *Maxilla superior* longior, crassa, parum emarginata, magis acuminata; *inferior* tenuis, obtusior.

Lingua ut in *Angue Cerastes*, sed non canaliculata.

DENTICULI in utraque maxilla, minutissimi, subulati, acuminati, horum 2 in maxilla inferiore prope apicem, unus utrinque, longiores reliquis, magisque acuminati.

Oculi ut in altera sp. *Nares* alterius similes, sed minores.

SQUAMÆ abdomen & caudam subtus tegunt, quæ a gula usque ad anum sunt 186, quæ abdominales sunt; ab ano vero ad apicem caudæ 23. omnes ejusdem figuræ & magnitudinis ut in præcedente. *Squamæ* in dorso & lateribus abdominis ut in antecedente, itemque in gula & capite.

Anus prope caudam, apertura ampliuscula. Cauda brevissima, crassiuscula, apice obtusa.

Co-

Figure 56. Narrative of Fredrik Hasselquist 's trip to Palestina.

Hasselqv. itin.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: *Lacerta* (*Crocodilus*) (293-297), *L.* (*Chamaeleon*) (297-301), *L.* (*Stellio*) (301-302), *L.* (*aegyptia*) *cauda verticillata squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis* (302-306), *L.* (*Gecko*) *cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus cristatis subtus longitudinaliter lamellosis* (306-308), *L.* (*Stincus*) *cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus pentadactylis: digitis lobato-squamosis, squamis laevibus nitidis* (309-311), *L.* (*nilotica*) *cauda tereti longa, corpore toto glabro, squamis angulo obtuso notatis* (311-313), *Coluber* (*Vipera.*) *scutis abdominalibus* 118, *squamis caudalibus* 40, *cauda aculeata* (314-315), *C.* (*cornutus*) *scutis abdominalibus* 150, *squamis caud.* 50, *tentaculis in vertice duobus* (315-316), *C.* (*Haje*) *scutis abdomin. 206*, *squamis caudalibus* 60 (317-318), *Colubri duas species vidi in Cypro.* 1:0 *Aspic* (318). 2:0 *Altera* (319), *Anguis* (*Jaculus*) *squamis abdominalibus* 186, *caudalibus* 23 (319-320), and *A.* (*colubrina*) *squamis abdominalibus* 180, *caudalibus* 18 (320), and *A.* (*Cerastes*) *squamis abdominalibus* 200, *caudalibus* 15, *dentibus maxillas perforantibus* (320-322).

Acrell (1762: 18; 1763: 216): "*...ejusmodi homines* [referring to the snake charmers] *etiam hodie in Aegypto dari, artemque excercer nuper autoptes coram vidit* Hasselq. itin. 70..." ["…Men of this kind [referring to the snake charmers] are still found today in Egypt, and Hasselquist recently witnessed the practice of the art firsthand during his journey, p. 70…"].

Linnaeus (1758: 12, 200, 202, 204, 205, 216, 217, 225, 228): Reference on the heart of crocodiles in the section "Natural division of animals" footenote "miratus itaque quod 2 ventroculos cordis Crocodilo adscribat *Hasselqvist itiner. 293.*" ["... And so, I am surprised that Hasselqvist, in his Travels (p. 293), ascribes two ventricles to the heart of the crocodile…"]. *Lacerta crocodilus* (Anatome Crocodili. Hasselq. iter. 292), *L. stellio*

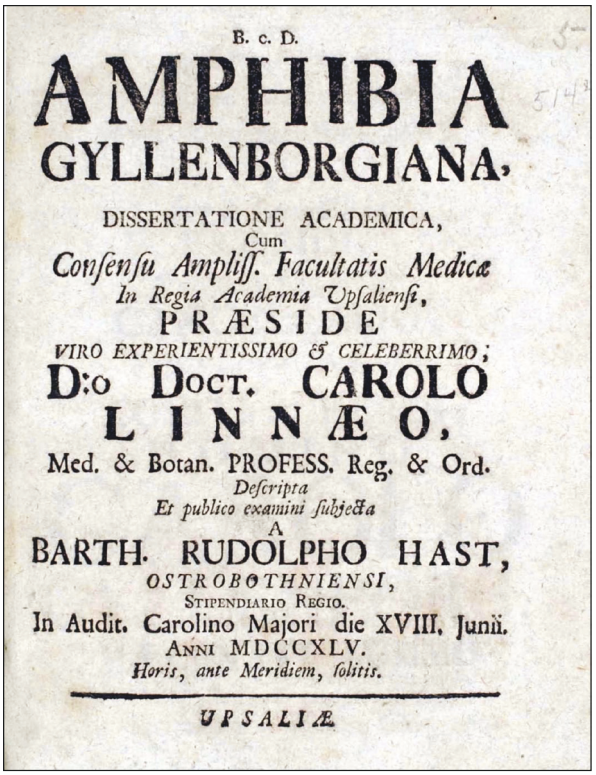
(Hasselq. iter. 301. *Lacerta Stellio*), *L. chamaeleon* (Anatome Chamaeleontis. Hasselq. iter. 297), *L. gecko* (Hasselvq. iter. 306. *Lacerta Gecko cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus cristatis subtus longitudinaliter lamellosis*), *L. stincus* (Hasselqv. itin. 309. n. 58), *Coluber vipera* (Hasselqv. itin. 314, n. 60), *C. cerastes* (Hasselqv. iter. 315. n. 61. *Coluber cornutus*), *C. haje* (Hasselqv. iter. 317. n. 62. *Coluber scutis abd. 206, squam. caudal. 60*), *Anguis. colubrina* (Hasselq. iter. 320. n. 65), *A. jaculus*. (Hasselq. iter. 319. n. 64), *A. cerastes* (Hasselqv. it. 320. n. 66).

Linné (1766: 19, 359, 361, 365, 369, 375, 376, 387, 390, 391): Reference on the heart of crocodiles in the section "Natural division of animals" footenote *Hasselqvist itiner. 293.Lacerta crocodilus* (Anatome Crocodili. Hasselq. it. 292), *L. stellio* (Hasselq. itin. 301. *Lacerta Stellio*), *L.chamaeleon* (Anatome Chamaeleontis. Hasselq. iter. 297), *L. gecko* (Hasselq. iter. 306. *Lacerta Gecko cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus cristatis subtus longitudinaliter lamellosis*), *L. stincus* (Hasselq. itin. 309. n. 58), *L. nilotica* (*Hasselq. itin.* 311. *n.* 59. *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, corpore toto glabro: squamis angulo obtuso notatis*), *Coluber vipera* (Hasselq. itin. 314, n. 60), *C. cerastes* (Hasselq. iter. 315. n. 61. *Coluber cornutus*), *C. haje* (Hasselq. it. 317. n. 62. *Coluber scutis abd. 206, squam. caudal. 60*), *A nguis. colubrina* (Hasselq. it. 320. n. 65), *A. jaculus*. (Hasselq. iter. 319. n. 64), *A. cerastes* (Hasselq. it. 320. n. 66).

Linnaeus (1759: 6, 73, 81): Footnote page reference to the heart of crocodiles (Hasselqvist itin. 293); 21. L. cauda tereti mediocri, digitis subtus imbricatis, corpore verrucoso (Hasselq.); 198. Colubrina (*Hasselq. it. 320. n. 65.*); 209. Jaculus. (Hasselq. it. 319. n. 64).

Comments: This is the narrative of the trip to Palestina performed by F. Hasselquist between the end of 1749 and the beginning of 1752. After his death in the vicinity of Izmir on 9 February 1752, Linnaeus compiled, edited and published the notes he took (Hasselquist 1757). The only species not considered by Linnaeus in SN10 (Linnaeus 1758) and SN12 (Linné 1766) were *Lacerta aegyptia, L. nilotica* and "the two snakes seene in Cyprus". Reference to *Lacerta crocodilus* in Linnaeus (1758) and Linné (1766) are incorrect, since the description begins on page 293, not the 292 as cited.

Linnaeus's own copy is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same Stockholm edition as the Linnaean source.


B. c. D.

AMPHIBIA GYLLENBORGIANA,

DISSERTATIONE ACADEMICA,
Cum
Consensu Ampliss. Facultatis Medicæ
In Regia Academia Upsaliensi,
PRÆSIDE
VIRO EXPERIENTISSIMO & CELEBERRIMO;
D:o DOCT. CAROLO
LINNÆO,
Med. & Botan. PROFESS. Reg. & Ord.
Descripta
Et publico examini subjecta
A
BARTH. RUDOLPHO HAST,
OSTROBOTHNIENSI,
STIPENDIARIO REGIO.
In Audit. Carolino Majori die XVIII. Junii.
ANNI MDCCXLV.
Horis, ante Meridiem, solitis.

UPSALIÆ.

Figure 57. Title page of *Amphibia Gyllenborgiana* the first herpetological dissertation issued under Linnaues's supervision.

Hast, B.R. 1745. *B. c. D. Amphibia Gyllenborgiana, dissertatione academica cum Consensu Ampliss. Facultatis Medicæ in Regia Academia Upsaliensi, præside viro experientissimo & celeberrimo; D:o Doct. Carolo Linnæo, Med. & Botan. Profess. Reg. & Ord. Descripta Et publico examini subjecta a Barth. Rudolpho Hast, Ostrobothniensi, stipendiario regio. In Audit. Carolino Majori die XVIII. Junii. Anni MDCCXLV.* Upsaliæ, [i] + [iii] + [ii] + [1] + 2–34 + [ii]. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-005.pdf>. (Figure 57)

Abbreviated as: A. gyll.; A.G.; Amph. Gyll.; Amph. Gyllenb.; Amphib. Gyll.; Amphib. Gyllenborg.; Amphibiis Gyllenborgianis; Hast. Amph Gyllenb.; R. Hast.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1748a, b; 1756; 1759), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (5); β. *Anguis cinerea, macula*

dorsi fusca longitudinaliter dentata (6); 2. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXII. caudalibus CL* (7); 3. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV* (8); 4. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CL, caudalibus LIV* (9); 5. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CXVIII, caudalibus LXI* (10); 6. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV* (11); 7. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CXXIV, caudalibus LX* (12); 8. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCVII, caudalibus LXXXV* (13); 9. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXXXVI, caudalibus LXIV* (14); 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (16); 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (18); 12. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, alis femore connexis, crista gulae triplici* (20); 13. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX* (21); 14. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis* (22); 15. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore triplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, gula subcristata* (23); 16. LACERTA *cauda tereti corpore sesqui longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso lineis longitudinalibus striato* (24); 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (25); 18. LACERTA *cauda verticillata, squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis* (26); 19. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis subtus lunulato-imbricatis, corpore verrucoso* (27); 20. RANA *pedibus fissis, unguibus subrotundis, corpore laevi, pone angustato* (29); 21. TESTUDO *major terrestris americana, mydas dicta* (31); 22. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum duobus, plantarum unico* (32); 23. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque quaternis* (33), and 24. TESTUDO *picta vel stellata.*

Balk (1746: 6, 10, 11, 15, 16, 24, 26, 27, 28, ; 1749: 283, 287, 288, 292, 293, 302, 304, 305, 306): Comments on page 6/283: "*...In dissertatione autem ante annum heic habita de Amphibiis Gyllenborgianis pulcherrimum detectum suit inventum pro characterespecificum serpentum, quod in numero scutorum abdominalium & squamarum caudae consistit...*" ["...But in the dissertation held here a year ago on the Gyllenborgian amphibians, a most beautiful discovery was made regarding a specific character of serpents, which consists in the number of ventral scutes and tail scales..."]. Additionally, it includes 12. *LACERTA cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista gulae pendula antice dentata, dorsi sutura denticulata.* (*Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata.* Amphib. Gyll. N. 11.); 13. *LACERTA cauda tereti, corpore longo, pedibus pentadactylis, gula subcristata, antice dentata, dorso laevi* (*LACERTA cauda tereti, corpore triplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, gula subcristata.* Amphib. Gyllenb. N. 15.); 17. *LACERTA cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis, subtus lunulato-imbricatis corpore verrucoso.* (Amphib. Gyllenb. N. 19. p. 27.); 18. *LACERTA cauda verticillata squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis,* (Amphib. Gyllenb. N. 18. p. 16.); 19. *LACERTA cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX.* (Amphib. Gyll. p. 21. N. 13.); 28. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CL. squamis caudalibus LIV.* (Amph. Gyllenb. p. 19. N. 4.); 33. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus* CLXXXIV, *caudalibus* L. "...Accedit serpens hic ad speciem, anguis scutis abdominalibus CCL. caudalibus XXXV.Amphib. Gyllenb.p.11. N. 6. Magnitudine & fere colore, nihilo minus tamen distinctissimas esse non modo scuta abdominalia & caudae sed & oculi aperte docent, qui in Gyllenborgiano minima puncta sunt, in hoc autem magni & ratione magnitudinis satis grandes..." ["…This serpent approaches in appearance the snake with 250 abdominal scutes and 35 caudal scutes (*Amphib. Gyllenborg*, p. 11, no. 6). Also in size and almost in color; nonetheless, the abdominal and caudal scutes, and also the eyes, show it to be quite distinct, for in Gyllenborg's specimen they are the smallest dots, but in this one they are large, and — in proportion to its size — fairly large indeed…"]. **34.** *ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXC, caudalibus XCVIII.* (*Anguis scutis abdominalibus CLXXXVI. caudalibus LXIV.* Amphib. Gyllenb. N:o 9. p. 14.); 36. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CCIX, squamis caudalibus XC.* (*ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CCVII, caudalibus LXXXV* Amphib. Gyllenb. p. 13. N. 8.)

Linnaeus (1746a: 96, 97, 387): 259. ANGUIS scu-

tis abdominalibus CLXXVII, squamis caudae LXXXV. *Amph. Gyllenb.*, 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI, squamis caudae XXXIX. *Amph. Gyllenb.*, 1352. LACERTA cauda tereti verticillata longitudine corporis, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis (Habitat inter *Lapides*. R. Hast).

Linnaeus (1748a: 34, 36, 37; 1748b: 34, 36, 37; 1756: 34, 36, 37): 1. *Coluber scut. abdom*. 250, *squam caud.* 35, *A. g. 6.*, 5. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 209, *squam caud.* 90, *A. G. 8.*, 8. 14. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 190, *squam caud.* 98, *A.G. 9.*, 12. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 176, *squam caud.* 60, *A. G. 3.*, 14. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 164, *squam caud.* 150, *A. G. 2.*, 18. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 150, *squam caud.* 54, *A G.4.*, *24. Coluber scut. abdom.* 124, *squam caud.* 60, *Amph. gyll. 7.*, 26. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 118, *squam caud.* 61, *Amph. gyll. 5.*, Lacerta volans. *Amphib. Gyllenborg*. 12., 4. *Lacerta cauda verticillata squamis denticulatis*, *pedibus pentadactylis A. gyll.* 18., 10. *Lacerta cauda tereti longa*, *pedibus pentadactylis*, *crista gulae dentata*, *sutura dorsali denticulata*, *A. gyll.* 11., 11. *Lacerta cauda tereti longa*, *pedibus pentadactylis*, *gula subcristata: antice dentata*, *dorso laevi*. *A. gyll.* 15., 14. *Lacerta cauda tereti longa*, *pedibus pentadactylis*, *crista nulla*, *scutis abdominalibus XXX*. *A. gyll.* 13., 15. *Lacerta cauda tereti medicri*, *pedibus pentadactylis*, *digitis cristatis subtus imbricatis*, *corpore verrucoso. A. gyll.* 19., 18. *Lacerta cauda tereti brevi*, *pedibus inermibus*, *palmis tetradactylis*, *plantis pentadactylis*, *A. gyll.* 17., 19. *Lacerta cauda tereti longa*, *pedibus pentadactylis*, *crista nulla*, *hypochondriis plicatis A. gyll.* 14., 20. *Lacerta cauda tereti longa*, *pedibus pentadactylis*, *dorso lincis longitudonalibus striato*. *A. gyll.* 16., 4. *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis*, *plantis pentradactylis fissis*, *unguibus subrorundis*, *corpore laevi: pone angustato*. *A. gyll.* 20., 1. *Testudo unguibus acuminatis: palmarum duobus*, *plantarum unico*. *A. gyll.* 22., 2. *Testudo unguibus acuminatis: palmarum plantarumque quaternis. A. gyll.* 23.

Linnaeus (1759: 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77): 1. T. pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum binis, plantarum solitariis, testa ovata (*Hast. Amph. Gyllenb. n.* 22); var. β. (*Hast. Amph. Gyllenb. n.* 21); 5. T. pedibus subpalmatis, cauda corpore dimidio breviore, testa subconvexa postice tribus scutellis carinata (*Hast. Amph Gyllenb. n.* 23); 9. T. pedibus posticis palmatis, testae scutellis elevatis truncatis (*Hast. Amph. Gyllenb. n.* 24); 1. Draco (*Hast. Amb.* (sic) *Gyllenb. n.* 12); 20. L. cauda tereti brevi, digitis muticis, corpore poroso nudo (*Amph. Gyllenb. n.* 17); 33. L. cauda tereti longa, gula subcristata antice dentata, dorso laevi (*Amph. Gyll. n.* 15); 36. L. cauda tereti longa, sutura laterali plicata (*Amph. Gyllenb. n.* 14); 16. R. corpore laevi: subtus punctis contiguis tuberculato, pedibus fissis, unguibus orbiculato-dilatatis (*Amph. Gyllenb. n.* 20); 178. [Coluber] Domicella (*Amph. Gyllenb. n.* 5); 181. [Coluber] Angulatus (*Amph. Gyllenb. n.* 7).

Sundius (1748: 9, 15, 17, 18): 9. ANGVIS s*cutis abdominalibus* CCL, s*qvamis caudalibus* XXXV (Amph. Gyllenb. p.11. n. 6), 10. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXIX, sqvamis caudalibus CX. ("...Usque adeo hic serpens AHÆTULLÆ CEYLONENSIUM, Amphib. Gyll. p.7. n. 2...." ["... This serpent is so very much like the AHÆTULLA of the CEYLONESE, Amphib. Gyll, p. 7, no. 2..."]. 12. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXIV, sqvamis caudalibus CL (*Amphib. Gyllenb.* p. 7. n. 2), 13. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CCVIII, squamis caudalibus XC (Amphib. Gyllenb. p*. 13. *n*. 8), 14. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CL, squamis caudalibus L. (Amphib. Gyllenb. p. 9. n. 4), 18. LACERTA cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis (Amphib. Gyllenb. p, 22. n. 14).

Sundius (1749: 493, 495, 496, 501): 9.COLUBER s*cutis abdominalibus* CCL, s*qvamis caudalibus* XXXV. Amphib. Gyllenborg. n. 6; 10. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXIX, sqvamis caudalibus CX. ("...Usque adeo hic serpens AHÆTULLÆ CEYLONENSIUM, Amphib. Gyll. n. 2...." ["...This serpent is so very much like the AHÆTULLA of the CEYLONESE, Amphib. Gyll, p. 7, no. 2..."]. 12. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXIV, sqvamis caudalibus CL (*Amph. Gyllenb.* n. 2), 13. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CCVIII, squamis caudalibus XC (Amph. Gyllenb. n*. 8), 14. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CL, squamis caudalibus L. (Amphib. Gyllenb. n. 4), 18. LACERTA cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis (Amphib. Gyllenb. n. 14).

Comments: Also in *Amoenitates academicae*, vol. 1 (Hast 1749, and re-editions); *vide infra*.

Linnaeus's own copy is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Library of the Academy of Uppsala

Figure 58. Title page and page 327 from *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae* by Francisco Hernández de Toledo (1517–1587).

did not have a copy of the publication (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) did not cover the dissertation. Heller (2007) identified the work as the Linnaean source.

Hernandez, F. 1651. Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae. Liber unicus in sex tractatus divisus. pp. 1-90, in N. A. Recchi, *Rerum medicarvm Novae Hispaniae thesaurus seu plantarum animalium mineralium Mexicanorum historia ex Francisci Hernandez novi orbis medici primarii relationibus in ipsa Mexicana urbe conscriptis a Nardo Antonio Reccho (...). Nunc primũ in naturaliũ rer. studiosor. gratiã lucubrationibus Lynceorũ publici iuris facta, quibus jam excussis accessere dernum alia quor. omnium synopsis sequenti pagina ponitur opus duobus voluminibus diuisum*. Romae. V. Mascardi. [26] + 1-950 + [2] + 1-90 + [14]. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/113603>. (Figure 58)

Abbreviated as: Hern. mex.; Hernand. mex.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: There are herpetological references in: 1 - Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Nardi Antonii Recchi Liber Nonus. Animalia Exhibet: *De Acaltetepon, seu Monoxillo mucronato, quom privatim Temacuilcahuya vocant, Lacerto Novae Hispaniae* (315), *De Aquetzpalin, seu Crocodilis, quos alii Caimanes vocant* (315-316), *De Axolotl, seu Lusu aquarum* (316-317), *De Tapayaxin lacerto orbiculare No. Hispaniae* (327-328), and *De Teuhtlacot Zauhqui, seu domina serpentum* (328-330). 2 - Aliorum Novae Hispaniae Animalium Nardi Antonii Recchi imagines et nomina Ioannis Fabri (...): *Cuapapalcatl. Chamaeleo Mexicanus* (721-743), *Techichicotl. Stellio Novae Hispaniae* (744-773), *Iztac. Serpens novae Hispaniae quadricolor* (774), *Nexboa de Quanquecholla. Serpens bicolor Mexicanus* (775-789), *Maquiztetzauhuatl. Amphisbaena Mexicana* (790-797, *Amphisbaena Europaea* (797-816), and two dagons, *Dracunculus monoceros* (816-828), and *Draco aereus in fonte laureti in virid.* (828-831). 3 - Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae liber unicus in sex tractatus divisus. Francisco Fernandez

(a.k.a. Hernández) Philippi Secundi primario Medico (with independent pagination). Tractatus tertius, De historia reptilium Novae Hispaniae: *De Acaltetepon, seu Monoxilo mucronato, quod privatim Temacuilcahuaya vocant* (58), *De aliis duobus Lacertarum generibus, quae proprie Acaltetepo nunpantur* (58-59), *De Ahueyactli, seu Hemorrhoo Indico* (59), *De Aquaquetzpallin, seu Aquatico colore* (59-60), *De Aquetzpalin, seu Crocodilis, quos alii Caymanes vocant* (60), *De Acoatl, seu serpente Aquatili* (60), *De Aquaqua, seu Bufone* (60), *De Colcoatl, seu Serpente Coturnicibus simili* (60), *De Cencoatl* (60), *De Tzicatlinan serpente* (61), *De canauhcoatl* (61), *De Ecacoatl, seu Angue venti* (61), *De Quatapalcatl, seu Chameleone Mexicensi* (61), *De Cuicuilcoatl, seu Colubro vario* (61), De Cencoatl, seu Colubro simili spicae mayzii, similibusque colore variato (62), De *Colcoatl, seu Colubro Coturnicum colore* (62), *De Cuech, seu Colubro sonalibus insignito* (62), *De Yztaccoatl, seu albo Colubro* (62), *D, seu alba Lacerta* (62), *De Macacoatl, seu Angue Ceruino* (63), *De Macacoatl* (63), *De Maquizcoatl* (63), *De Cencoatl* (63), *De Teuhtlacotzauhqui, seu Domina serpentum* (63), *De Tecoixin torquata* (63), *De Tlehua, seu Igneo Colubro* (63-64), *De Petzcoatl, seu Angue lubrico* (64), *De Petlacoatl* (64), *De Tlilcoatl* (64), *De Tlecoatl, seu Igneo Serpente* (64), *De Techichicotl, seu lapide inculto* (64), *De Quauhtzicatlinam, seu matre fromicarum* (65), *De altero Teuhtlacotzauhqui* (65), *De genere Tamacolin, seu rubetarum* (65), *De Tlilcuetzpallin, seu nigra lacerta* (65), *De Tecoixin, seu saxorum lacerta* (65-66), *De Tetzauhcoatl, seu serpente raro* (66), *De Texixincoyotl* (66), *De Xaxalhua* (66), *De Teixminani, seu serpente involante oculos* (66), *De Tecuixin, seu innocuis Lacerta*rum *generibus* (67), *De Tlilcoatl* (67), *De Tetzauhcoatl* (67), *De Tapayaxin* (67-68), *De Temacuilcahuilia serpente* (68), *De Tepecolcoatl, seu Angue montano, Coturnices Indicas colore imitante* (68), *De Chiauhcoatl* (68), *De Nexoa* (68), *De otro Colubri genere* (68-69), *De Aguasen* (69), *De Ataligato Angue* (69), *De Teque Lacerta* (69), *De Taletec Lacerta* (69), *De Dopone* (69-70), *De Haro Coloti genere* (70), *De Bitin Colubri genere* (70), *De Coyuta* (70) and *De Colubro splendente in tenebris* quem *vocant Cumcoatl* (70). In the Tractatus quintus, De historia aquatilium Novae Hispaniae: *De Axolotl, sive lusu aquarum* (76), *De Cueyatl* (80), and *De Malullis* (82).

Balk (1746: 20; 1749: 297): 24. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX.* (*Theutlacet Zauhqui,* Hernand. mex. 329.).

Linnaeus (1758: 206): *Lacerta orbicularis* (*Hernand. mex.* 327, 328. Lacertus orbicularis).

Linné (1766): *Lacerta orbicularis β* (*Hern. mex.* 327, 328. Lacertus orbicularis).

Comments: The reference *Hernand. mex.* is a bibliographic puzzle. In 1580 Felipe II commisioned Nardo Antonio Recchi to do a synthesis of the manuscript by Francisco Hernández housed at the El Escorial libray (later destroyed in the fire of June 7, 1671). According to de Asúa & French (2005), over the time, Recchi's compilation came at the hands of Federico Cesi, leader of the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome, and was finally published in 1651. *Rervm medicarvm Novae Hispaniae* includes (1) The synthesis of Recchi in ten books, the ninth of which is dedicated to animals; (2) comments about 300 drawings of plants by Johann Schreck (Ioannis Terrentiis); (3) comments about 23 drawings of animals by Johannes Farber; (4) a botanical section by Fabio Colonna; (5) the Tabulae Phytosophicae by Federico Cesi and (6) the full version of Francisco Hernández manuscript of *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae*, based on a copy made in 1626 by Cassiano dal Pozzo requirement (de Asúa and French 2005).

Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source.

Imperato, F. 1695a. *Historiæ naturalis libri XXIIX (sic). Accesserunt nonnull æ Johannis Mari æ Ferro adnotationes ad librum vigesimum octavum. Nunc primum ex Italica in linguam conversa Latinam. Cum indic locupletissimo.* Coloniæ, Philippi Gothofredi Saurmanni: [i] + [ii] + [iiii] +[1]–928 + [xxiii]. <https://archive.org/>. (Figure 59)

Abbreviated as Imperat. nat.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Lib. XXIIX (curious notation for XXVIII), contains the following amphibians and reptiles:

FERRANDI IMPERATI
NEAPOLITANI
HISTORIÆ
NATURALIS
LIBRI XXIIX.
Accesserunt nonnullæ
JOHANNIS MARIÆ FERRO
ADNOTATIONES
AD
LIBRUM VIGESIMUM OCTAVUM.
Nunc primum ex Italica in lingvam conversa Latinam.
CUM INDICE LOCUPLETISSIMO.
COLONIÆ,
Sumptibus PHILIPPI GOTHOFREDI SAURMANNI,
Bibliopol. Bremensis.
ANNO M DC XCV.

Cap. I. HISTORIA NATURALIS. 917
Cæcilia major,
cum vestigiis pedum, animal viviparum.
Zzzzz 3 Salaman-

Figure 59. The 1695 Cologne edition of Imperato's *Historiæ naturalis*.

Lacerta dioscorides (897), *Cerastes* (899), *Caecilia* (899-900), *Caecilia gesneri* (900), *Salamandra* (900), *Lacerta chalcidica* (901), *Vipera* (903) and *alia Salamandra species, quae raro spectatur* (918), in addition to illustrations of *Lacerta Lybica, Provinciae Mauritaniae, descripta a Dioscorides* (906), *Cerastes, serpens cornutus* (916), *Caecilia Gesneri* (916), *Caecilia major, cum vestigiis pedum, animal viviparum* (917), *Salamandra cum suo foetu* (918), *Lacerta chalcidica, vulgo vermiulata* (919) and *Vipera cum suo foetu* (926).

Linné (1766: 365, 370, 371, 392): *Lacerta stincus* (*Imperat. nat*. 906. Lacerta lybia), *Lacerta chalcides* (*Imperat. nat.* 917. Caecilia major), *Lacerta Salamandra* (*Imperat. nat.* 918. Caecilia major), *Anguis fragilis* (*Imperat. nat*. 916. Caecilia gesneri).

Comments: The first edition, in Italian, (Imperato, 1599), has only 790 pages. Linnaean references match two identical editions, published in 1695, one in Coloniae and the other in Lipsiae (Imperato 1695a, b).

Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), but the library of the Academy of Uppsala had a copy of the edition of Köln (Aurivillius 1814a), which is considered, tentatively, as the source analyzed by Linnaeus.

Dundee (1994) did not cover the dissertation.

Heller (2007) considered the second 1672 edition of the book by Imperato the main source used by Linnaeus, still it should be noted that he did not discuss the references in SN12.

J. Leche (pers. comm. Johan Leche) **Not located.**

Abbreviated as J. Leche.

Cited in Linnaeus (1746a).

Contents: Probably a personal communication of an observation by the Finish botanist Johan Leche (1704 – 1764) (Krecsák et al. 2025a).

Linnaeus (1746a: 94): In the observations on 251. *Rana abdomine fulvo,* Linnaeus wreote: "... Cantat uti cuculus. *J. Leche...*" ["…It calls like a cuckoo. — J. Leche…"].

Comments: References to Leche recorded by Heller (2007) but not in connection with Amphibia.

Jacobaeus, O. 1696. *Muséum Regium seu Catalogus Rerum tam naturalium, quàm artificialium, quae in Basilica Bibliothecæ Augustissimi Daniæ Norvegiæq; Monarchæ Christiani Quinti, Hafniae asservantur.* Hafniæ, Joachim Schmetgen: [i] + [ii] + [ii] + [viii] + [i] + 1–201 + [i], Pl. I–XXXVII. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.66511>. (Figure 60)

Abbreviated as Jacob. mus. [a]

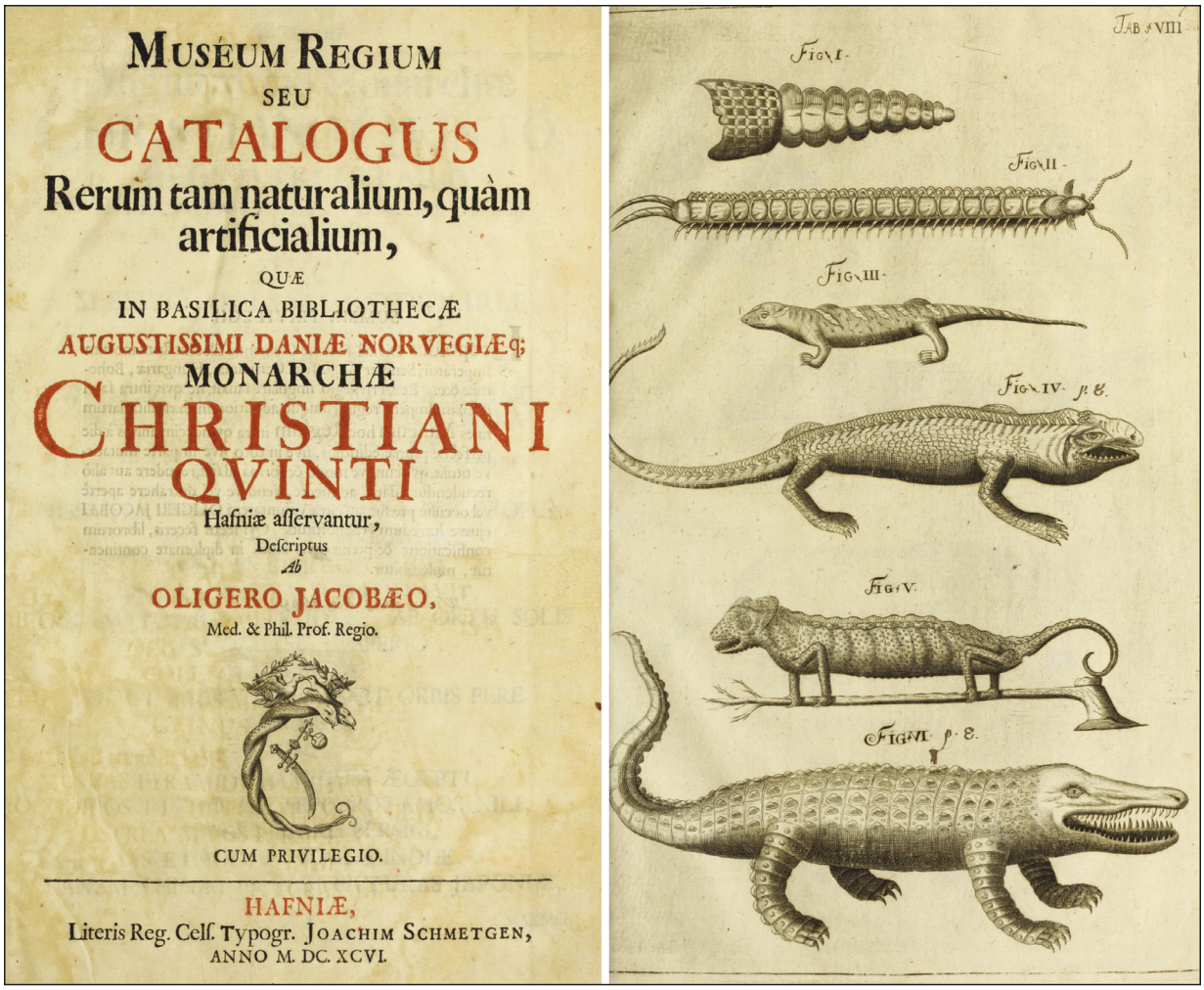

MUSEUM REGIUM
SEU
CATALOGUS
Rerum tam naturalium, quàm artificialium,
QUÆ
IN BASILICA BIBLIOTHECÆ
AUGUSTISSIMI DANIÆ NORVEGIÆq;
MONARCHÆ
CHRISTIANI
QVINTI
Hafniæ asservantur,
Descriptus
Ab
OLIGERO JACOBÆO,
Med. & Phil. Prof. Regio.
CUM PRIVILEGIO.
HAFNIÆ,
Literis Reg. Cels. Typogr. JOACHIM SCHMETGEN,
ANNO M. DC. XCVI.

Figure 60. Amphibia as illustrated by Jacobaeus (1696).

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: *Sectio I* (*Homine & Quadripedibus*) in the first edition of Jacobaeus' catalog includes *Crocodilus niloticus* (8), *Crocodilus Indiae Orientalis* (8) diverse *Crocodiles* (8), *Igvana seu Senembi Brasiliensum* (8), nine *Igvanae* (8), *Lacerta Bononiensis* (9), one small *Lacerta* (9), *Chamaeleon* (9), *Salamandra* (9), *Testudo marina* (9), several small turtles and their carapaces (9; 10), and *Scincus marinus* (10). *Sectio V* (*De Serpentibus & Insectis*), includes a tail (rattle) of *Boicininga seu domina serpentum* (23), several *Serpens Indiae Occidentalis* and snake's skins (*exuviar serpentis*) (23), *Vipera* (23-24) plus a head, tongue, skeleton, embryos and vertebrae (24).

Hast (1745: 18; 1749: 124): 11. LACERTA cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata (Jacob. mus. tab. 4. Iguana).

Linnaeus (1758: 207), Linné (1766: 366): Lacerta igvana (Jacob. mus. t. 4).

Comments: The reference to *Lacerta iguana* in Linnaeus (1758) and Linné (1766) is a transcription of that of Hast (1745; 1749), who mistook the figure number with the plate number. In the first edition of the catalog of the Danish museum, *Iguana seu Senembi Brasiliensium* is described on page 8 and illustrated in figure IV of plate VIII, along with a rattle of *Boicininga* (Fig. I), *Scolopendra* (Fig. II), *Salamandra* (Fig. III), *Chamaeleon* (Fig. V), and *Crocodilus niloticus* (Fig. VI).

Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed an 1698 edition of the work (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same 1696 edition as the Linnaean source.

MUSEUM REGIUM,
SEU
CATALOGUS
Rerum tam naturalium, quàm artificialium,
QVÆ IN BASILICA BIBLIOTHECÆ
AUGUSTISSIMI DANIÆ NORVEGIÆq;
MONARCHÆ,
FRIDERICI
QVARTI,
Havniæ asservantur,
GLORIOSISSIMÆ MEMORIÆ REGE,
CHRISTIANO QVINTO,
regnante,
Ab
OLIGERO JACOBÆO
Med. & Phil. Prof. Regio
qvondam describtus,
nunc vero magna ex parte auctior
uberioribusq; commentariis, præsertim autem qvoad
ANTIQVITATES
HISTORIAMQ: NUMISMATUM DANICORUM,
illustratus,
accurante
JOHANNE LAUERENTZEN,
Assessore Consistorii Havniensis Regio.
CUM PRIVILEGIO.
HAUNIÆ, Ex Reg. Majest. & Universit. Typographéo.

Figure 61. The posthumous edition of Jacobaeus' catalog, without an explicit date of publication.

Jacobaeus, O. [1710?]. ***Museum Regium seu Catalogus Rerum tam naturalium, quam artificialium, quae in Basilica Bibliothecae Augustissimi Daniae Norvegiae Aeq; Monarchae Christiani Quinti, Hafniae asservantur, gloriosissimae memoriae Rege Christiano Quinto, regnante, ab Oligero Jacobaeo Med. & Phil. Prof. Regio quondam describtus, nunc vero magna ex parte auctior uberioribusq; commentaris, praefertim autem quoad antiquitates historiamq; numismatum danicorum, illustratus, accurante Johanne Lauerentzen, assessore consistorii Havniensis Regio.*** **Hauniae. Ex Reg. Majest. & Universit. Typographeo. 520 unnumbered pages. <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id469676302>.** (Figure 61)

Abbreviated as Jacob. mus. [b]

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: *Sectio I* (*Homine & Quadripedibus*) of the secon edition of Jacobaeus' catalog includes 75. *Crocodilus Niloticus*; 76. *Crocodilus Indiae Orientalis*; 77. two crocodiles; 80. *Iguana seu Senembi Brasiliensium*; 81. nine Iguana of different size; 82. *Lacerta squamosa*; 83. *Lacerta Bononiensis*; 84. *Chamaeleon*; 85. *Salamandra*; 86. *Testudo Marina*; 87. *Testudo Terrestris*; 88. turtle shells and 89. *Scincus marinus*. *Sectio V* (*De Serpentibus & Insectis*), includes 1. The tail (rattle) of *Boiciningae seu Domina Serpentum*; 2. *Serpens Africanus ex Guinea*; 3. *Serpens Indiae Occidentalis*; 4. *Serpens Indiae Orientalis*; 5. verious snakes, boith from Eastern and Western Indias; 6-7-8-9. snake skins from various provenances; 10. *Vipera*; 11. the head of *Vipera*; 12. the skeleton of a snake swallowed by a toad; 13. two embryos of snakes; 14. *Caecilia seu Serpentis Ferrugineus*; 15. snake tongue; 16. several vertebrae and 17. *Anguis*.

Linné (1766: 359, 366): *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Jacob. mus.* 1. *t.* 7. *f.* 55. *Crocodilus niloticus*). *Lacerta igvana* (*Jacob. mus. t.* 4).

Comments: This is a posthumous edition of Jacobaeus' catalog, in which the date of publication is not

explicit (1710 is taken from Murray 1904) and the pages are not numbered. Its content is increased, and the order and content of plates is modified with respect to the first edition. Here Linnaeus repeats the error regarding *Lacerta iguana* (which in this edition is described in the 19th unnumbered page of the first section and illustrated in figure 4 of plate VIII), adding, erroneously also, a reference to *Crocodilus Niloticus 6 pedem longitudinem*, species illustrated in figure 75 (not 55, as noted by Linnaeus) of plate VII.

Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). A copy of the edition of J. Laveretzen, without explicit date, was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have not discussed this source.

Joh. Du Fay. (unidentified)

It could refer to information provided to Linnaeus by the French chemist and superintendent of the Jardin du Roi Charles François de Cisternay du Fay (1698-1739).

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Unknown.

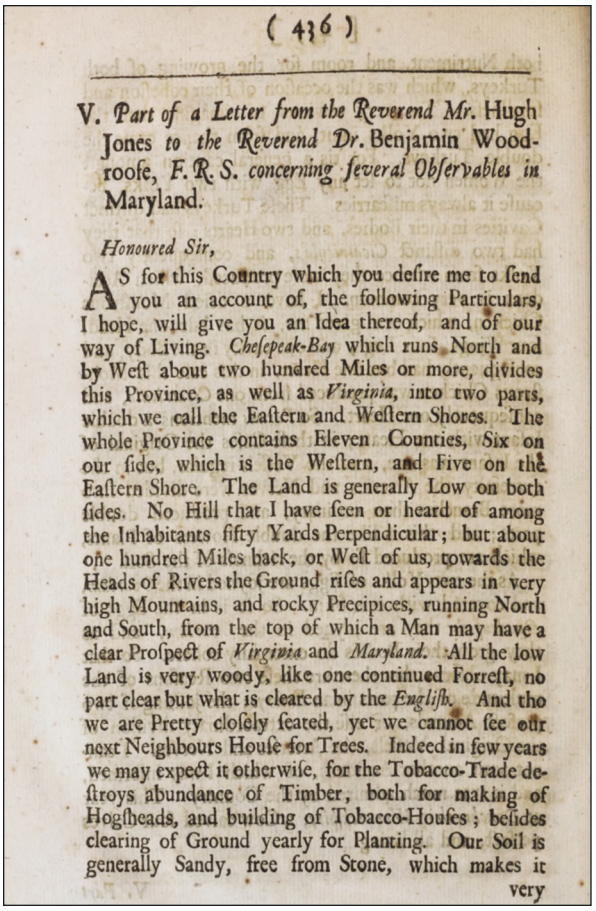
Linné (1766: 355): Under *Rana bufo,* Linnaeus mentioned: "*...Habitat in Europae nemerosis ruderatis umbrosis, imprimis Ucraniae, ubi praedatur ab Erinaceis; qui ideo in domibus mansuescunt, auctore Joh. Du Fay...*" ["…It dwells in the wooded, overgrown, and shady areas of Europe, especially in Ukraine, where it is preyed upon by hedgehogs; which, for that reason, are tamed in households—according to Joh. Du Fay…"].

Jones, H. 1700. Part of a letter from the Reverend Mr. Hugh Jones to the Reverend Dr. Benjamin Woodrose, F.R.S. concerning several observables in Maryland. *Philosophical Transactions: Giving some account of the present undertakings, studies and labours of the Ingenious, in many considerable parts of the World,* XXI: 436–442. <https://archive.org/details/jstor-102661>. (Figure 62)

Abbreviated as Curiosi isti observatores Angli.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763).

Acrell (1762: 4; 1763: 201): "*...At fascino nescio quo defixus, ad inferiora descendit arboris, unde recta desiliens, hostis se faucibus ultro committit; Veritatem hujus rei indubiam reddere videntur observationes quorumdam Anglorum, hujus argumenti: Curiosi isti observatores Angli, murem una cum fascinante ejusmodi vipera caudisona in ferream Caveam includebant, cujus uno in angulo sedebat mus, in altero vero e regione serpens...*" ["…But fixed by some unknown fascination, it (the prey) descends the tree to the lower branches, and then, leaping straight down, voluntarily throws itself into the jaws of the enemy. Certain observations by some Englishmen on this subject seem to render the truth of this matter beyond doubt: those curious English observers enclosed a mouse together with such a fascinating rattlesnake in an iron cage—in one corner sat the mouse, and in the opposite corner, facing it, the serpent…"].



(436)

V. *Part of a Letter from the Reverend Mr.* Hugh Jones *to the Reverend Dr.* Benjamin Woodroofe, *F. R. S. concerning feveral Obfervables in* Maryland.

Honoured Sir,

AS for this Country which you defire me to fend you an account of, the following Particulars, I hope, will give you an Idea thereof, and of our way of Living. *Chefepeak-Bay* which runs North and by Weft about two hundred Miles or more, divides this Province, as well as *Virginia*, into two parts, which we call the Eaftern and Weftern Shores. The whole Province contains Eleven Counties, Six on our fide, which is the Weftern, and Five on the Eaftern Shore. The Land is generally Low on both fides. No Hill that I have feen or heard of among the Inhabitants fifty Yards Perpendicular; but about one hundred Miles back, or Weft of us, towards the Heads of Rivers the Ground rifes and appears in very high Mountains, and rocky Precipices, running North and South, from the top of which a Man may have a clear Profpect of *Virginia* and *Maryland*. All the low Land is very woody, like one continued Forreft, no part clear but what is cleared by the *Englifh*. And tho we are Pretty clofely feated, yet we cannot fee our next Neighbours Houfe for Trees. Indeed in few years we may expect it otherwife, for the Tobacco-Trade deftroys abundance of Timber, both for making of Hogfheads, and building of Tobacco-Houfes; befides clearing of Ground yearly for Planting. Our Soil is generally Sandy, free from Stone, which makes it very

Figure 62. Article by Jones on rattlesnakes in the 1700 volume of *Philosophical Transactions*.

Comments: This paper was not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), but the journal was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss this source.

There are several comments in British publications pre-dating 1762 (i.e. the date of publication of the dissertation by Acrell) on the ability of rat-

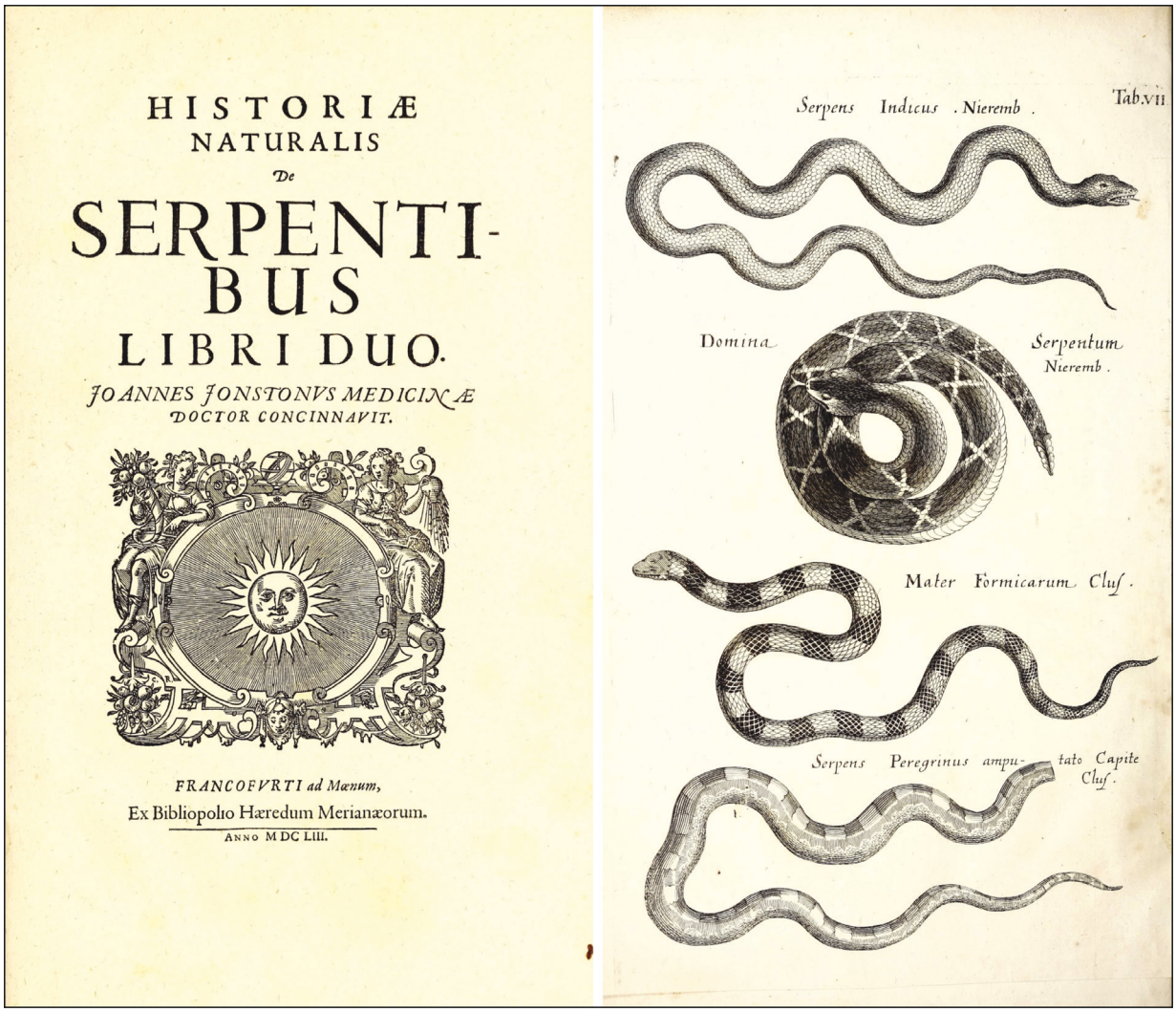


Figure 63. Title page and plate 7 from Jonston's *Historiæ Naturalis De Serpentibus Libri Duo* (1653).

tlesnakes to attract the prey by incantations. Jones (1700) is the oldest reference found and is therefore suggested as a placeholder for the source.

Jonston, J. 1653. *Historiæ Naturalis De Serpentibus Libri Duo.* Francofvrti ad Mœnum, Hæredum Merianæorum: [i] + 4–40 + [ii], Pl. I–XII. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/150732>. (Figure 63)

Abbreviated as: Jonst. serp. [a]; Jonst. serpent. [a].

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: Liber primus. De serpentibus vulgaribus, seu minoribus - *De serpentibus in genere* (4), De serpentibus in specie — *De Vipera* (10), *De Ammodyte* (14), *De Ceraste* (15), *De Haemorrhoo* (15), *De Sepe* (17), *De Aspide* (18), *De Dipsade* (19), *De Scytale* (20), *De Amphisbaena* (21), *De Caecilia* (22), *De Cenchro* (22), *De Acontia seu Iaculo* (23), *De Dryino* (24), *De Elape seu Elaphe* (24), *De Angue Aesculapii* (25), *De serpentibus terrestribus exoticis, Indicis imprimis-De Boicininga, seu Teutlacocauhqui* (26), *De Ibiboboca & Boiguacu* (27), *De Boitiapo, & Iraraca* (29), *De Caninana, serpente mansuefacto, Apochycoatl, & Alatis* (29), *De Bojobi, Tetrauchcoatl, Tleoa seu igneo, sanguineis & Trinhutili* (29), *De quibusdam veterum serpentibus* (30), *De serpentibus aquaticis--De Hydro seu Natrice* (30), *De Natrice torquata, & rubetaria* (32), *De Boa* (32), *De Hydro marino, & Scolopendra marina* (33), and *De serpentibus exoticis Acoatl & Maripetis* (34).

Balk (1746: 20, 22; 1749:297, 300): 24. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX (*Domina Serpentum* Jonst. serpent. 26. t. 7. f. 2), 25. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CCXVII, squamis caudalibus CVIII (Apachykoatl, Jonst. serp. 29).

Figure 64. The second Amsterdam edition of Jonston's *Historiae Naturalis de Quadrupetibus Libri* (1657).

Sundius (1748: 23, 32; 1749: 500, 506): 17. CROTALOPHORUS scutis abdominalibus CLXXII, scutis caudalibus XXI, paribusque squamarum III (Domina serpentum, Jonst. serp. 26. t. 7), 25. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXLII. Squamis caudalibus XXXII (Ammodytes, Jonst. serp. 14. t. I. f. 3).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896) and the book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) did not discuss this source. Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source.

Jonston, J. 1657a. *Historiae Naturalis de Quadrupetibus Libri, Cum æneis figuris.* Amstelodami, Ioannem Iacobi Fil. Schipper: [ii] + [3]–163 + [i], Pl. I–LXXX. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.62511>. (Figure 64)

Abbreviated as Jonst. quadr.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1754; 1758; 1761; 1766).

Contents: Liber IV. De quadripedibus digitatis oviparis. *De ranis aquaticis* (130-131), *De Bufone* (131-133), *De Ranunculo viridi, & Rana temporaria* (133), *De Lacerto vulgari* (133-134), *De Lacerto Viridi & Chalcidico* (134-135), *De Senembi seu Igvana* (135-136), *De Tejugvacu, Taraguira, & Americima* (136), *De Caropopeba, Ameiva, Taraguycu Aycuraba & Tejunhanâ* (136– 137), *De Salamandra* (137-138), *De Stellione* (138), *De Scinco* (138-139), *De Cordylo quadrupede, & aliis quibusdam lacertis* (139-140), *De Chamaeleonte* (140-141), *De Crocodilo* (141-143), *De Testudine in genere* (143-144), *De Testudine terrestri* (144-146), *De Testudine aquae dulcis, & Lutaria* (146) and *De Testudine marinâ* (147-148).

Hast (1745: 16, 18, 25; 1749: 122, 124, 131): 10. LACERTA cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis (Jonst. quadr. p. 200. tab.79. fig. 3. *Crocodilus*); 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Jonst. quadr. p. 191. tab. 77. fig. 5.*Senembi*

seu Iguana); 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (Jonst. quadr. p. 194. tab. 77. fig. 10. *Salamandra terrestris*).

Linnaeus (1746a: 94, 95): 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Jonst. quadr*. 130. Rana aquatica), 252. *Rana viridis* (*Jonst. quadr*. 133. Ranunculus viridis), 253. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Jonst. quadr*. 131. Bufo).

Linnaeus (1754: 40, 45, 48): *Lacerta Crocodilus* (Jonst. quadr. 200. t. 79. f. 3), *Lacerta salamandra* (Jonst. quadr. 194. t. 77. f. 10), *Rana bufo* (Jonst. Quadr. 131).

Linnaeus (1758: 200, 204, 205, 207, 210, 212), Linné (1766: 359, 364, 371, 366, 354, 357): *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Jonst. quadr. t.* 79, *f.* 3. Crocodilus), *L. chamaelelon* (*Jonst. quadr. t.* 79, Chamaeleon), *L. salamandra* (*Jonst. quadr. t.* 77, *f.* 10), *L. igvana* (*Jonst. quadr. t.* 77, *f.* 5), *Rana bufo* (*Jonst. quadr.*), *R. temporaria* (*Jonston quadr. t.* 75, *f.* 5, 6, 7, 8).

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 102): 275. RANA *Bufo* corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque (*Jonst. quadr*. 132. Bufo), 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Jonst. quadr*. 130. Rana aquatica), 280. RANA *arborea* corpore laevi subtus panctis contiguis tuberculato (*Jonst. quadr*. 133. Ranunculus viridis).

Comments: The figures on plate 77 of Jonston (1657a) are unnumbered, so the numbers cited by Linnaeus must have been assigned by him. They most likely correspond to *Salamandra terrestris vera nigra maculis luteis distincta* (SN 10) and *Senembi Brasiliensibus* (SSN 12). This work had several editions and translations, and two of them were considered as Linnaean sources. The first edition (Jonston 1650) was proposed by Heller (2005), and the second edition (Jonston 1657a) by Dundee (1994). Linnaeus referred to this book by quoting numbers for plates and figures (Linnaeus 1758; Linné 1766) or number of pages (Linnaeus 1746; 1754; 1761), while Hast (1745; 1749) cited both pages and figures. Plate numbers are coincident in both editions, but pagination only coincides with the second edition (Jonston 1657a). Interestingly, Linnaeus had a copy of the first edition (Jonston 1650) in his personal library, the same edition which was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a).

Jonston, J. 1657b. *Historiæ Naturalis De Serpentibus, Libri II*. Amstelodami, Joannem Iacobi Fil. Schipper: 1-37 + [i], Pl. I–XII. <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_g9NBDapgVMYC>. (Figure 65)

Abbreviated as: *Jonst. serp.* [b]; *Jonst. serpent.* [b].

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749).

Contents: *De serpentibus in genere* (3), *De Vipera* (7), *De Ammodyte* (11), *De Ceraste* (12), *De Haemorrhoo* (13), *De Sepe* (14), *De Aspide* (15), *De Dipsade* (17), *De Scytale* (18), *De Amphisbaena* (18), *De caecilia* (19), *De Cenchro* (19), *De Acontia seu Iaculo* (20), *De Dryino* (21), *De Elape seu Elaphe* (22), *De Angue Aesculapii* (22), *De serpentibus terrestribus exoticis, Indicis imprimis-De Boicininga, seu Teutlacocauhqui* (23), *De Ibiboboca & Boiguacu* (25), *De Boitiapo, & Iraraca* (26), *De Caninana, serpente mansuefacto, Apochycoatl, & Alatis* (26), *De Bojobi, Tetrauchcoatl, Tleoa seu igneo, sanguineis & Trinhutili* (27), *De quibusdam veterum serpentibus* (27), *De serpentibus aquaticis-De Hydro seu Natrice* (28), *De Natrice torquata, & rubetaria* (29), *De Boa* (30), *De Hydro marino, & Scolopendra marina* (31), and *De serpentibus exoticis Acoatl & Maripetis* (31).

Hast (1745: 5, 8): 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (Jonst. serpent. pag 7. *Vipera*); 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Jonst. serp. pag. 89. *Natrix torquata*).

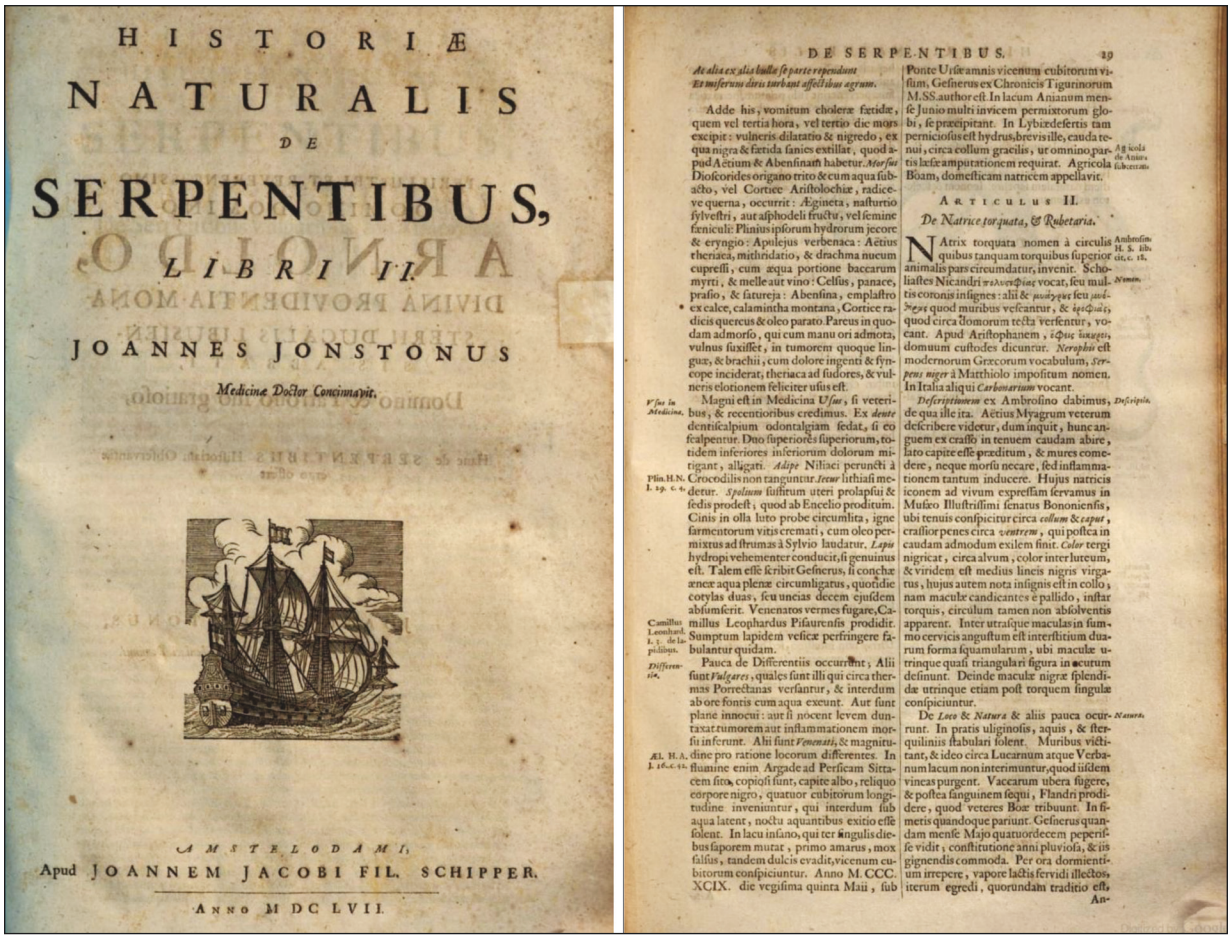
Hast (1749: 116): 3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Jonst. serp. pag. 89. *Natrix torquata*).

Comments: Interestingly the reference was removed at ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX in Hast (1749).

Neither edition of Jonston's book on serpents has 89 pages, therefore Hast's quote is a typographic error for page 29, where the description of *Natrice torquata & rubetaria* is located.

Neither in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Uppsala Academy (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) did not discuss this source. Heller (2007) identified the reference as being to the 1653 edition of Jonston (*vide supra*). This could have been a secondhand reference or a work which Linnaeus studies earlier and only took notes from.

Kaempfer, E. 1712. *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-medicarum fasciculi V, quibus*



HISTORIÆ NATURALIS DE SERPENTIBUS, LIBRI II. JOANNES JONSTONUS Medicinæ Doctor Concinnavit.

AMSTELODAMI, Apud JOANNEM JACOBI FIL. SCHIPPER. ANNO MDCLVII.

DE SERPENTIBUS. 29

Ac alia ex aliis bulla se parte rependum Et miserum deris turbant affectibus agrum.

Adde his, vomitum cholerae fœtidæ, quem vel tertia hora, vel tertio die mors excipit: vulneris dilatatio & nigredo, ex qua nigra & fœtida sanies extillat, quod apud Aetium & Abenfinam habetur. *Morsus* Dioscorides origano trito & cum aqua subacto, vel Cortice Aristolochiæ, radiceve querna, occurrit: Ægineta, nasturtio sylvestri, aut asphodeli fructu, vel semine fœniculi: Plinius ipsorum hydrorum jecore & eryngio: Apulejus verbenaca: Aetius theriaca, mithridatio, & drachma nucum cupressi, cum æqua portione baccarum myrti, & melle aut vino: Celsus, panace, prasio, & satureja: Abenfina, emplastro ex calce, calamintha montana, Cortice radicis querceus & oleo parato. Pareus in quodam admorso, qui cum manu ori admota, vulnus fuxisset, in tumorem quoque linguæ, & brachii, cum dolore ingenti & syncope inciderat, theriaca ad sudores, & vulneris elotionem feliciter usus est.

Usus in Medicina. Magni est in Medicina *Usus*, si veteribus, & recentioribus credimus. Ex *dente* dentifcalpium odontalgiam sedat, si eo fcalpentur. Duo superiores superiorum, totidem inferiores inferiorum dolorum mitigant, alligati. *Adipe* Niliaci perunctí à Plin. H. N. l. 29. c. 4. Crocodilis non tanguntur. *Secur* lithiasi medetur. *Spolium* sustitum uteri prolapsui & sedis prodest; quod ab Encelio proditum. Cinis in olla luto probe circumlita, igne sarmentorum vitis crematí, cum oleo permistus ad strumas à Sylvio laudatur. *Lapis* hydropi vehementer conducit, si genuinus est. Talem esse scribit Gesnerus, si conchæ æneæ aqua plenæ circumligatus, quotidie cotylas duas, seu uncias decem ejusdem absumserit. Venenatos vermes fugare, Camillus Leophardus Pisaurensis prodidit. Camillus Leonhard. l. 3. de lapidibus. Sumptum lapidem vesicæ perfringere fabulantur quidam.

Differentiæ. Pauca de Differentiis occurrunt; Alii sunt *Fulgares*, quales sunt illi qui circa thermas Porrectanas versantur, & interdum ab ore fontis cum aqua exeunt. Aut sunt planè innocui: aut si nocent levem duntaxat tumorem aut inflammationem morsu inferunt. Alii sunt *Pomonati*, & magnitudine pro ratione locorum differentes. In Æl. H. A. l. 16. c. 41. flumine enim Argade ad Persicam Sittacem sito, copiosi sunt, capite albo, reliquo corpore nigro, quatuor cubitorum longitudine inveniuntur, qui interdum sub aqua latent, noctu aquantibus exitio esse solent. In lacu insano, qui ter singulis diebus saporem mutat, primo amarus, mox salsus, tandem dulcis evadit, vicenum cubitorum conspiciuntur. Anno M. CCC. XCIX. die vegesima quinta Maii, sub Ponte Ursæ amnis vicenum cubitorum visum, Gesnerus ex Chronicis Tigurinorum M.SS. author est. In lacum Aniaunum mense Junio multi invicem permixtorum globi, se præcipitant. In Lybiæ desertis tam perniciosus est hydrus, brevis ille, cauda tenui, circa collum gracilis, ut omnino partis læsæ amputationem requirat. Agricola Agricola de Animantibus subterran. Boam, domesticam natricem appellavit.

ARTICULUS II.

De Natrice torquata, & Rubetaria.

NAtrix torquata nomen à circulis quibus tanquam torquibus superior animalis pars circumdatur, invenit. Scholiastes Nicandri πολυσφίνις vocat, seu multis coronis insignes: alii & μυοφόνος seu μυόφονος quod muribus vescantur, & ἐφεστιάς, quod circa domorum tecta versentur, vocant. Apud Aristophanem, ἑστιοῦχος seu ἑστιοῦχος, domuum custodes dicuntur. *Nerophis* est modernorum Græcorum vocabulum, *Serpens niger* à Matthiolo impositum nomen. In Italia aliqui *Carbonarium* vocant. Ambrosin. H. S. lib. de, c. 18. Nomen.

Descriptionem ex Ambrosino dabimus, de qua ille ita. Aetius Myagrum veterum describere videtur, dum inquit, hunc anguem ex crasso in tenuem caudam abire, lato capite esse præditum, & mures comedere, neque morsu necare, sed inflammationem tantum inducere. Hujus natricis iconem ad vivum expressam servamus in Musæo Illustrissimi senatus Bononiensis, ubi tenuis conspicitur circa *collum* & *caput*, crassior penes circa *ventrem*, qui postea in caudam admodum exilem finit. *Color* tergi nigricat, circa alvum, color inter luteum, & viridem est medius lineis nigris virgatus, hujus autem nota insignis est in collo, nam maculæ candicantes e pallido, instar torquis, circulum tamen non absolventis apparent. Inter utrasque maculas in summo cervicis angustum est interstitium duarum forma squamularum, ubi maculæ utrinque quasi triangulari figura in acutum desinunt. Deinde maculæ nigræ splendidæ utrinque etiam post torquem singulæ conspiciuntur. Descriptio.

De *Loco* & *Natura* & aliis pauca occurrunt. In pratis uliginosis, aquis, & sterquilinis habitari solent. Muribus victitant, & ideo circa Lucarnum atque Verbanum lacum non interimuntur, quod iisdem vineas purgent. Vaccarum ubera fugere, & postea sanguinem sequi, Flandri prodidere, quod veteres Boæ tribuunt. In fimetis quandoque pariunt. Gesnerus quandam mense Majo quatuordecem peperisse vidit; constitutione anni pluviosa, & iis gignendis commoda. Per ora dormientium irrepere, vapore lactis fervidi illectos, iterum egredi, quorundam traditio est. Natura.

An-

Figure 65. Title page and page 29 of Jonston's *Historiæ Naturalis De Serpentibus, Libri II* (1657).

***continentur variae relationes, observationes & descriptiones rerum Persicarum & ulterioris Asiæ, multâ attentione in peregrinationibus per universum orientem, collectae.* Lemgoviae, Henrici Wilhelmi Meyeri: [i] + [i] + [iv] + [x] + [1–2]–912 + [xxxii]. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/247417>.** (Figure 66)

Abbreviated as: Kaemph.; Kaemph. amoen.; Amoenitat. Kaempferus.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Darelius (1749; 1751), Linnaeus (1749c; 1754; 1758; 1759), Linné (1766), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: Is the narrative of Kaempfer journey to Rusia, Near east, India, South-east Asia and Japan, between 1883 and 1693. Kaempfer (1712) contains only anecdotical references related to reptiles. Are of interest *Fasciculi III-Observatio IX, Tripudia Serpentum in Indiâ Orientali* (pp. 565-573), with the description of *Viperae Cobras de Cabelo*[74] and plate in p. 567, cited in the synonymy of *Coluber naja*. Other curious observations refer to diverse stones used as antidotes (*Pedra da Cobra*, on p. 395-396, and *Lapis viperinus*, in p. 578-582), and the use of crocodiles to dispense justice (*Investigatio innocentiae per crocodilos & ignem, apud gentiles hodie usitata*, starting in p. 458).

Acrell (1762: 18; 1763: 215): "... *Pervenimus sic ad aliud aeque celebratum Asiaticorum Antidotum, in India orientali facile antiquissimum. Est vero illud Ophiorrhiza mungos , cujus historiam, nec non divinum fere, contra ictus colubri Najae usum, colubri loquor venenatissimi, luculenter tractavit in Amoenitat. Kaempferus...*" ["... Thus we come to another equally renowned Asiatic antidote, likely the most ancient in the East Indies. This is indeed the *Ophiorrhiza mungos*, whose history—along with its nearly divine efficacy against the strikes of the *Naja* serpent (I speak of that most venomous of snakes)—was masterfully treated by Kaempfer in his *Amoenitates...*"].

Darelius (1749: 6, 8, 9; 1751: 105, 107, 109): Vipera

74 The correct Portuguese name is *Cobra de Capelo* (snake with miter), and not *Cobra de Cabelo* (snake with hair).

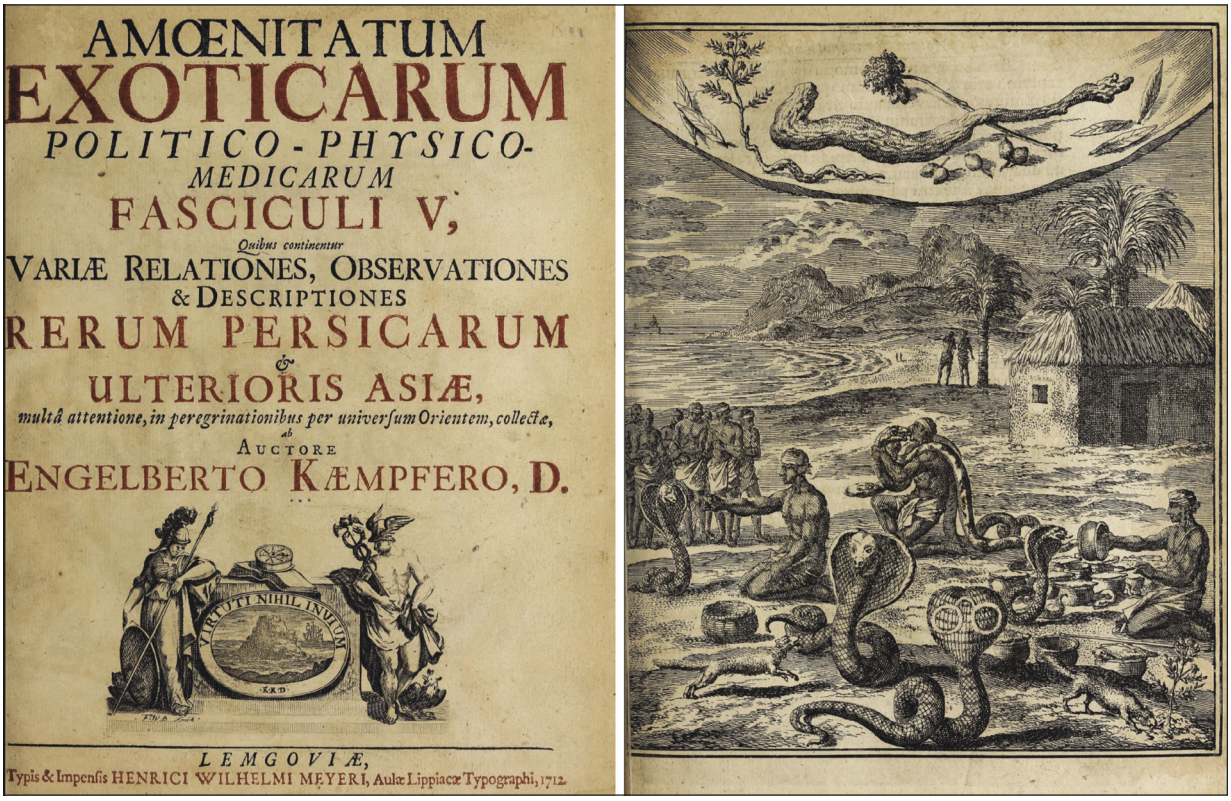

AMŒNITATUM
EXOTICARUM
POLITICO-PHYSICO-
MEDICARUM
FASCICULI V,
Quibus continentur
VARIÆ RELATIONES, OBSERVATIONES
& DESCRIPTIONES
RERUM PERSICARUM
&
ULTERIORIS ASIÆ,
multâ attentione, in peregrinationibus per universum Orientem, collectæ,
ab
AUCTORE
ENGELBERTO KÆMPFERO, D.
LEMGOVIÆ,
Typis & Impensis HENRICI WILHELMI MEYERI, Aulæ Lippiacæ Typographi, 1712.

Figure 66. Kaempfer' (1712) *Amoenitatum exoticarum*, title page and page 567.

Cobras de Cabelos, Naja dicta. Kaempf. amoen. 565. tab. 567. Also in comments in page 8/107. Kaepf. p. 566.

Linnaeus (1749c: 29): Mungos Radix. *Kaempf. Amoen.* 577.

Linnaeus (1754: 30): *Coluber najas* (Kaemph. amoen. 565. t. 567).

Linnaeus (1758: 221), Linné (1766: 382): *Coluber naja* (*Kaemph. amoen.* 565. *t.* 567).

Linnaeus (1759: 79): 253. Naja (*Kaempf. amoen*. 567).

Sundius (1748: 20; 1749: 497): 16. CENCHRIS *scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Constrictor. Kaempf. Amoen. 573).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896), and it was owned by the library of the Academy of Uppsala as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source.

Kalm (pers. comm. Pehr Kalm) **Not located.**

Abbreviated as Kalm.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Probably a personal communication by Pehr Kalm (1716–1799), Linnaeus's apostle, Swedish-Finnish traveler, naturalist and agricultural scientist who between 1748–1751 travelled to eastern North America including French Canada and the British colonies of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania (Adler 2012).

Linnaeus (1758: 216, 219, 222, 223), Linné (1766: 275 (*sic*), 379, 383, 385): *Colber Leberis* (Habitat in Canada. Kalm ["…Lives in Canada. Kalm...."]); *Colber Constrictor* (Habitat in Canada. Kalm ["…Lives in Canada. Kalm...."]); *Colber Sipedon* (217. Sipedon. 144–73. Kalm.); *Colber Sirtalis* (262. Sirtalis. 150–114. Kalm.); *Colber ovivorus* (276. ovivorus. 203–73. Kalm.).

Comments: References to Kalm were recorded by Dundee (1944) and Heller (2007).

Kalm. act. Stockh *or* **Kalm. act. stockh** (Figure 67) refers to*:*

(1) Kalm, P. 1752. Berättelse om Skaller-Ormen, samt de läkemedel som i Norra America brukas emot dess stygn. *Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens handlingar*, 13: 308–319. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/178035>.

(2) Kalm, P. 1753a. Fortsättning af H. Pehr Kalms Berättelse om Skaller-ormen, och de läkemedel, som i Norra Amerika brukas emot dess styng. *Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens handlingar*,

KONGL. SVENSKA
VETENSKAPS
ACADEMIENS
HANDLINGAR,
FÖR ÅR 1753.
VOL: XIV.

Med Kongl. ACADEMIENS Tilstånd.
Tryckte i Stockholm, hos LARS SALVIUS,
På dess egen kostnad.

Figure 67. Title page of the 1753 volume of *Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens handlingar*.

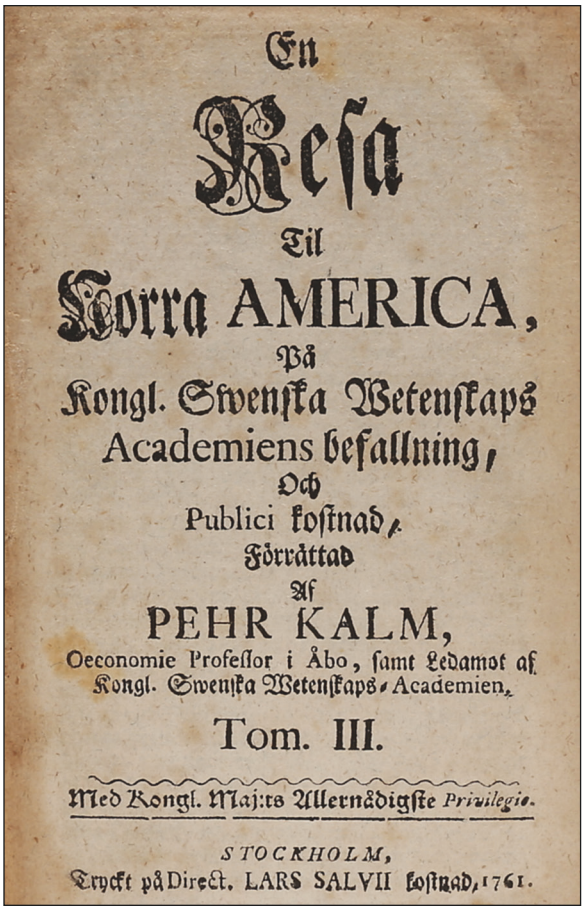

En
Resa
Til
Norra AMERICA,
På
Kongl. Swenska Wetenskaps
Academiens befallning,
Och
Publici kostnad,
Förrättad
Af
PEHR KALM,
Oeconomie Professor i Åbo, samt Ledamot af
Kongl. Swenska Wetenskaps-Academien.
Tom. III.
Med Kongl. Maj:ts Allernådigste Privilegio.
STOCKHOLM,
Tryckt på Direct. LARS SALVII kostnad, 1761.

Figure 68. Volume III of *En resa til Norra America* (Travels into North-America) by Pehr Kalm (1716–1779).

14: 52–67. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/177885>.

(3) Kalm, P. 1753b. Slutelig berättelse om Skaller-Ormen, I synnerhet om bote-medel emot hans bett. *Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens handlingar*, 14: 185–194. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/177885>.

Abbreviated as: Kalm. act. Stockh.; Kalm. act. stockh.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Three papers on rattlesnakes, their bites and the antidotes against its venom.

Linnaeus (1758: 214): *Crotalus durissus* (*Kalm. act. Stockh.* 1752. *p.* 310 & 1753. *p.* 52, 185).

Linné (1766: 372): *Crotalus durissus* (*Kalm. act. stockh.* 1752. *p.* 310 & 1753. *p.* 52, 185).

Comments: The article of 1752 starts on page 308, not in 310 as noted by Linnaeus. There is an English translation by Larsen (1957).

Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens handlingar in the Linnaean Society library is not Linnaeus's copy (Anonymous 1896). The journal was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source.

Kalm, P. 1761. *En resa til Norra America, på Kongliga Swenska Wetenskaps Academiens befallning, och publici kostnad. Tom. III.* Stockholm. Laurentii Salvii. [1]–538 + [xiii] + [i]. <https://books.google.at/books?id=aWcFAAAAQAAJ>. (Figure 68)

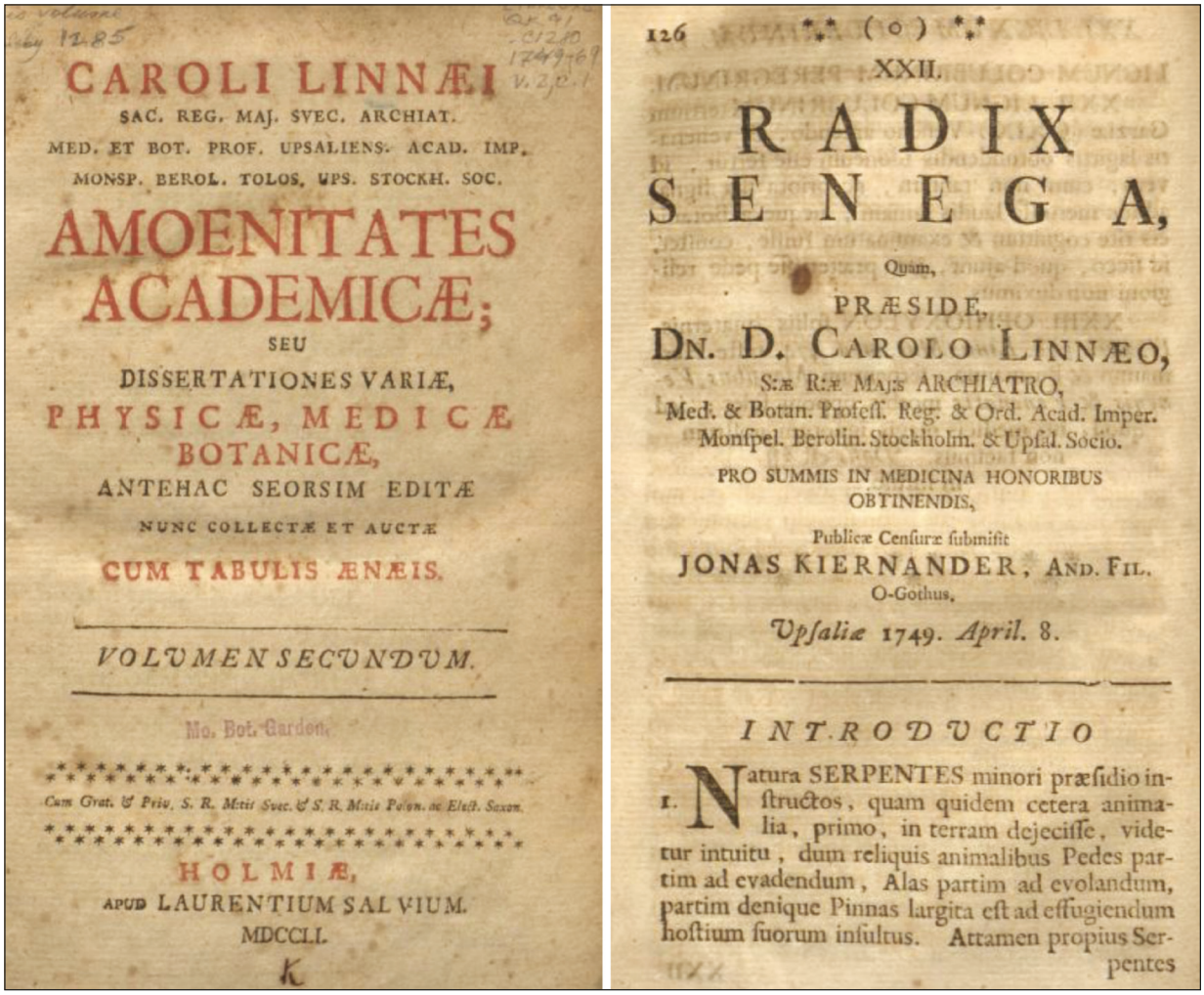
Abbreviated as Kalm. it.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Several mentions to rattlesnakes (skaller-orm), black snakes (swart-ormen) and and others, under the generic name "orm"; bullfrogs and comments on snake charmers (Ormars forkjusande), plus the two descriptions mentioned in Linné (1766).

Linné (1766: 356, 385): *Rana ocellata* (*Kalm. it.* 3. p. 45. Rana halecina), *Coluber constrictor* (*Kalm. It.* 3. *p.* 136).

Comments: The frog in the synonymy of *Rana ocellata* was described as *Rana virescens plantis tetradactylis fissis, palmis pentadactylis semipalmatis, macula*


CAROLI LINNÆI
SAC. REG. MAJ. SVEC. ARCHIAT.
MED. ET BOT. PROF. UPSALIENS. ACAD. IMP.
MONSP. BEROL. TOLOS. UPS. STOCKH. SOC.
AMOENITATES ACADEMICÆ;
SEU
DISSERTATIONES VARIÆ,
PHYSICÆ, MEDICÆ BOTANICÆ,
ANTEHAC SEORSIM EDITÆ
NUNC COLLECTÆ ET AUCTÆ
CUM TABULIS ÆNEIS.
VOLUMEN SECUNDUM.
HOLMIÆ,
APUD LAURENTIUM SALVIUM.
MDCCLI.

126 (o)
XXII.
RADIX SENEGA,
Quam,
PRÆSIDE,
DN. D. CAROLO LINNÆO,
S:æ R:æ Maj:s ARCHIATRO,
Med. & Botan. Profess. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper.
Monspel. Berolin. Stockholm. & Upsal. Socio.
PRO SUMMIS IN MEDICINA HONORIBUS OBTINENDIS,
Publicæ Censuræ submisit
JONAS KIERNANDER, AND. FIL.
O-Gothus,
Upsaliæ 1749. April. 8.
INTRODUCTIO
1. Natura SERPENTES minori præsidio instructos, quam quidem cetera animalia, primo, in terram dejecisse, videtur intuitu, dum reliquis animalibus Pedes partim ad evadendum, Alas partim ad evolandum, partim denique Pinnas largita est ad effugiendum hostium suorum insultus. Attamen propius Serpentes

Figure 69. Cover of volume 2 of *Amoenitates Academicæ* and title page of the Kiernander's revised dissertation.

depressa fusta pone oculum; "*Rana halecina*" is not a scientific binomen, but the latin translation of "the herring frog" (see Lavilla *et al.* 2010a). The snake in the synonym of *Coluber constrictor* is the Swart-orm, or black snake described by Catesby (1735: 48) as *Anguis niger*.

Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) has not discussed did not discuss this source. Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source.

Kiernander, J. 1751. XXII. Radix Senega, Quam, Præside, Dn. D. Carolo Linnæo, S:æ R:æ. Maj:s Archiatro, Med. & Botan. Profess. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Berolin. Stockholm. & Upsal. Socio. Pro Summis in Medicina Honoribus Obtinendis, Publico Censuræ submisit Jonas Kiernander, and. fil. O-Gothus. Upsaliæ 1749. April. 8. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 2: 126–153, Pl. II. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910.>. (Figure 69)

Abbreviated as: Amoen. Acad. 2.; Amoen. Acad. V.; Diss. de radice Senega.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763).

Contents: *Crotalophorus,* in the second section.

Acrell (1762: 17; 1763: 214): "*...Docuit insuper omni laude dignissimus Tenentius, Radicem Polygalae Senegae hac sua nunquam virtute destitui, nisi pertusa forte vena quadam majori, ubi increscenti subito veneni violentiae praevenire non poterit, de quo videsis Diss. de radice Senega in Amoen. Acad. V. 2...*". ["...Moreover, the most praiseworthy Tenent has taught that the root of *Polygala Senega* is never lacking in this its particular virtue, unless perhaps a major vein has been pierced, in which case the suddenly increasing violence of the poison cannot be prevented—in regard to which, see the *Diss. de radice Senega in Amoen. Acad. v. 2*..."]. In Acrell (1763: 214) "*Amoen. Acad. V. II...*"

Figure 70. Mythical dragon in Kircher's *Mundi Subterranei* (1665 [1664]).

Comments: Dissertation originally published in 1749. Analyzed in Lindell (2012).

Linnaeus's own copy of *Amoenitates Academicae* is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same Stockholm edition of *Amoenitates Academicae*.

Kircher, A. 1665 [1664]. *Mundi Subterranei Tomus II.us In v. libros digestus quibus Mundi Subterranei fructus exponuntur, et quidquid tandem rarum, insolitum, et portentosum in foecundo Naturæ utero continetur, ante oculos ponitur curiosi Lectoris.* Amstelodami, Joannem Janssonium & Elizeum Weyerstraten: [iv] + [ii] + [iv] + 1-487 + [ix]. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11200288>. (Figure 70)

Abbreviated as Kirchero in mundo subterraneo.

Cited in Österdam (1766; 1769).

Contents: Of herpetological interest is *Caput II. De draconibus subterraneis*, del *Lib. VIII. De animalibus subterraneis*, on pages 89-97. Los dragones ilustrados son (1) *Draco alatus et quadripes omni aevo memorabilis, quam Deodatus de Gozan Eques Hierosolymitanus, in insula Rhodo eo quo descripsimus stratagemata confecit qui et ob beneficium in Insulam collatum portmodum Magnus Ord. Magister creatus est*, (2) *Dracunculus* ἄπζεϛος ηαί δοπους *paulò antequam Hugo Boncompagnus Card. ad Pontificatum assumeretur sub nomine Gregorÿ XIII. Bononiae captus etiamnum in Museo Aldrovandi tomento fartus spectatur*, (3) *Draco Helveticus bipes et alatus, and (4) Gallus* ὀφιομορφος, *serpentina cauda conspicuus. Florentiae in horto Magm. Ducis Hetruriae Francisci ea forma qua hic exprimitur omnium admiratione risus.*

Österdam (1766: 3; 1769: 313): In p. 3/313, mentions «...Difficile tamen fuisse vetustas tollere opiniones, vel ex eo constat, quod monstrosi DRACONES pingerentur adhuc a *Kirchero* in *mundo subterraneo*...» ["…That it was difficult to dispel ancient

beliefs is evident from the fact that monstrous dragons were still being depicted by Kircher in *Mundus Subterraneus*…"].

Comments: Österdam included this comment in the context of the mythological sirens. It was not possible to identify accurately what edition of *Mundus subterraneis* was analyzed by Österdam. The edition of 1678 has an appendix that includes *De Dracone Alato formae mirificae ex Museo Eminentissimi Cardenalis Barberini extracto, & ab Excellentissimo Terentio Fabri, Athenaei Romani, Doctore Medico, in Opere suo de Plantis Americae descripto; qua pantamorpha hujus Draconis forma, origo, & genesis, quam fusissimè describitur* (Kircher 1678).

Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss this source.

As a copy of the first edition (Kircher 1665) was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a) is considered as the source.

Kircher, A. 1667. *China Monumentis qva Sacris quà Profanis, Nec non varius Naturæ & Artis Spectaculis, Aliarumque rerum memorabilium Argumentis Illustrata, Auspiciis Leopoldi Primi Roman. Imper. Semper Augusti Munificentissimi Mecænatis.* Amstelodami, Joannem Janssonium *à* Waesberge & Elizeum Weyerstraet: [i] + [v] +[iii] +[ii] +[i] +[i] + 1–237+ [viii] + [i] + [ii], 1 map, 5 Pl. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k111090s>. (Figure 71)

Abbreviated as Kirckero.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763).

Contents: Acrell refers to chapter "*De miris virtutibus Lapidis Serpentini, quem Lusitanis* la Piedra della Cobra *vocant*" (Kircher 1667: 80 ss.).

Acrell (1762: 18; 1763: 215): "... Lapis Serpentum, *Pedra de Cobra di capello, quasi Lapis desumtus e capite Colubri Najae, famosus per totam Indiam, tanquem specificum contra Morsuram serpentum exclamatus a Garzia, Kirckero aliisque...*" ["…The serpent stone, *Pedra de Cobra di capello*, as if a stone taken from the head of the *Naja* serpent, renowned throughout all of India, proclaimed by Garzia, Kircher, and others as a specific remedy against serpent bites…"].

Comments: Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have not discussed this source. Acrell could have consulted the copy of this work which was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a).

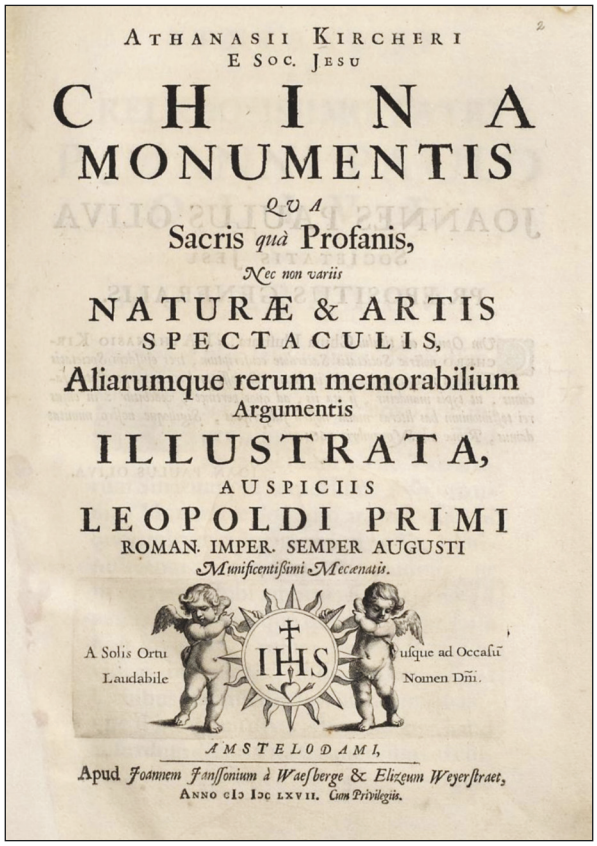

ATHANASII KIRCHERI
E SOC. JESU
CHINA
MONUMENTIS
QVA
Sacris quà Profanis,
Nec non variis
NATURÆ & ARTIS
SPECTACULIS,
Aliarumque rerum memorabilium
Argumentis
ILLUSTRATA,
AUSPICIIS
LEOPOLDI PRIMI
ROMAN. IMPER. SEMPER AUGUSTI
Munificentissimi Mecænatis.
A Solis Ortu usque ad Occasu
Laudabile Nomen Dni.
IHS
AMSTELODAMI,
Apud Joannem Janssonium à Waesberge & Elizeum Weyerstraet,
ANNO CIↃ IↃC LXVII. Cum Privilegiis.

Figure 71. Title page of *China Monumentis* (1667) by Kircher.

Kolb, P. 1719. *Capvt Bonæ Spei hodiernum, das ist: vollständige Beschreibung des africanischen Vorgebürges der Guten Hofnung. Worinnen in dreyen Theilen abgehandelt wird wie es heut zu Tage nach seiner Situation und Eigenschaft aussiehet; ingleichen was ein Natur-Forscher in den dreyen Reichen der Natur daselbst findet: Wie nicht weniger was die eigenen Einwohner die Hottentotten, vor seltsame Sitten und Gebräuche haben: Und endlich alles was die Europaeischen daselbst gestifteten Colonien anbetrift. Mit angefügter genugsamer Nachricht Wie es auf des Auctoris Hinein- und Heraus-Reise zugegangen; Auch was sich Zeit seiner langen Anwesenheit an diesem Vorgebürge merckwürdiges ereignet hat. Nebst noch vielen andern bißhero unbekandt-gewesenen Erzehlungen mit wahrhafter Feder ausführlich entworffen: auch mit nöhtigen Kupfern gezieret und mit einem doppelten*

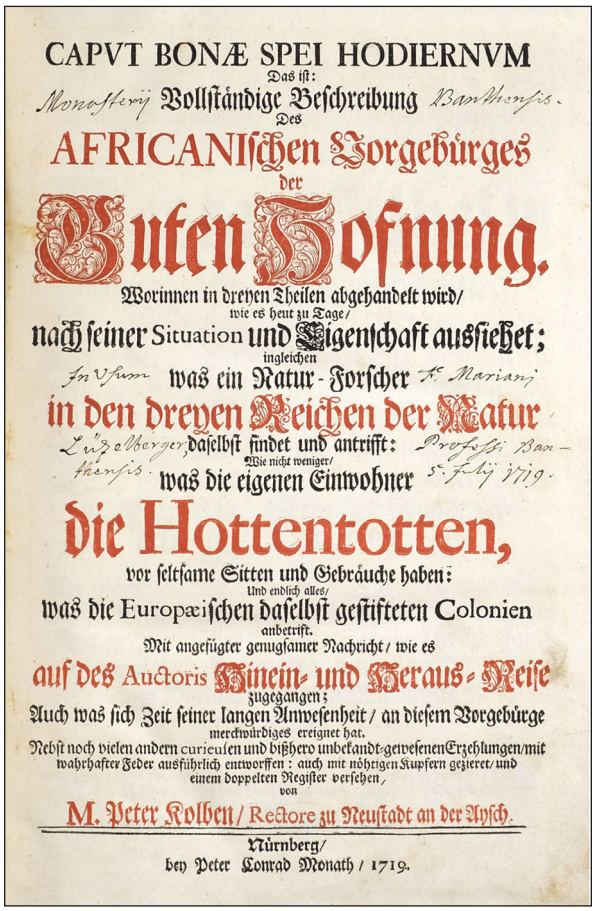

CAPVT BONÆ SPEI HODIERNVM
Das ist:
Vollständige Beschreibung
Des
AFRICANIschen Vorgebürges
der
Guten Hofnung.
Worinnen in dreyen Theilen abgehandelt wird/
wie es heut zu Tage/
nach seiner Situation und Eigenschaft aussiehet;
ingleichen
was ein Natur-Forscher
in den dreyen Reichen der Natur
daselbst findet und antrifft:
Wie nicht weniger/
was die eigenen Einwohner
die Hottentotten,
vor seltsame Sitten und Gebräuche haben:
Und endlich alles/
was die Europæischen daselbst gestifteten Colonien
anbetrifft.
Mit angefügter genugsamer Nachricht/ wie es
auf des Auctoris Hinein- und Heraus-Reise
zugegangen;
Auch was sich Zeit seiner langen Anwesenheit/ an diesem Vorgebürge
merckwürdiges ereignet hat.
Nebst noch vielen andern curieusen und bißhero unbekandt-gewesenen Erzehlungen/mit
wahrhafter Feder ausführlich entworffen: auch mit nöhtigen Kupfern gezieret/und
einem doppelten Register versehen,
von
M. Peter Kolben/ Rectore zu Neustadt an der Aysch.
Nürnberg/
bey Peter Conrad Monath/ 1719.

Figure 72. Title page of Kolb's *Caput bonae spei hodiernum* (1719).

***Register versehen, von M. Peter Kolben Rectore zu Neustadt an der Aysch*. Nürnberg, Peter Conrad Monath: [i] + [v] + [iv] + [v] + 1–846 + [lxxxii], 1 map, 24 Pl. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11448543>.** (Figure 72)

Abbreviated as Kolb. cap.

Cited in Darelius (1751).

Contents: Peter Kolb (1675-1726) was first German long term resident at the Cape, spending eight years there and the first to record and illustrate a number of reptile species (Bauer 2003) which he published in *Caput Bouae Spei Hodiernum* (Kolb 1719). the work included a large, but superficial, section on natural history reporting chameleons, frogs, terrapins, tortoises, "salamanders" (probably agamids), legless lizards, and several kinds of snakes ("Aspis," "Augenschlange," "Baumschlange," "Brandschlange," "Cobra de capello," and "Haarschlange") (Bauer 2003).

Darelius (1751: 106): Cobra de capello. Kolb. cap. 432.

Comments: We have been unable to identify the edition referred to by Linnaeus. The description of the *Cobra de capello* is located in different parts in the various editions consulted, namely the first edition (Kolb 1719: 214, Plate IX), the 1727 Dutch edition (Kolb 1727: 255, Plate XVII to page 235), the French three volume editions (Kolb 1741: 72-73, Plate to page 76; 1742: 78-79, Plate to page 81), and the German edition (Kolb 1745: 352, Plate XXXIX).

Heller (2007) listed edition 1719 and 1745 editions as possible sources, still as shown above, these were either not the source for Darelius (1751), or he made a typographical error.

The library of the Academy of Uppsala housed one 1719 and one 1741 French edition of the work by Kolb (Aurivillius 1814a). The book was not part of Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). Dundee (1994) did not discuss this source. Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source. In the absence of further proof on the identity of the edition used, we list the first edition as the Linnaean source.

Lactantius, L. C. F. 1515. *L. Coelii Lactantii Firmiani Divinarum Institutiones Lib. VIII. De Ira Dei Liber I. De Opificio Dei Liber I. Epitome in libros suos, Liber acephalos. Carmen de Phaenice, Ressurrectione Dominica, Passione Domini. Omnia ex castigatone Honorati Fasitelis veneti pristinae integritati restituta.* Venetiis, Aldus: 348. (Figure 73)

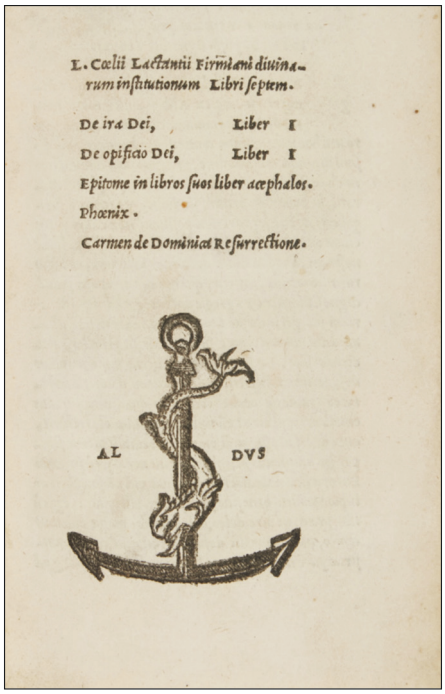
Abbreviated as Lactant.

Cited in Hast (1745, 1749).

Contents: Unknown. The book is an apologetic treatise intended to establish the reasonableness and truth of Christianity to pagan critics.

Hast (1745: 19; 1749: 125): Referring to 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata*, Hast mentions: "... *Animal hocce tam orientales quam Occidentales Indi, sicut & Christiani quidam eo accedentes, cibi loco habent, quin & ova ejus commedunt.* Seb. Lactant. Marcgr. Bochart..." ["…This animal is eaten as food by both the East and West Indians, as well as by certain Christians who come into contact with it; indeed, they even eat its eggs. — Seba, Lactantius, Marcgraf, Bochart…"].

Comments: Seb. is Seba (1734: 149, 151, 152); Lactant. is Lactantius (1515: 116); Marcgrav. is Marcgravius (1648: 236), and Bochart. is Bochart (1692: Col.


L. Cœlii Lactantii Firmiani diuinarum institutionum Libri septem.

De ira Dei, Liber I

De opificio Dei, Liber I

Epitome in libros suos liber acephalos.

Phœnix.

Carmen de Dominicæ Resurrectione.

AL DVS

Figure 73. Title page of the first 1515 edition of the *Divinarum Institutiones* (The Divine Institutes) by Lactantius.

1072).

Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have not discussed this source. The library of the Academy of Uppsala housed one 1520 Lipsiae and one 1529 Coloniae edition of the work by Lactantius (Aurivillius 1814a). In the absence of further proof on the identity of the edition used, we list the first edition as the Linnaean source.

Laet, J. de. 1633. *Novvs Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis Libri XVIII. Novis Tabulis Geographicis et variis Danimantium, Plantarum, Fructuumque Iconibus illustrati*. Lugd. Batav., Elzevirios: [ii] + [i] +[i] +[viii] +[xv] +[i] +1–690 + [xvii], 14 maps. <https://archive.org/details/novusorbisseudes00laet>. (Figure 74)

Abbreviated as Laet. occid.

Cited in Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: Mentions of one amphibian and several rep-

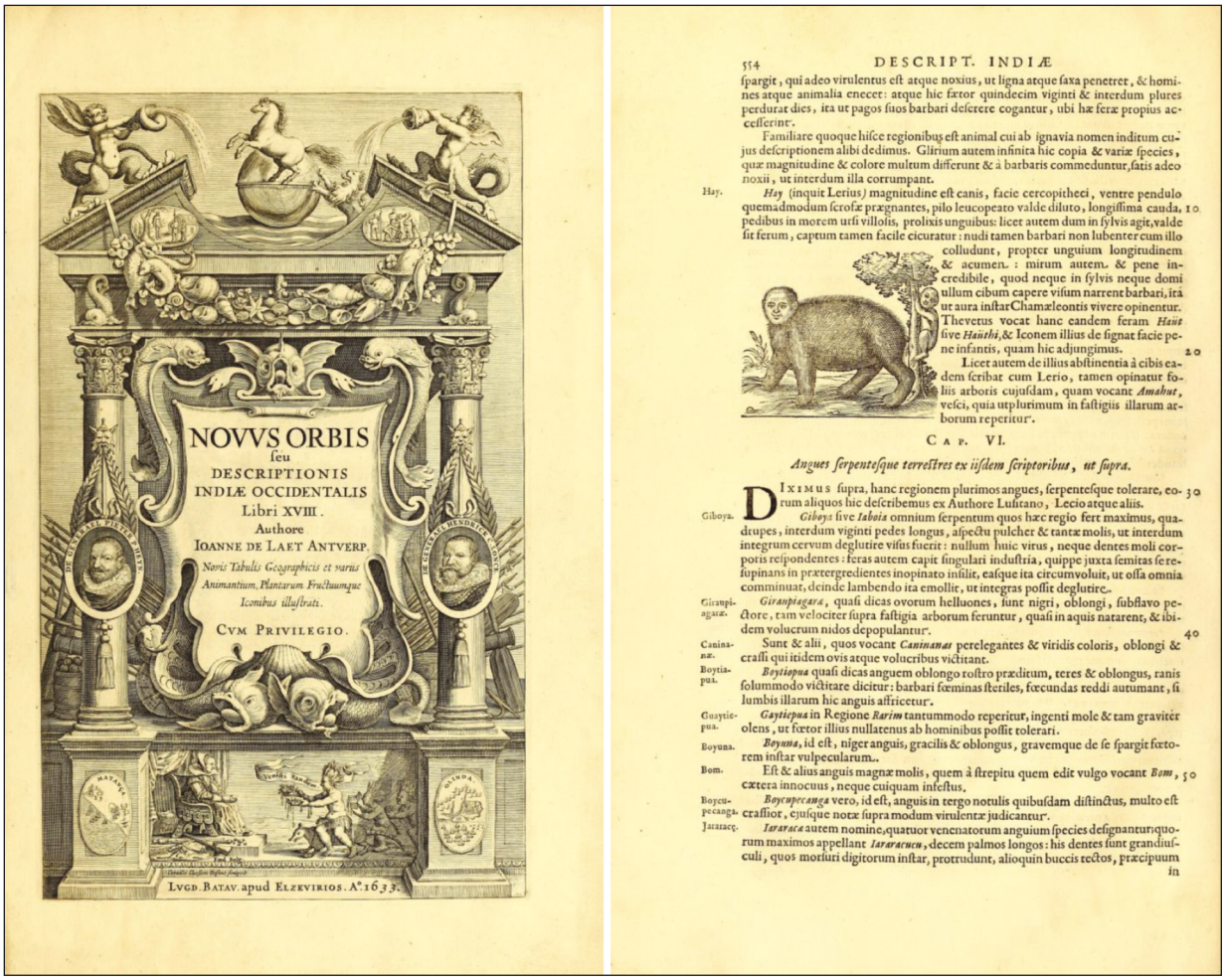
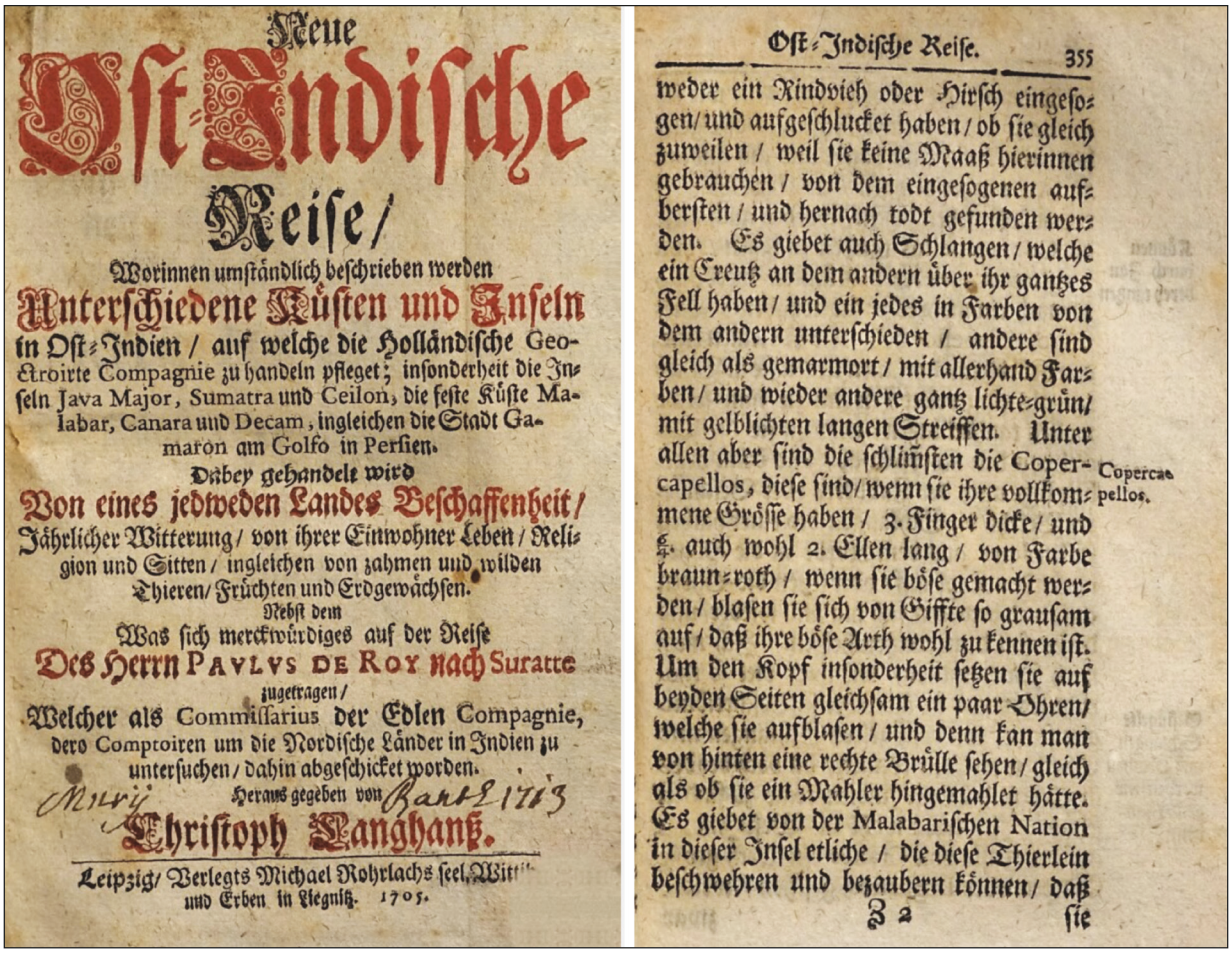


Figure 74. The 1633 Latin edition of Laet's *Novvs Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis*.



Neue
Ost-Indische
Reise/
Worinnen umständlich beschrieben werden
Unterschiedene Küsten und Inseln
in Ost-Indien / auf welche die Holländische Geo-
Ctroirte Compagnie zu handeln pfleget; insonderheit die In-
seln Java Major, Sumatra und Ceilon, die feste Küste Ma-
labar, Canara und Decam, ingleichen die Stadt Ga-
maron am Golfo in Persien.
Dabey gehandelt wird
Von eines jedweden Landes Beschaffenheit/
Jährlicher Witterung / von ihrer Einwohner Leben / Reli-
gion und Sitten / ingleichen von zahmen und wilden
Thieren/ Früchten und Erdgewächsen.
Nebst dem
Was sich merckwürdiges auf der Reise
Des Herrn PAVLVS DE ROY nach Suratte
zugetragen /
Welcher als Commissarius der Edlen Compagnie,
dero Comptoiren um die Nordische Länder in Indien zu
untersuchen / dahin abgeschicket worden.
Heraus gegeben von
Christoph Langhanß.
Leipzig/ Verlegts Michael Rohrlachs seel. Wit-
und Erben in Liegnitz. 1705.

Ost-Indische Reise. 355
weder ein Rindvieh oder Hirsch eingeso-
gen/ und aufgeschlucket haben / ob sie gleich
zuweilen / weil sie keine Maaß hierinnen
gebrauchen / von dem eingesogenen auf-
bersten / und hernach todt gefunden wer-
den. Es giebet auch Schlangen / welche
ein Creutz an dem andern über ihr gantzes
Fell haben / und ein jedes in Farben von
dem andern unterschieden / andere sind
gleich als gemarmort / mit allerhand Far-
ben / und wieder andere gantz lichte-grün/
mit gelblichten langen Streiffen. Unter
allen aber sind die schlimsten die Coper-
capellos, diese sind/ wenn sie ihre vollkom-
mene Grösse haben / 3. Finger dicke / und
4. auch wohl 2. Ellen lang / von Farbe
braun-roth / wenn sie böse gemacht wer-
den / blasen sie sich von Giffte so grausam
auf / daß ihre böse Arth wohl zu kennen ist.
Um den Kopf insonderheit setzen sie auf
beyden Seiten gleichsam ein paar Ohren/
welche sie aufblasen / und denn kan man
von hinten eine rechte Brülle sehen / gleich
als ob sie ein Mahler hingemahlet hätte.
Es giebet von der Malabarischen Nation
in dieser Insel etliche / die diese Thierlein
beschwehren und bezaubern können / daß
Copercapellos.
Z 2 sie

Figure 75. The first Leipzig edition of Langhanss' *Neue Ost-Indische Reise* (1705).

tiles (mostly snakes) scattered in the texts, including *Iguana* (p. 14), *Caltete*, *Thema Cuilcahuga*, *Crocodyli* (p. 231), *Axolotl* (p. 235), *Giboya sive Iaboia, Giraupiagarae, Caninanae, Boytiapua, Guaytiepua, Boyuna, Bom, Boycupecanga, Jararace* o *Iararaca* o *Iararacucu* (p. 554), *Curucucu, Boyciningа, Ibiracua, Ibiboboca* (p. 555), *Manima anguis, Crocodyli or Iacare, Coruryuba, Iaguapopebae, Baepapina Tritonum* (p. 576), *Boyete, Iouboy or Tara-gouyboy, or Tare-huboy*, and *Courourou* (p. 619).

Sundius (1748: 20; 1749: 498): In the synonymy of 16. CENCHRIS *scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV, notes: "...Giboya sive Jaboya. Laet occide. 554..."

Comments: The description of America by Jean de Laet had several editions and translations after the first, published in Dutch in Leiden, in 1625, under the title "*Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*" (Laet 1625). Sundius reference coincides with the Latin edition of 1633 published by Elzevir. Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896), under the alternative title *Americae utriusque descriptio*, as appears before the title page). The library of the Academy of Uppsala housed the same edition (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) did not discuss this source. Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the Linnaean source.

Langhanss, Ch. 1705. *Neue Ost-Indische Reise: Worinnen umständlich beschrieben werden Unterschiedene Küsten und Inseln in Ost-Indien, auf welche die Holländische Geoctroirte Compagnie zu handeln pfleget; insonderheit die Inseln Java Major, Sumatra und Ceilon, die feste Rufte Malabar, Canara und Decam, ingleichen die Stadt Gamaron am Golfo in Persien. Dabey gehandelt wird van eines jedweden Landes Beschaffenheit, jahrlicher Witterung, von ihrer Einwohner Leben, Religion und Sitten, ingleichen von zahmen und wilden Thieren, Friichten und*

***Erdgewachsen. Nebst dem was sich merckwiirdiges auf der Reise des Herrn Paulus de Roy nach Surattezugestragen, welcher als Commisarius der Edlen Compagnie dero Comptoiren um die Nordische Lander in Indien zu untersuchen, dahin abgeschicket warden.* Leipzig, Michael Rohrlachs: [i] + [i] +[viii] +[xi] + [1]–662. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11449449>.** (Figure 75)

Abbreviated as Languet. itin.

Questionable identification.

Cited in Darelius (1751).

Contents: Travelogue by Langhanss based on his travels to West Indies, probably as a sailor, and to the Dutch East Indies as a soldier between 1693-1696. Provides a detailed description of the large snake Coper-capello or Caper Capellos (Langhanss 1705: 355-356, 560), and additional provides natural history notes on lizards.

Darelius (1751: 106): Cobra de capello. Languet. itin. 30.

Comments: Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896) or in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss this source.

The book by Langhanss is the most likely source cited by Darelius (1751). The publication by Brückmann (1734) which was studied by Darelius (*vide supra*) references Langhanss' travelogue. In the absence of further proof on the identity of the edition used, we list the first edition as the Linnaean source.

Lemery, N. 1716. *Dictionaire (sic) ou traité universel des drogues simples. Où l'on trouve leurs differens noms, leur origine, leur choix, les principes qu'elles renferment, leurs qualitez, leur étymologie, & tout ce qu'il y a de particulier dans les animaux, dans les vegetaux, & dans les mineraux. Troisième edition. Revûe, corrigée, & beaucoup augmentée par l'auteur.* Amsterdam, Aux dépens de la Compagnie: [vii] + [viii] + [i] +1–590 + [xlviii] + [i], Pl. I–XXV. <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/dhdsdyua/items>. (Figure 76)

Abbreviated as Lemery in dictionario.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: *Acontia* (8), *Amphisbaena* (25), *Anguis aesculapii* (30), *Aspis* (57), *Boa* (83), *Boiciniga* (83),

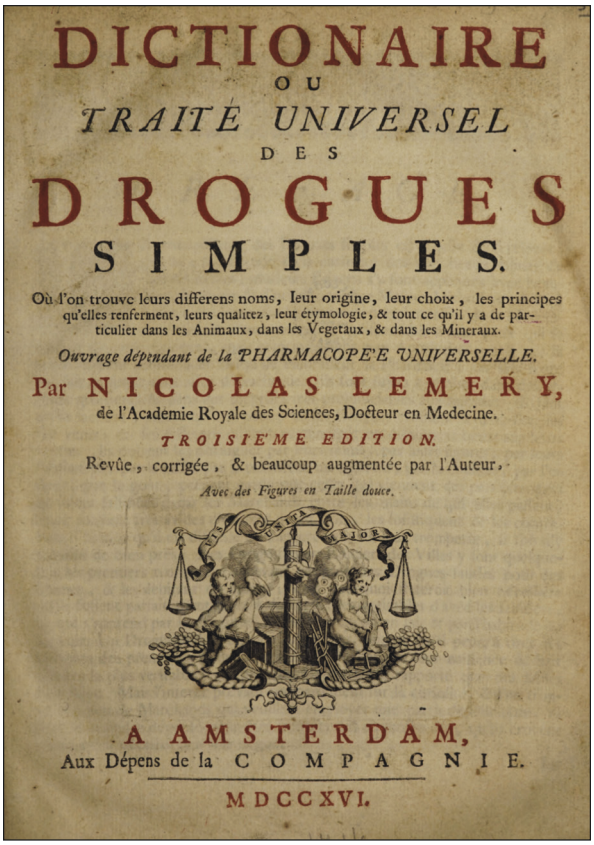

DICTIONAIRE
OU
TRAITÉ UNIVERSEL
DES
DROGUES
SIMPLES.
Où l'on trouve leurs differens noms, leur origine, leur choix, les principes qu'elles renferment, leurs qualitez, leur étymologie, & tout ce qu'il y a de particulier dans les Animaux, dans les Vegetaux, & dans les Mineraux.
Ouvrage dépendant de la PHARMACOPE'E UNIVERSELLE.
Par NICOLAS LEMERY,
de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, Docteur en Medecine.
TROISIE'ME EDITION.
Revûe, corrigée, & beaucoup augmentée par l'Auteur.
Avec des Figures en Taille douce.
A AMSTERDAM,
Aux Dépens de la COMPAGNIE.
MDCCXVI.

Figure 76. Title page of the third edition of *Dictionnaire ou traité universel des drogues simples* (1716) by Lemery.

Bojobi (83), *Boitiapo* (83), *Bufo* (91), *Caecilia* (98), *Caninana* (107), *Caymanes* (127), *Cenchrus* (127), *Cerastes* (132), *Chamaeleon* (139), *Crocodilus* (176), *Dipsas* (196), *Drynus* (199), *Elaps* (202), *Haemorrhous* (249), *Lacertus* (289), *Natrix* (376), *Ophidion* (?) (390), *Rana* (455), *Rana sylvestris* (455), *Salamandra* (475), *Scincus* (494), *Senembi* (502), *Seps* (503), *Serpens* (503), *Stellio* (523), *Testudo* (542), *Tleon* (551), and *Vipera* (571).

Linnaeus (1758: 229), Linné (1766: 392): *Anguis fragilis*: "*Hujus maxima fragilitas lepide explicata a Lemery in dictionario*". ["...Its extreme fragility was neatly explained by Lemery in his dictionary...."]

Comments: Linnaeus' ambiguous reference points out to some edition of the *Traité universel des drogues simples* by Lemery. First published in 1698, the dictionary had several editions under slightly different titles, and the lack of date or page number makes the accurate identification of the source an almost impossible task. Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss this source. Although the work was not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), in that of the Uppsala Academy there were two (Aurivillius

1814a), the first and third editions (Lemery 1698; 1716). Since in the first there are no mentions to a fragile snake, the third is considered as the source consulted. Linnaeus refers to a comment on page 504: "... A la Montagne de Cupferberg, c'est-à-dire en Allemand, Montagne de Mine de Cuivre, à 24. lieuës de Stokolm en Suéde, on trouve des Serpens de couleur de Cuivre rouge, longs chacun d'environ un pied, gros d'un ou de deux pouces, révetus d'une peau ecailleuse, fragile, peu venimeux: ce qu'il y a de particulier en cette espece de Serpens, c'est que si l'on les frape avec une baguette ou autre corps dur, ils se cassent come du verre ; ils remuet encore longtemps étant cassez de même que les autres Serpens qu'on a coupez par morceaux ; s'ils meurent sans avoir été frapez, ils demeurent casiants jusqu'à ce qu'ils pourrissent ; je crois que la raison de leur fragilité vient de ce qu'ils se sont nourris de sucs, ou autres aliments aerugineux qui ont condensé & endurci extraordinairemente leur substance, & principalement à leur exterieur... " ["…At the Mountain of Cupferberg—that is, in German, Copper Mine Mountain—24 leagues from Stockholm in Sweden, copper-colored serpents are found, each about one foot long and one or two inches thick, covered with a scaly and brittle skin, and only mildly venomous. What is peculiar about this species of serpent is that if one strikes them with a stick or any hard object, they break like glass. They continue to move for a long time even after being broken, just like other serpents that have been cut into pieces. If they die without being struck, they remain flexible until they decay. I believe the reason for their fragility lies in their having fed on juices or other verdigris-laden substances, which have extraordinarily condensed and hardened their body, especially the outer part…"].

Letter 223995. Letter from Pehr Kalm, London to Carl Linnaeus, Uppsala, dated June 14, 1748. alvin-record:223995; L0923. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:223995>. (Figure 77)

Abbreviated as Kalmio.

Cited in Darelius (1749; 1751).

Contents: During his second visit to Hans Sloane's collection, to fulfill a request by Linnaeus, Kalm counted the scales of a cobra, informing the teacher that "...Scuta abdominalia på denna äro 183; men om man wil lägga de til, som under hakan ligga imbricatim, som dock ei tyckas kunna kallas scuta, så blir det 2. mera; squamae caudales äro 60. å 61. Ty den yttersta war så otydel., at iag ei kunde se, om don bestod af en el^{r}. 2. squamis..." ["...The ventral shields on this one are 183; but if one wishes to add those lying imbricated under the chin, which however do not seem to be called shields, then there are 2 more; the tail scales are 60 or 61. For the outermost was so indistinct that I could not see whether it consisted of one or two scales…"].

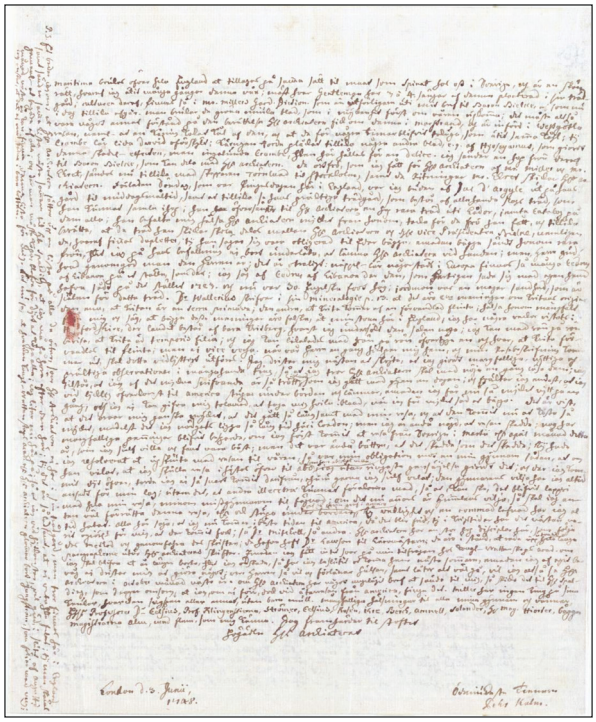


Figure 77. Letter from Pehr Kalm (1716–1779) sent to Linnaeus on June 14, 1748 from London.

Darelius (1749: 7; 1751: 107): "...C*l. Prof. Kalmio in Musaeo Sloaeneano Lond.* (…) *in litteris ad Nob. D. Praes. Missis, omnes in eo conveniunt, quod scuta abdominalia numero sint 193 & squamae caudales constituant paria 60*..." ["... The illustrious Professor Kalm in the Sloane Museum of London (…) in his letter to the Noble Lord President, confirms that all agree on this: that the abdominal scutes number 193, and the caudal scales form 60 pairs..."].

Comments: Note that there is a difference of 10 abdominal scales between Kalms's count and the transcription by Darelius.

Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss the letter as a possible source.

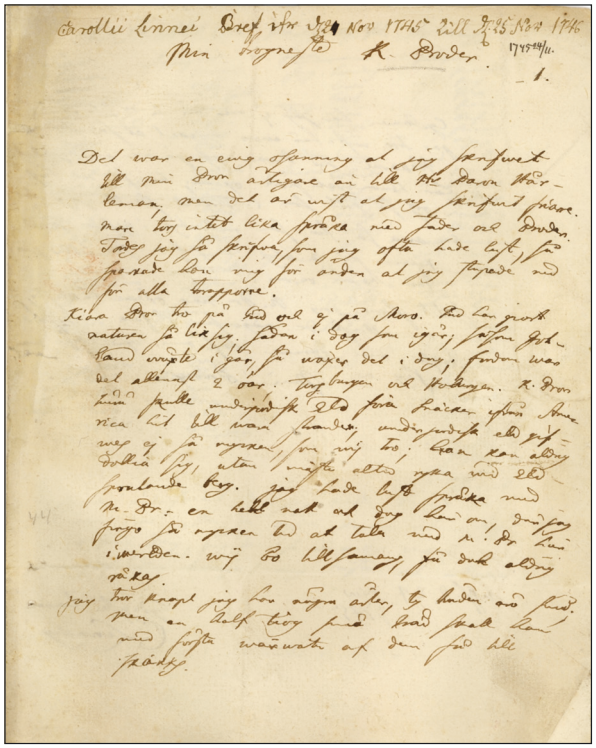


Figure 78. Letter dated December 5, 1749 from Linnaeus to Abraham Bäck.

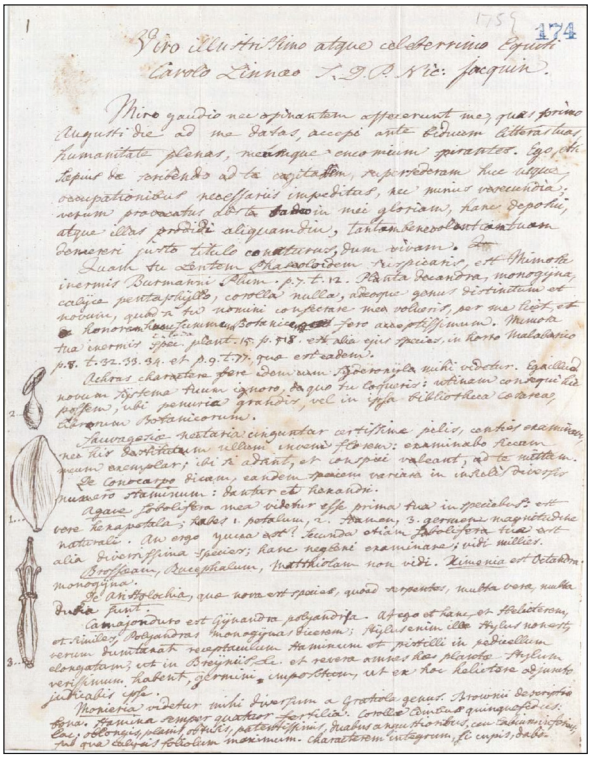


Figure 79. Letter dated August 28, 1759 from Nikolaus Joseph Freiherr von Jacquin (1727 –1817) to Linnaeus.

Letter 224595. Letter from Carl Linnaeus, Uppsala to Abraham Bäck, Stockholm, dated December 5, 1749. alvin-record:224595; L1063. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:224595>. (Figure 78)

Abbreviated as Fr. Ziervogel. Pharm. Holmens.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: In the letter (224595), Linnaeus lists the animals in Ziervogel's collection, underlying those valuable to get. They were: Under *Axunga* (grease): *serpentis* and *viperae*. Under *Secreta* (secretions): *Ranar[um] sperm[a]*. Under *Integra* (whole animals): *Rana, Bufo, stincus, vipera, exuv[iae] serpentis. Vipera.*

Linné (1766: 391): *Anguis platura* (*Habitat-– e mus. Fr. Ziervogel. Pharmac. Holmens.*).

Comments: Joham Martin Ziervogel's collection was described by Hultman (1753: 13; 1756: 458) as "... 7.) *MUSEUM ZIERVOGELIANUM Pharmacopaei b. m. Ziervogelii intueri adhuc in Pharmacopolio Holmiensi, quod Cygni gerit nomen & insigne, licet, Conchyliis & animalculis spiritu vini asservatis spectabilis...*" ["…7.) The Ziervogelian Museum of Pharmacopoeist Mr. Ziervogel is still to be seen in the Stockholm Pharmacy, which bears the name and emblem of the Swan, and is remarkable for shells and small animals preserved in wine spirit…"].

Friedrich Ziervogel (1727–1782), Apothecary Royal and in charge of packing the royal collections, who accompanied Linnaeus on his Uppsala botanical travels travels (Sandermann Olsen 1997; Das 2023).

Dundee (1994) did not discuss the reference. Heller (2007) listed the abbreviation but not not provid any reference to its source.

Letter 227447. Letter from Nikolaus Joseph von Jacquin, Wien to Carl Linnaeus, Uppsala, dated August 28, 1759. alvin-record:227447; L2562. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:227447>. (Figure 79)

Abbreviated as: Jaquin; Jacquino; Jacquinio.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Aphonin (1766; 1769), Linné (1766).

Contents: Among several plants collected in America, Jacquin mentions a new species of *Aristolochia*, useful against snake bites.

Acrell (1762: 19; 1763: 216): "...*Certe D. D. Jacquin ex India occidentali redux artem excantandi serpentes sesse auro redemisse, in literis ad D. Praesidem testatur, an hoc fiat masticando* Aristolochiam

anguicidam *ejusdem, vel alia methodo nobis etiamnum latet, sed speravimus brevi hoc arcanum communicaturum cum publico, D. D. Jacquin quod avide nobiscum omnes curiosi exoptant, & precibus efflagitant...*" ["...Indeed, the esteemed Dr. Jacquin, returned from the West Indies, testifies in a letter to the esteemed President that he purchased for gold the art of charming serpents. Whether this is done by chewing *Aristolochia anguicida* of that region or by some other method remains unknown to us; but we have hoped that Dr. Jacquin will soon share this secret with the public, which all curious minds, including ourselves, eagerly desire and urgently request..."].

Aphonin (1766: 25): "...*Serpens* devorantur a *Suibus* & *Ciconiis;* fascinantur vero Aristolochia Jaquini..." ["…Serpents are devoured by swine and storks; but they are charmed by *Aristolochia* of Jacquin…"].

Aphonin (1769: 433): "...*Serpens* devorantur a *Suibus* & *Ciconiis;* fascinantur vero Aristolochia anguicida Jaquini..." ["…Serpents are devoured by swine and storks; but they are charmed by *Aristolochia anguicida* of Jacquin…"].

Linné (1766: 348): in the comments on snakes, (1766: 348) noted: "...*Venenatos Serpentes Marsii Psyllique* Arabiae & Americae excantant *Aristolochia* Speciebus *teste Jacquinio & Forskolio*..." ["… Venomous serpents of the Marsi, the Psylli of Arabia and America are charmed by species of *Aristolochia*, according to the testimony of Jacquin and Forsskål…"].

Comments: This is a good example of scientific gossiping. After his return from America, Jacquin mentioned a new species of *Aristolochia* used against snake bites to François Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages (1706–1767), French physician and botanist, friend of Linnaeus. He, in turn, transmitted the novelty to Linnaeus in a letter dated in Montpelier on July 10, 1759 (Letter 227438), calling the species "*contracapitán*". As already noted by Madriñán (2013), Linnaeus immediately spread the news and wrote to Jacquin a mellifluous letter (Letter 227443) congratulating the traveler and offering to provide him copies of publications and help in identification (with the undeniable purpose of obtaining some of the collected plants). The species, named *Aristolochia anguicida*, was published by Jacquin in 1763.

Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss the letter as a possible source of information.

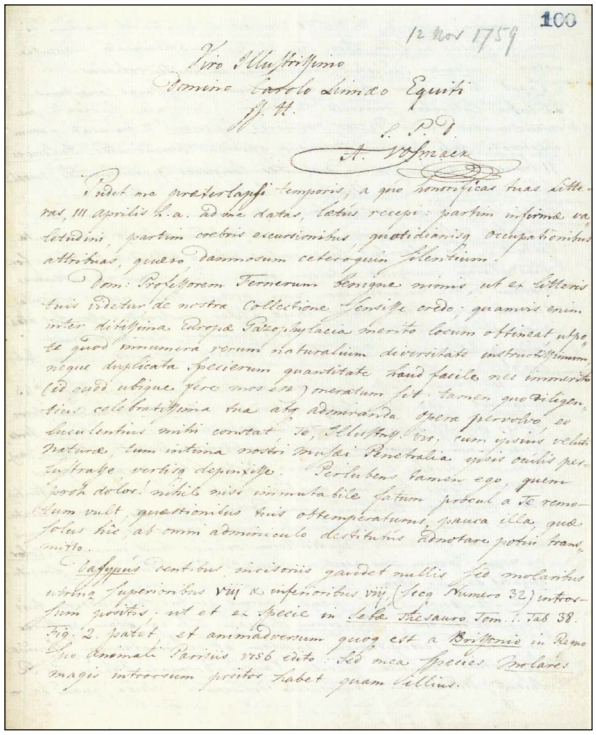


Figure 80. First page of the letter dated November 12, 1759 from Arnout Vosmaer to Linnaeus.

Letter 227518. Letter from Arnout Vosmaer, Den Haag to Carl Linnaeus, Uppsala, dated November 12, 1759. alvin-record:227518; L2620. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:227518>. (Figure 80)

Letter 231121. Letter from Arnout Vosmaer, Den Haag to Carl Linnaeus, Uppsala, dated June 16, 1760. alvin-record: 231121; L2742. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:231121>.

Abbreviated as A. Vosmaer.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: In the first letter Vosmaer refers to *Lacertae* Nº 43 *Anguinid* in p. 210 (of the tenth edition of the *Systema naturae* (Linnaeus 1758)), while in the second the taxon is named *Lacerta anguina*.

Linné (1766: 371): *Lacerta angvina* (*A. Vosmaer*).

Comments: Vosmaer suggests some additions to the description of *Lacerta anguina* presented in SN10 (Linnaeus 1758), which was freely interpreted by Linnaeus in the characterization of the species in SN12 (Linné 1766).

Dundee (1994) did not discuss the reference. Heller (2007) listed the abbreviation and made record of the two letters as well but did not directly match the citation to the letters.

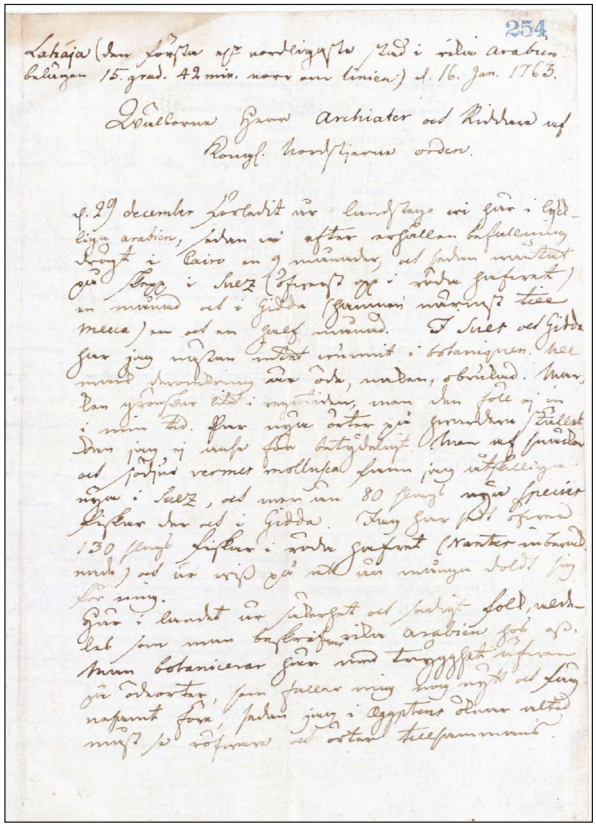


Figure 81. Letter dated January 16, 1763 by Petrus Forskål, Lohajae, Yemen to Linnaeus.

Letter 231588. Letter from Petrus Forskål, Lohajae, Yemen to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala] dated January 16, 1763. alvin-record:231588; L3196. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:231588>. (Figure 81)

Abbreviated as Forskohlio.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: At the end of the letter, Forskål listed a series of seeds sent to Linnaeus, including "*321. Aristolochia ch. serpentariae fere och här botemedel mot ormbätt...*".

Linné (1766: 348): In the comments on snakes, Linné (1766: 348) noted: "*...Venenatos Serpentes Marsii Psyllique* Arabiae & Americae excantant *Aristolochia* Speciebus *teste Jacquinio & Forskolio...*" ["…The venomous serpents of the Marsi, the Psylli, Arabia, and America are charmed by species of *Aristolochia*, according to the testimony of Jacquin and Forsskål…"].

Comments: Petrus Forskål (1732-1763), one of Linnaeus "Apostles", died in Jerim, Yemen, on July 11, 1763. In the posthumous edition of his observations the plant was named *Aristolochia sepervirens*, repeating its properties as antidote against snake bites in the Near East (Forskål 1775: 156). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss the letter as a possible source.

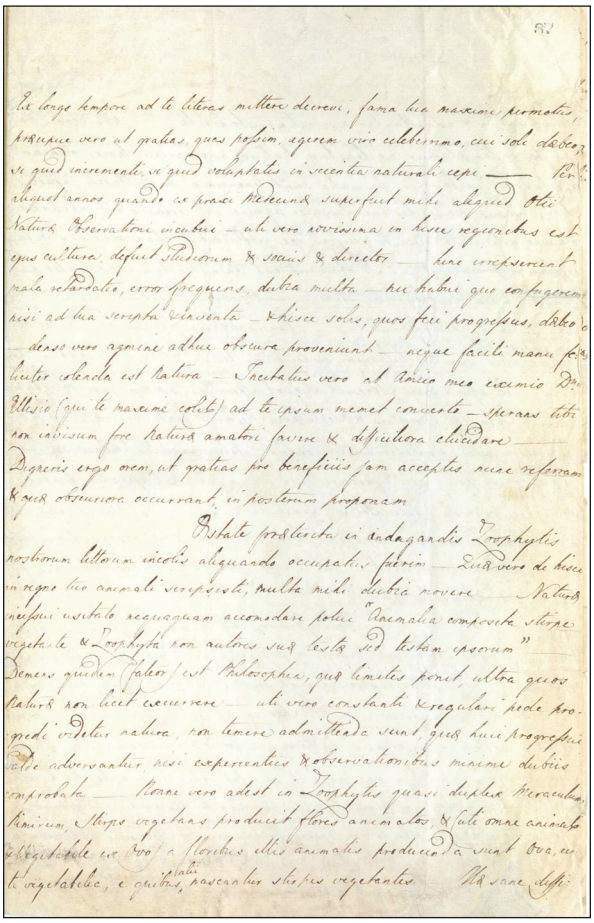


Figure 82. Page from December 17, 1765 letter from David Skene to Linnaeus.

Letter 232128. Letter from David Skene, Aberdeen to Carl Linnaeus, Uppsala, dated December 17, 1765. alvin-record:232128; L3684. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:232128>. (Figure 82)

Abbreviated as D. Schene.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: The species included in the synonymy of *Coluber jaculatrix* is characterized as "*...Surinama nuper accepi animalia plurima, et inter alios colubres 2 vel 3 specimina. C. scutis abdom. 163, quam caud. 77 Gronov mus. 2do, No. 26. Hic coluber tibi non visus memoratur in regno animali; si adhuc non possideas, mittam...*" ["…I recently received many animals from Suriname, and among others, two or three specimens of snakes. One had 163 ventral scutes and 77 caudal scales — Gronovius, *Museum*, 2nd volume, no. 26. This snake, which

you have not seen, is mentioned in the Regnum Animale; if you do not yet possess it, I will send it…"]. The one included in the synonymy of *C. eryx* is characterized as "…*Est nobis Anguis habitu ac colore prorsus idem ac Anguis Eryxa N° 262, satis exacte descriptus a Gronovio mus. 2do, No 9. Calculo non spermendo numeravi squamas abdominales 120, Caudales 137, longitudo ab apice rostri ad finem caudae 15 unc., abmano ad finem caudas circiter 8 ¼, caput speciminis paulo mutilati non bene observavi*…" ["…We have a snake in both form and color entirely identical to *Anguis Eryx* no. 262, described quite accurately by Gronovius in *Museum*, 2nd volume, no. 9. I carefully counted the scales: 120 ventral, 137 caudal. The length from the tip of the snout to the end of the tail was 15 inches; from the hand to the tail's end, about 8¼. I was unable to observe the head of the specimen well, as it was somewhat damaged…"].

Linné (1766: 381, 392): 240. jaculatrix. 163-77. C. Gron. mus. 63. n. 26. / Habitat Surinami. D. Schene. 262. Eryx. 126-36. A. Gron. mus. e. p. 35. n. 9. / D. Schene mss. 120-137. misit.

Comments: Skene, David (1731-1770) was a Welsh physician and botanist, collaborator of Linnaeus. The letter is also transcribed in Skene's biography by Thomson (1859).

Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss the letter as possible sources.

Letters. Numerous letters from Alexander Garden to Linnaeus, identified as follows:

Letter 225774. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated March 15, 1755. alvin-record:225774; L1886. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:225774>. (Figure 83)

Letter 225787. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated April 2, 1755. alvin-record:225787; L1899. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:225787>.

Letter 227190. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated November 30, 1758. alvin-record:227190; L2447. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:227190>.

Letter 227597. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated January 2, 1760. alvin-record:227597; L2669. < https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:227597>.

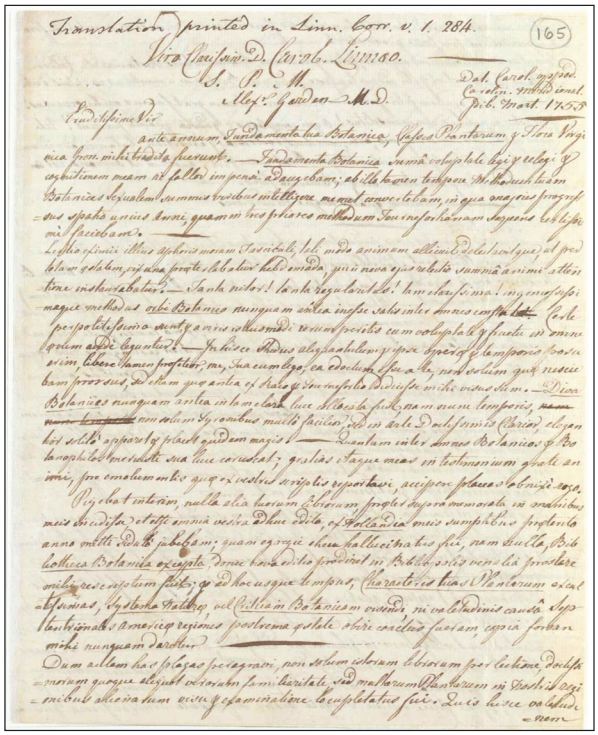


Figure 83. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated March 15, 1755.

Letter 231299. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated April 12, 1761. alvin-record:231299; L2902. < https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:231299>.

Letter 231672. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated June 2, 1763. alvin-record:231672; L3272. < https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:231672>.

Letter 232000. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated May 18, 1765. alvin-record:232000; L3591. < https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:232000>.

Letter 232230. Letter from Alexander Garden, Charlestown to Carl Linnaeus, [Uppsala], dated August 4, 1766. alvin-record:232230; L3790. < https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:232230>.

Abbreviated as Garden.

Cited in Linné (1766; 1767), Österdam (1766; 1769).

Contents: Diverse.

Linné (1766: 348, 364, 366, 372, 373, 375, 376, 378,

379, 381, 383, 385, 387, 391, 392): Garden is mentioned in Nantes (348), *Lacerta 6-lineata* (364), *Lacerta 5-lineata* (366), *Crotalus miliarius* (372), *Boa contortrix* (373), *Coluber simus* (375), *Coluber striatulus* (375), *Coluber punctatus* (376), *Coluber fasciatus* (378), *Coluber doliatus* (379), *Coluber ordinatus* (379), *Coluber fulvius* (381), *Coluber getulus* (383), *Coluber saurita* (385), *Coluber guttatus* (385), *Coluber aestivus* (387), and *Anguis ventralis* (391; 392).

Linnaeus (1767): *Siren lacertina* (penultimate page of the Addenda).

Österdam (1766: 8, 12, 14; 1769: 318, 322, 324): Some references referred to the letters exchanged between Garden and Linnaeus, referred to a strange animal that seems to be "the link between *Lacerta* and *Muraena*...".

Comments: Correspondence between Garden and Linnaeus was published by James Edward Smith in 1821 (Smith 1821).

Dundee (1994) has not discussed the reference. Heller (2007) listed the abbreviation and made record of the the various letters as well as the species descriptions.

Linder, J. 1705. *Q. F. F. S. Dissertatio Medica De Foeda Lue Dicta Venerea, Quam Consensu Ampliss. Fac. Med. in Reg. Ups. Acad. Præside Dn. Laurentio Roberg Med. Doct & P. P. Censuræ publicæ ventilandam subjicit Regius Stipendiarius, Johannes Linder Carlstadio-Wermlandus, Ad diem 2. Decembr. Anno 1705. horis & loco solitis.* Upsalis. Joh. Henr. Werner: [iv] + 2–47 + [i]. <https://runeberg.org/defoedalue/>. (Figure 84)

Abbreviated as Roberg. diss. de lue vener.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749).

Contents: On pages 8-9 refers to the Oviedo's (1535) comment on the relationship between the iguana meat and syphilis sufferers; at p. 9 is an illustration of the species.

Hast (1745: 18; 1749: 124): 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Roberg. diss. de lue vener. pag. 9. tab.).

Comments: Although usually attributed to Lars Roberg, the thesis student was Johannes Linder, who is recognized here as the author. Hast's quote seems to refer to the illustration, not the text.

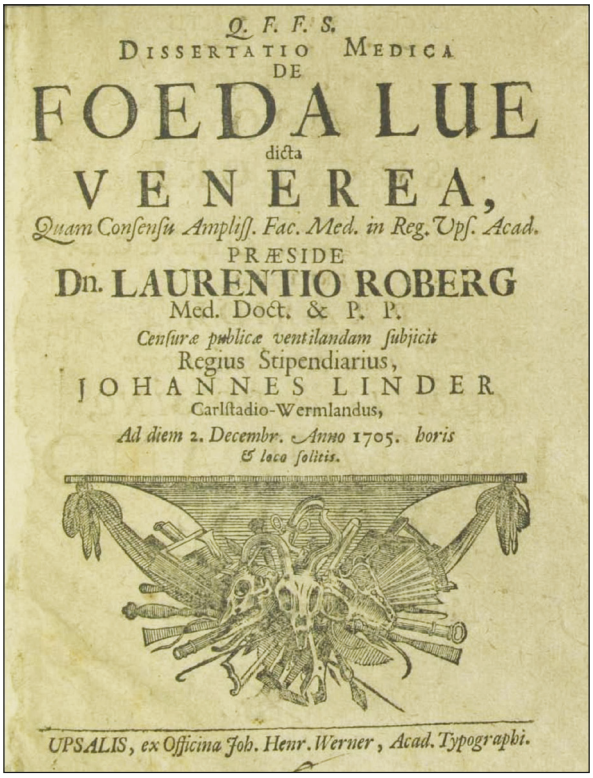

Q. F. F. S.
DISSERTATIO MEDICA
DE
FOEDA LUE
dicta
VENEREA,
Quam Consensu Ampliss. Fac. Med. in Reg. Ups. Acad.
PRÆSIDE
Dn. LAURENTIO ROBERG
Med. Doct. & P. P.
Censuræ publicæ ventilandam subjicit
Regius Stipendiarius,
JOHANNES LINDER
Carlstadio-Wermlandus,
Ad diem 2. Decembr. Anno 1705. horis
& loco solitis.
UPSALIS, ex Officina Joh. Henr. Werner, Acad. Typographi.

Figure 84. Medical dissertation Dissertatio Medica De Foeda Lue Dicta Venerea (1705) by Johannes Linder.

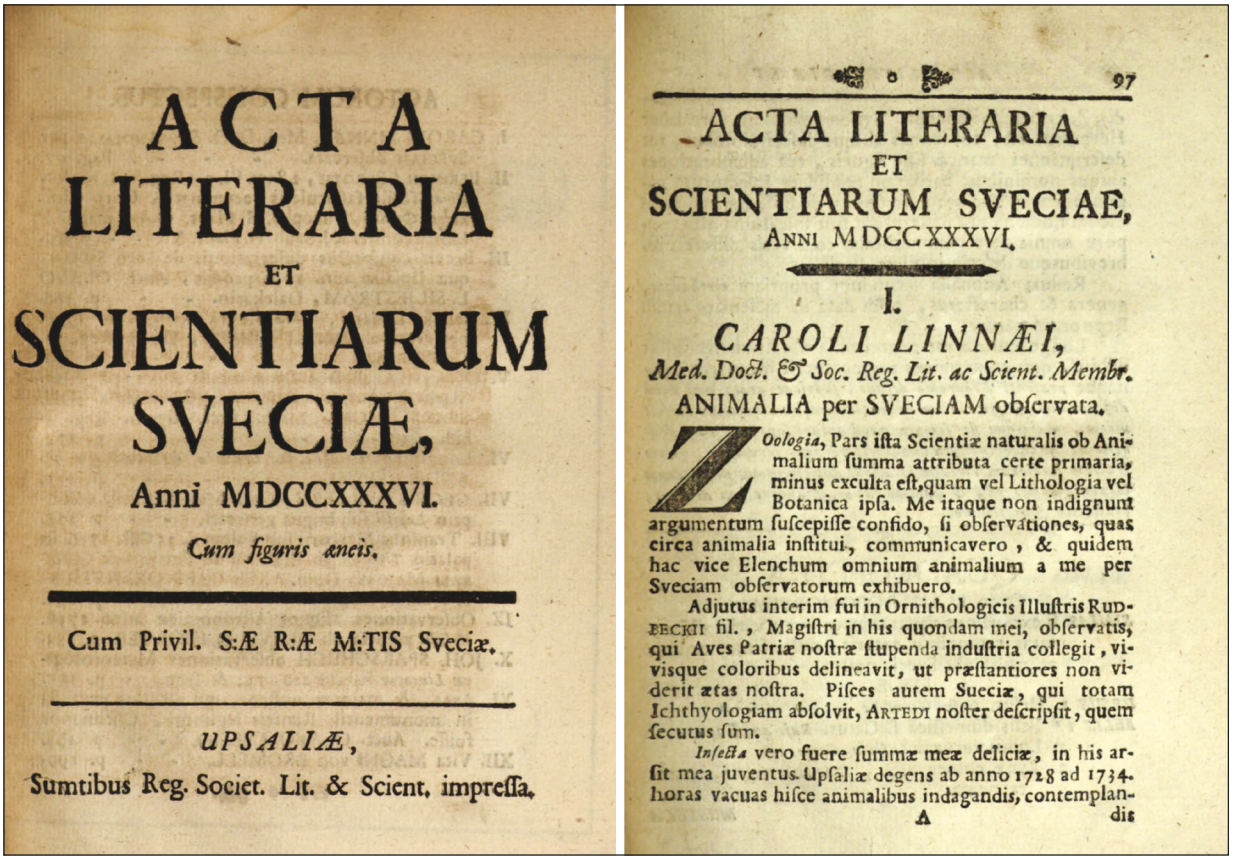
Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896) or the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a, b). Since *Dissertatio Medica De Foeda Lue Dicta Venerea* was a dissertation printed in Uppsala it is very likely that Hast studied the thesis, and this was not a secondhand reference. Dundee (1994) did not discuss the reference. Heller (2007) itemized the dissertation as the source.

Linnaeus, C. 1742. Animalia per Sueciam observata. *Acta Literaria et Scientiarum Sveciae*, Volumen quartum (Containes years 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738 & 1739): 97–138. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433009791769&seq=111>. (Figure 85)

Abbreviated as: *Act. Ups.* 1736.; *Actis Liter. Sveciæ,* 1736.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1740a; 1742; 1746; 1761).

Contents: *Classis III. AMPHIBIA.* I. Serpentes. *RANA.* 1. *Rana aquatica.* 2. *Rana arborea.* 3. *Bufo s. Rubeta. LACERTA.* 1. *Lacertus vulgaris 1.* 2. *Lacertus viridis.* 3. *Lacertus vulgaris 2.* 4. *Salamandra aquatica. ANGUIS.* 1. *Caecilia,*



ACTA LITERARIA ET SCIENTIARUM SVECIÆ, Anni MDCCXXXVI. Cum figuris æneis.

Cum Privil. S:Æ R:Æ M:TIS Sveciæ.

UPSALIÆ, Sumtibus Reg. Societ. Lit. & Scient. impressa.

97

ACTA LITERARIA ET SCIENTIARUM SVECIAE, Anni MDCCXXXVI.

I.

CAROLI LINNÆI, Med. Doct. & Soc. Reg. Lit. ac Scient. Membr.

ANIMALIA per SVECIAM observata.

Zoologia, Pars ista Scientiæ naturalis ob Animalium summa attributa certe primaria, minus exculta est, quam vel Lithologia vel Botanica ipsa. Me itaque non indignum argumentum suscepisse confido, si observationes, quas circa animalia institui, communicavero, & quidem hac vice Elenchum omnium animalium a me per Sveciam observatorum exhibuero.

Adjutus interim fui in Ornithologicis Illustris Rudbeckii fil., Magistri in his quondam mei, observatis, qui Aves Patriæ nostræ stupenda industria collegit, vivisque coloribus delineavit, ut præstantiores non viderit ætas nostra. Pisces autem Sueciæ, qui totam Ichthyologiam absolvit, Artedi noster descripsit, quem secutus sum.

Insecta vero fuere summæ meæ deliciæ, in his arsit mea juventus. Upsaliæ degens ab anno 1728 ad 1734. horas vacuas hisce animalibus indagandis, contemplan-

A dis

Figure 85. *Animalia per Sueciam observata* (1742) the predecessor to *Fauna Svecica.*

Typhlinus Graecis. 2. *Natrix torquata.* 3. *Anguis parvus rufescens.* 4. *Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca, longitudinali, dentata,* all in page 107.

Hast (1745: 6; 1749: 114): 1. β. *Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinaliter dentata.* (*Act. Ups.* 1736. pag. 11. n. 4).

Linnaeus (1740a: 77): Provided as reference on the increase in the number of known species compared to *Systema Naturae* Ed. 1 (Linnaeus 1735).

Linnaeus (1746: 97): 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Act. ups.* 1736 p. 11. n. 4. Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinali dentata).

Linnaeus (1761: 104): 286. COLUBER ♂ *Berus* scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Act. ups.* 1736 p 11. n. 4. Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinali dentata).

Comments: Hast (1745, 1749) and Linnaeus (1761) refer to species number four, described on the eleventh page of this work, which is page 107 (indeed the 11th page of this publication) of the fourth volume of *Acta literaria.*

1. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*. from Hast (1745) was renamed 1. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*. in Hast (1749).

Reprinted as *Elenchus animalium per Sueciam observatorum* (Linnaeus 1743a).

Linnaeus's own copy of is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). Not listed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a, b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified the publication as the source.

Linnaeus, C. 1743b. *Patronis, hospitibus, patribus civibusque academicis et urbicis, S. P. D. Carolus Linnaeus, Medicinae & Botanices Professor Reg. & Ord. Nec non in solenni hac inauguratione medica constitutus promotor*. Upsaliae, Typis Viduae R. Höjeri: [iii]. < https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:564985>. (Figure 86)

Abbreviated as: Telluris incremento; Cel. D:nus Praeses in programmate anno 1743 die 9. April. retulit.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749), Hast (1745; 1749).

Contents: Short mention to *Vipera caudisona,* in the second, unnumbered page.

Balk (1746: 21; 1749: 299): Comment on p. 21/299:

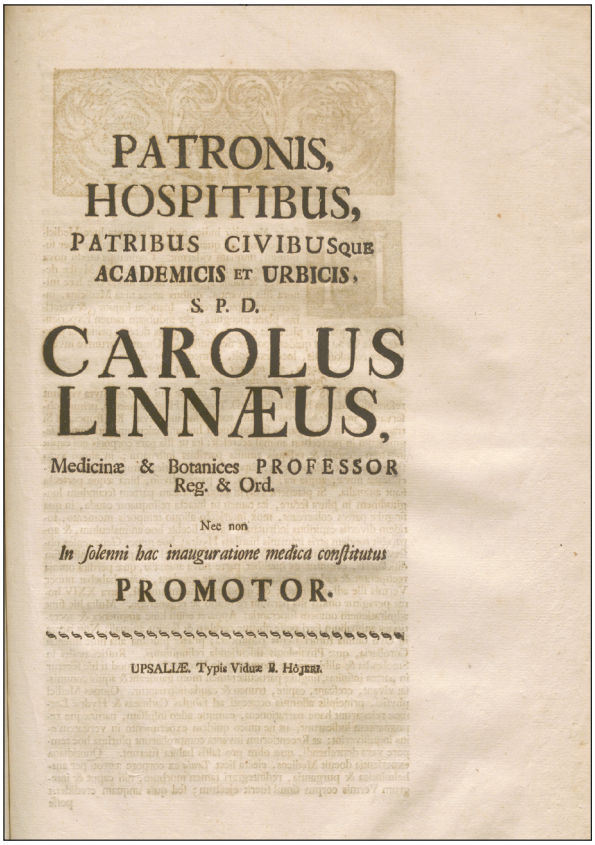

PATRONIS,
HOSPITIBUS,
PATRIBUS CIVIBUSQUE
ACADEMICIS ET URBICIS,
S. P. D.
CAROLUS
LINNÆUS,
Medicinæ & Botanices PROFESSOR
Reg. & Ord.
Nec non
In solenni hac inauguratione medica constitutus
PROMOTOR.
UPSALIÆ. Typis Viduæ R. Höjeri

Figure 86. Title page of Linnaeus's *Patronis, hospitibus, patribus civibusque academicis et urbicis* (1743).

"...(d) *Sacerdotis nostri e Pensylvania reduces, ad unum omnes, referunt hanc Viperam, viso in arbore sciuro, ad ejus radices procumbere, sciurum oculis radiantibus & rictu hiante, ut solit Felis murem, contemplari; hunc vero consternatum arborem circumcursare, effugia quaere, tandem vero, velut fascinatum in os anguis insilere. vid. Lin. de telluris incremento, praefat. ...*" ["...Our clergymen returning from Pennsylvania, all of them without exception, report having seen this viper, upon spotting a squirrel in a tree, lie down at its base and gaze at it with radiant eyes and gaping jaws—just as a cat is wont to watch a mouse. The squirrel, terrified, runs about the tree in search of escape, but at last, as if bewitched, leaps straight into the serpent's mouth. See Linnaeus, *de telluris incremento*, preface..."].

Hast (1745: 6; 1749: 115): Linnaeus comments under β. *Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinaliter dentata*: "*...vide quae de vipera caudisona Cel. D:nus Praeses in programmate anno 1743 die 9. April. retulit...*". ["…see what the illustrious President reported concerning the rattlesnake in the program of April 9, 1743…"].

Comments: Reedited in Linnaeus (1744b) and also included in the second volume of *Amoenitates Academicae* (Linnaeus 1751b).
Linnaeus's own copy is not in London (Anonymous 1896). The library catalogue of the Academy of Uppsala does not list it either (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss this source.

Linnaeus, C. 1745. *Öländska och Gothländska* ***resa pä Riksens hogloflige ständers befallning forrättad ähr 1741. Med anmärkningar uti oeconomien, naturalhistorien, antiquiteter &c. med ätskillige figurer*****. Stockholmoch Upsala, Gottfried Kiesewetter: [i] + [ii] + [viii] + 160 ([1]–160) + [i] + 182 ([163]–344) + [xxviii] + [ii], 2 Map, 1 Pl. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.107137>.** (Figure 87)

Abbreviated as: It. oel.; It. Oel.; It. Oeland.; it. Oeland; It. Gothl.; It. gotl. [a]; It. gottl.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1754; 1758; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: Contains some references to snakes (*Ormar*), including the characterization of *Coluber* (*Snokslåchtet*; p. 6-7), *Huggorm* (p. 23-24), *Snok* (p. 154), and *Orm* (pp. 226-227; 326), and amphibians, like *Bufo* (*Padda*, p. 142), *Rana temporaria* (*Groda*, p. 154-155), and *Grodan* (300).

Hast (1745: 8): 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (it. Oeland. 6. 154. *Coluber*).

Hast (1749: 116): 3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (it. Oeland. 6. 154. *Coluber*).

Linnaeus (1746a: 95, 97): 253. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*It. Oel.* 142. Bufo), 259. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII (*It. gottl.* 226. Serpens; *It. oel.* 6. 154. Coluber), 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*It. Oel.* 23. Vipera).

Linnaeus (1754: 27, 48): *Coluber natrix* (It. Gothl. 227), and *Rana bufo* (It. Oel. 142).

Linnaeus (1758: 210, 212) Linné (1766: 354, 357): *Rana bufo* (*It. oel.* 142), *R. temporaria* (*It. oel.* 154. Rana temporaria).

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 104, 105): 275. RANA *Bufo* corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque (Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis : pollice breviore. *It. oel.* 142), 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangu-

CARL LINNÆI
Med. & Botan. Prof. Upſ.
Öländſka
och
Gothländſka
Reſa
på
Riksens Höglofliga Ständers
befallning
förrättad
Åhr 1741.
Med Anmärkningar uti Oeconomien, Natural-Hiſtorien, Antiquiteter &c. med åtſkillige Figurer.
STOCKHOLM och UPSALA.
hos Gottfried Kieſewetter. 1745.

Figure 87. Title page of *Öländska och Gothländska Resa* (1745), narrative of the journey of Linnaeus to Öland and Gotland.

lato (*It. oel.* 154), 286. COLUBER ♂ *Berus* scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*It. oel.* 23. Vipera), 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*It. oel.* 6. 154. Coluber), 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*It. gottl.* 226. Serpens), 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*It. gotl.* 227), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*It. gotl.* 306, 326).

Comments: This is the narrative of the journey to Öland and Gotland, two islands in the Baltic sea, performed during the summer of 1741. Linnaeus's usage of diverse abbreviations referring to this work in Linnaeus (1745) is curious., *It. gotl.* was also used to refer to Linnaeus (1747b). There is an English translation by Marie Åsberg and William T. Stearn (Linnaeus 1973).

Linnaeus's own copy is not in London (Anonymous 1896). A copy was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same source.

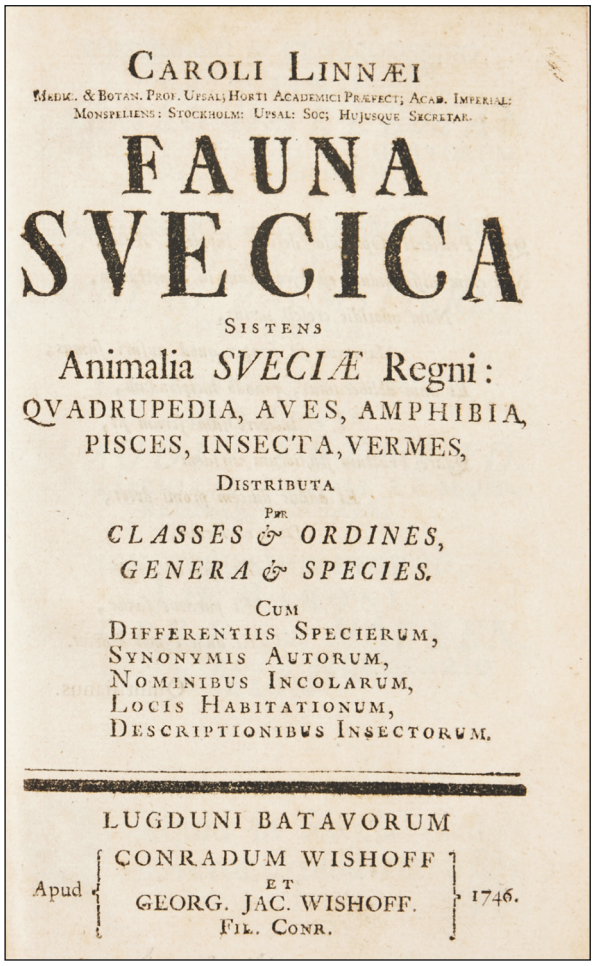
Linnaeus, C. 1746a. *Fauna Svecica Sistens Animalia Sveciæ Regni: Quadrupedia, Aves, Amphibia, Pisces, Insecta, Vermes, Distributa per Classes & Ordines, Genera & Species. Differentiis Specierum, Synonymis Autorum, Nominibus Incolarum, Locis Habitationum, Descriptionibus Insectorum.* Stockholmiæ, Laurentii Salvii: [i] + [ii] + [ix] + [iv] + [ix] + [ii] + 1–411+ [i], Pl. I–II. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.63899>. (Figure 88)

Abbreviated as: Faun. suec.; Faun. Suec.; Faun. Svec.; Faun. svec. [a]; Fauna Svecica; Fn.; fn. Suec.; Fn. Suec.; Fn. Sv.; Fn. sv.; Fn. Svec. [a].

Cited in Biberg (1749; 1751), Linnaeus (1747b; 1748a; 1748b; 1750 [1749]; 1751a; 1752; 1754; 1756; 1758; 1759; 1761; 1763), Linné (1766), Sidrén (1750; 1751), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: The first edition of *Fauna Suecica*, listing the following species: 250. *Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice longiore* (94), 251. *Rana abdomine fulvo* (94), 252. *Rana viridis* (94), 253. *Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis: pollice breviore* (95), 254. *Lacerta pedibus inermibus, manibus tetradactylis, palmis pentadactylis, corpore livido, linea dorsali fusca duplici* (95), 255. *Lacerta viridis* (95), 256. *Lacerta pedibus inermibus fissis, manibus tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, cauda ancipiti* (95-96), 257. *Lacerta pedibus inermibus fissis, manibus tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, cauda teretiuscula* (96), *Anguis squamis abdominis caudaeque* CXXX. (96), 258. *Anguis squamis abdominis caudaeque* CXXX. (96), 259. *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLXXVII, *squamis caudae* LXXXV (96-97), 260. *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXLIV, *squamis caudae* XXXIX (97), 261. *Anguis parvus rufesces åsping dictus* (97), and 1352. *Lacerta cauda tereti verticillata longitudine corporis, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis* (387).

Biberg (1749: 28; 1751: 31): Bieberg noted: "... AMPHIBIA multa foetus edunt vivos, utpote *vipera* Fn. 260 *Rana* Bufo dicta &c. Quae vero oviperae sunt species, ova ad ejusmodi deponunt loca, ubi solis aestus matris vices sustinent. Sic *Ranae* reliquae & *Lacertae* Fn. 254, 256, 257 in aquis tepefactis, *Natrices* Fn. 259 vero in fimetis aliisque locis subcalentibus ova relinquunt..." ["… Many amphibians give birth to live young—for instance, the viper (Fn. 260), the frog, the so-called


CAROLI LINNÆI
MEDIC. & BOTAN. PROF. UPSAL; HORTI ACADEMICI PRÆFECT; ACAD. IMPERIAL: MONSPELIENS: STOCKHOLM: UPSAL: SOC; HUJUSQUE SECRETAR.

FAUNA SVECICA

SISTENS
Animalia SVECIÆ Regni:
QVADRUPEDIA, AVES, AMPHIBIA, PISCES, INSECTA, VERMES,
DISTRIBUTA
PER
CLASSES & ORDINES,
GENERA & SPECIES.
CUM
DIFFERENTIIS SPECIERUM,
SYNONYMIS AUTORUM,
NOMINIBUS INCOLARUM,
LOCIS HABITATIONUM,
DESCRIPTIONIBUS INSECTORUM.

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM
Apud CONRADUM WISHOFF ET GEORG. JAC. WISHOFF. FIL. CONR. 1746.

Figure 88. Title page of the first systematic account of the Swedish fauna, *Fauna Svecica* (Linnaeus 1746a).

toad, etc. But those species that are oviparous lay their eggs in such places where the heat of the sun serves in place of the mother's warmth. Thus, the remaining frogs and lizards (Fn. 254, 256, 257) in warmed waters, while the grass snakes (Fn. 259) lay their eggs in dung heaps and other mildly heated places…"].

Linnaeus (1747b: 84, 146, 204, 257, 261): Grodor (84; Fn. svec. 250), Orm (146; Fn. svec. 259), Padda (204; Fn. svec. 253), Gruf-grabber (257; Fn. svec. 256), and *Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis subpalmatis* (261; considered as *Padda nytt slag*, or a new kind of frog in the index).

Linnaeus (1748a: 34, 36, 37; 1748b: 34, 36, 37; 1756: 34, 36, 37): 1. *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* 135, *caudalibus*, 135, *Fn.* 258., 12. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 176, *squam caud.* 60, *Fn. 259.*, 19. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 150, *squam caud.* 34, *Fn. 261.*, 20. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 145, *squam caud.* 36, *Fn. 260.*, 3. *Lacerta cauda ancipiti, pedibus muticis fissis; palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, Fn.* 256., 6. *Lacerta cauda verticillata tereti, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis, Fn.* 1352., 8. *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus muticis: palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, Fn. 254. 257.*, 6. *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis. plantis hexadactylis palmatis: pollice longiore, Fn. 250*, 7. *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis. plantis hexadactylis palmatis: pollice breviore, Fn. 253.*

Linnaeus (1750 [1749]: 248): "... Då jag utgar Mönste-Rullarne på Svenska kreaturen uti *Fauna Svecica*, sic jag spörja..." ["…As I compile the muster rolls of the Swedish creatures in Fauna Svecica, I thus inquire…"].

Linnaeus (1751a: 228, 314 (*sic*)): LACERTA *cauda verticillata*, (Fn. 1352.); ÄSPING (Fn. 261.).

Linnaeus (1752: 206): Hugg-ormen, *Faun. Svec. N:o* 260.

Linnaeus (1754: 27, 43, 47, 48): *Coluber natrix* (Faun. Svec. 259), *Lacerta agilis* (Faun. Svec. 1352), *Rana marginata* (Faun. Svec. 250), *Rana bufo* (Faun. Svec. 253).

Linnaeus (1758: 201, 203, 206, 210, 212, 217, 218, 220, 229): *Lacerta palustris* (*Fn. svec.* 256), *L. agilis* (*Faun. svec.* 1352. Lacerta cauda tereti verticillata longitudine corporis, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis), *L. vulgaris* (*Fn. svec.* 254. Lacerta pedibus inermibus, manibus tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore livido: linea dorsali fusca duplici), *L. aquatica* (*Fn. svec.* 257), *Rana bufo* (*Fn. svec.* 253. Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis: pollice breviore), *R. temporaria* (*Faun. svec.* 250. Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis palmatis: pollice longiore), *Coluber berus* (*Faun. svec.* 260), *C. chersea* (*Faun. svec.* 261), *C. natrix* (*Faun. svec.* 259), *Anguis fragilis* (*Faun. svec.* 258). Numbers after the names correspond to species, not to pages.

Linnaeus (1759: 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 81): 8. L. cauda ancipiti mediocri, pedibus muticis fissis; palmis tetradactylis (*fn. Suec.* 256), 15. L. cauda verticillata longiuscula squamis acutis, collari subtus squamis constructo (*fn. Suec.* 1352); 25. L. cauda tereti mediocri, palmis tetradactylis, pedibus muticis (*Faun. svec.* 254); 26. L. cauda teretiuscula mediocri, pedibus muticis fissis: palmis tetradactylis (*fn. svec.* 257); 2. R. corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque (*fn. Suec.* 253); 13. R. dorso planiusculo subangulato (*fn. Suec.* 250);

183. Berus (*fn. Suec.* 260); 184. (*fn. Suec.* 261); 230. Natrix (*Fn. Suec.* 259); 270. Fragilis (*Faun. Suec.* 258).

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 102, 103, 104, 105): 275. RANA *Bufo* corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque (*Fn*. 253. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis : pollice breviore), 277. RANA *Bombina* corpore verrucoso, abdomine luteo nigro maculato, plica gulari (*Fn*. 251. Rana abdomine fulvo), 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Fn*. 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice Iongiore), 280. RANA *arborea* corpore laevi subtus panctis contiguis tuberculato (Fn. 252. *Rana viridis*), 281. LACERTA *palustris* cauda ancipiti lanceolata, pedibus muticis fissis, manibus tetradactylis (*Fn*. 256), 282. LACERTA *aquatica* cauda teretiuscula mediocri, pedibus muticis fissis, manibus tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis (*Fn*. 257), 283. LACERTA *vulgaris* cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus unguiculatis fissis, manibus tetradactylis, palmis pentadactylis (*Fn*. 254), 284. LACERTA *agilis* cauda verticillata longiuscula: squamis acutis, collari subtus squamis articulato (*Fn*. 1352. Lacerta cauda tereti verticillata longitudine corporis, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis), 285. COLUBER ♂ *Chersea* scutis abdomin. CL (*Fn*. 261. Anguis parvus rufescens åsping dictus), 286. COLUBER ♂ *Berus* scutis abdominalibus CXLVI, squamis caudae XXXIX (*Fn*. 260), 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX, squamis caudae LX (Fn. 259), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Fn*. 258).

Linné (1766: 377, 380): *Coluber berus* (*Faun. svec.* 260), *C. natrix* (*Faun. svec.* 259).

Linnaeus (1763): RANA manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactilis palmatis, pollice longiore *Faun. Suec.* 250. RANA manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice breviore *Faun. Suec.* 253.

Sidrén (1750: 11; 1751: 318): RANA manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice longiore. *Fn. Sv. 250.* and RANA manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice breviore. *Fn. Sv. 253.*

Sundius (1748: 33): 25.COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXLII. Squamis caudalibus XXXII. vid Fig. II ("...*Captus hic ipse serpens suit, cum in capienda Lacerta occuparetur* Fn. sv. 1352...") ["…This very serpent was captured while it was occupied with catching a lizard (Fauna Suecica, no. 1352)…"].

Sundius (1749: 507): Text as in Sundius (1748), but the reference reads *Faun. suec. 1352.*

Comments: *Fauna Svecica* was published twice in 1746, once by Lars Salvius in Stockholm, and by Conrad and Georg Jacob Wishoff in Leiden. According to Hult (1907) the latter is a pirated edition. Both editions (Linnaeus, 1746a, b) have the same structure, content and pagination. As a curiosity, it is worth mentioning Linnaeus's obsession of with the systematic organization of living things led him to classify the natives of Sweden in four groups (Gothici, Fennones, Lappones and Varii & mixti ex praecedentibus) in his Classis I - Quadrupedia. I. Antropomorpha.

Linnaeus's own copies are now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same Stockholm edition as the one cited.

Linnaeus, C. 1747b. *Wästgöta-Resa, på riksens höglofflige ständers befallning, förrättad år 1746. Med anmärkningar uti oeconomien, naturkunnogheten, antiquiteter, invånarnes seder och lefnads-sätt*. Stockholm, Lars Salvii: [iv] + [vi] + 1–284 + [xviii] + [i], Pl. I–V. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.106703>. (Figure 89)

Abbreviated as: It. gotl. [b]; It. W. Goth.; It. W:goth.; It. Wgot.; It. wgoth; It. W-goth; W:goth.

Cited in Linnaeus (1748a; 1748b; 1754; 1756; 1758; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: The herpetological references are linked to those of *Fauna Suecica* (Linnaeus, 1746a), and include *Grodor* (Fn. svec. 250, p. 84), *Orm* (Fn. svec. 259, p. 146), *Padda* (Fn. svec. 253, p. 204), *Wattuödla* (Fn. svec. 256, p. 257), and *Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis subpalmatis* (p. 261).

Linnaeus (1748a: 37; 1748b: 37; 1756: 37): *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis*, *plantis pentradactylis subpalmatis*, *ano obtuso subtus punctato*, *It. W-goth.* 261.

Linnaeus (1754: 27): *Coluber natrix* (It. W. Goth. 146).

Linnaeus (1758: 211, 220): *Rana rubeta* (*It. Wgot.* 261) and *Coluber natrix* (*It. gotl.* 146).

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 104): 276. *Rana Rubeta corpore verrucoso*, ano obtuso subtus punctato. *It. W:goth.*

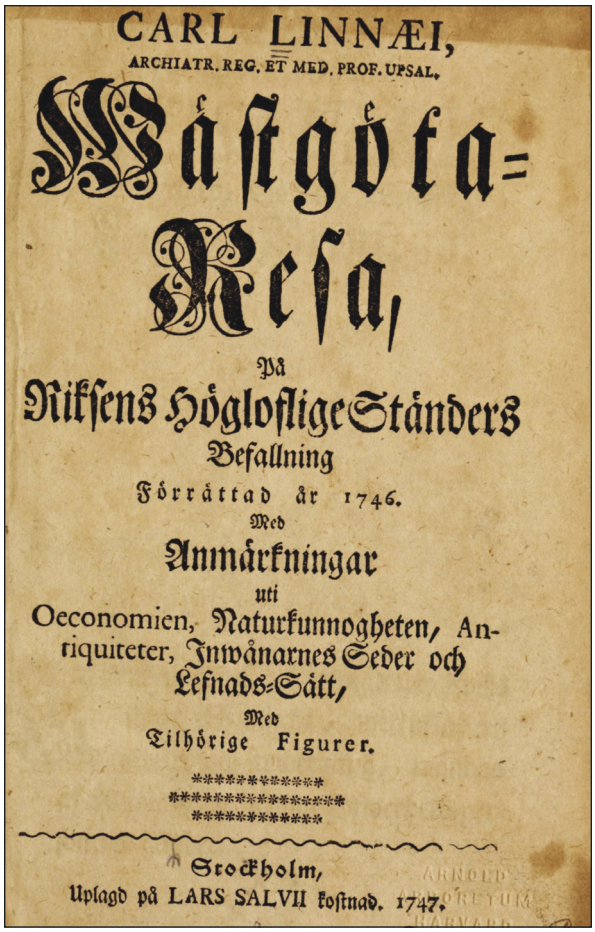

CARL LINNÆI,
ARCHIATR. REG. ET MED. PROF. UPSAL.
Wästgöta-Resa,
På
Riksens Höglofliga Ständers
Befallning
Förrättad år 1746.
Med
Anmärkningar
uti
Oeconomien, Naturkunnogheten, Antiquiteter, Inwånarnes Seder och Lefnads-Sätt,
Med
Tilhörige Figurer.
Stockholm,
Uplagd på LARS SALVII kostnad. 1747.

Figure 89. *Wästgöta-Resa* (1747) narrative of the trip Linnaeus undertook in 1746 to Västergötland, in southwestern Sweden.

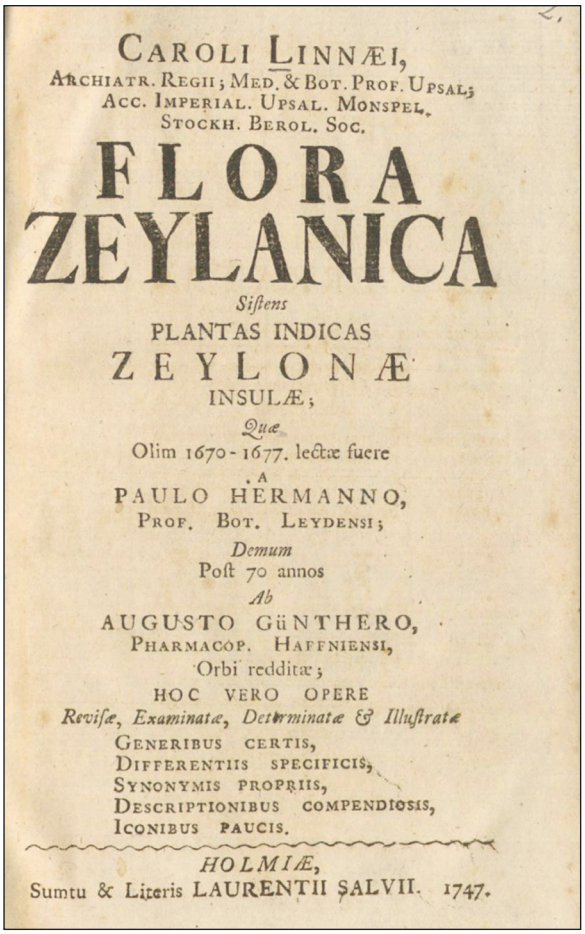

CAROLI LINNÆI,
ARCHIATR. REGII; MED. & BOT. PROF. UPSAL;
ACC. IMPERIAL. UPSAL. MONSPEL.
STOCKH. BEROL. SOC.
FLORA
ZEYLANICA
Sistens
PLANTAS INDICAS
ZEYLONÆ
INSULÆ;
Quæ
Olim 1670-1677. lectæ fuere
A
PAULO HERMANNO,
PROF. BOT. LEYDENSI;
Demum
Post 70 annos
Ab
AUGUSTO GüNTHERO,
PHARMACOP. HAFFNIENSI,
Orbi redditæ;
HOC VERO OPERE
Revisæ, Examinatæ, Determinatæ & Illustratæ
GENERIBUS CERTIS,
DIFFERENTIIS SPECIFICIS,
SYNONYMIS PROPRIIS,
DESCRIPTIONIBUS COMPENDIOSIS,
ICONIBUS PAUCIS.
HOLMIÆ,
Sumtu & Literis LAURENTII SALVII. 1747.

Figure 90. Title page of Linnaeus's *Flora Zeylanica* (1747).

261., 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX, squamis caudae LX. Fn. 259. *W:goth*. 146.

Linné (1766: 355, 380): *Rana rubeta* (*It. wgoth.* 261) and *Coluber natrix* (*It. gotl.* 146).

Comments: Is the narrative of the trip to Västergötland, in southwestern Sweden, between June 12 and August 11, 1746. The abbreviation *It. gotl.* was also used to refer to Linnaeus (1745).

Linnaeus's own copy is in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same Stockholm edition as the one cited.

Linnaeus, C. 1747c. *Flora Zeylanica sistens plantas indicas Zeylonae Insulae, quae olim 1670-1677, lectae fuere a Paulo Hermanno Prof. Bot. Leydensi; Demum, Post 70 annos Ab Augusto Günthero, Pharmacop. Hafniensi, Orbi redditæ; hoc vero opere Revisæ, Examinatæ, Determinatæae & Illustræ Generibus certis, Differentiis specificis, Synonymis propriis, Descriptionibus, Compendiosis, Iconibus paucis.* Holmiæ, Laurentii Salvii: [ii] + [5]–19 + [iv] + [v] + 1–240 + [xx] + [1–3]–14 + [i], Pl. I–IV. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/viewer/10867>. (Figure 90)

Abbreviated as Fl. Zeyl.

Cited in Linnaeus (1749c).

Contents: Botanical work. Of herpetological interest *Ophiorhiza* on page 402.

Linnaeus (1749c: 27): 79. OPHIORHIZA. *Fl. Zeyl.* 402.

Comments: There are at least two editions that may have been consulted, the one mentioned here and another, published in Amsterdam by J. Westenium (Linnaeus 1748c), considered as a pirated edition by Hult (1907).

Linnaeus's own copies are now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss this source.

CAROLI LINNÆI
ARCHIATR. REG.
MED. ET BOT. PROFESS. UPSAL.
SYSTEMA
NATURÆ
SISTENS
REGNA TRIA NATURÆ,
IN
CLASSES ET ORDINES
GENERA ET SPECIES
REDACTA
TABULISQUE ÆNEIS
ILLUSTRATA.
Cum Privilegio S. R. M. Svecicæ & S. R. M. Polonicæ ac Electoris Saxon.
EDITIO SEXTA, EMENDATA ET AUCTA.
STOCKHOLMIÆ
IMPENSIS GODOFR. KIESEWETTERI 1748.

Figure 91. Title page and plate III of the 6th edition of *Systema Naturae* (Linnaeus 1748a).

Linnaeus, C. 1748a. *Systema Naturæ sistens regna tria naturæ, in classes et ordines, genera et species redacta plulisque aeneis illustrata. Cum Privilegio S. R. M. Svecicae & S. R. M. Polonicae ac Electoris Sixon. Editio sexta, emendata et aucta*. Stockholmiæ, Godofr. Kiesewetteri: [i] + [i] + [1]–224 + [xiii] + [v] + [viii] + [i], Pl. I–VIII. <https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN371257700>. (Figure 91)

Abbreviated as: S. N. [a]; Syst. Nat.; Syst. nat.; Syst. Nat. 6.; Syst. natur. 6; System Nat.; System. N. 6.

Cited in Darelius (1749; 1751), Kiernander (1749; 1751), Linnaeus (1750 [1749]; 1754; 1758; 1763), Linné (1766), Sidrén (1750; 1751).

Contents: In the sixth edition of the *Systema Naturae*, Linnaeus described one caecilian, one amphisbaena, two anguids, 29 snakes, 21 lizards and eight frogs: *Caecilia rugis* 135. (p. 34), *Amphisbaena annulis abdominalibus* 200, *caudalibus* 30 (p. 34), *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* 135, *caudalibus*, 135. (p. 34), *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* 240, *caudalibus* 13. (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom*. 250, *squam caud.* 35. (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 219, *squam caud.* 110 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 220, *squam caud.* 124 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 217, *squam caud.* 108 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 209, *squam caud.* 90 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 196, *squam caud.* 67 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 193, *squam caud.* 60 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 190, *squam caud.* 98 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 190, *squam caud.* 42 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 184, *squam caud.* 50 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 180, *squam caud.* 85 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 176, *squam caud.* 60 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 165, *squam caud.* 24 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 164, *squam caud.* 150 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 160, *squam caud.* 100 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 155, *squam caud.* 94 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 152, *squam caud.* 139 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 150, *squam caud.* 54 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 150, *squam caud.* 34 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 145, *squam caud.* 36 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 142, *squam caud.* 74 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 142, *squam caud.* 32 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 128,

squam caud. 46 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 124, *squam caud.* 60 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 119, *squam caud.* 110 (p. 34), *Coluber scut. abdom.* 118, *squam caud.* 61 (p. 34), *Cenchris scut. abdom.* 240. *scut. caud.* 64 (p. 35), *Cratalophorus scut. abdom.* 172. *scut. caud.* 21. *squamisque* 3 (p. 35), *Crotalophora scut. abdom.* 165. *scut. caud.* 28 (p. 35), *Lacerta volans* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda ancipiti, pedibus triangulatis: palmis pentadactylis, plantis tetradactylis palmatis.* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda ancipiti, palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis palmatis, abdomine ventricoso.* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda ancipiti, pedibus muticis fissis; palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis.* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda verticillata squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda verticillata, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis, squamis corporis quadratis* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda verticillata tereti, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus tridactylis.* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus muticis: palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis.* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, crista gulae integerrima, dorso laevi* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, crista gulae dentata, sutura dorsali denticulata* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, gula subcristata: antice dentata, dorso laevi* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice denticulato, collo capiteque pone aculeato* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice dentato, capite pone denticulato* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti medicri, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis cristatis subtus imbricatis, corpore verrucoso.* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti medicri, pedibus pentadactylis, squamis rotundatis laevissimis subgriseis: lateralibus subfuscis* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti medicri, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti brevi, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis* (p. 36), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso lincis longitudonalibus striato* (p. 36), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentradactylis palmatis, digitorum apicibus subrotundis* (p. 37), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentradactylis fissis, digitorum geniculis tuberosis* (p. 37), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentradactylis subpalmatis, pollice latiusculo brevissimo* (p. 37), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentradactylis fissis, unguibus subrorundis, corpore laevi: pone angustato* (p. 37), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentradactylis subpalmatis, ano obtuso subtus punctato* (p. 37), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis. plantis hexadactylis palmatis: pollice longiore* (p. 37), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis. plantis hexadactylis palmatis: pollice breviore* (p. 37), and *Rana dorso pullifero* (p. 37), *Testudo unguibus acuminatis: palmarum duobus, plantarum unico* (p. 37), *Testudo unguibus acuminatis: palmarum plantarumque quaternis* (p. 37), and *Testudo unguibus acuminatis: palmarum plantarumque solitariis* (p. 37)].

Darelius (1749: 6; 1751: 105): Coluber scutis abdominalibus 193, squamis caudalibus 98 Syst. Nat. 6. n. 89. # 7.

Kiernander (1749:6; 1751: 129): "... Crotalophorus est Genus Serpentis, in quo scuta abdomen caudamque subtus tegunt, nec non crepitaculum articulisurceolatis caudam terminat. System. N. 6. N. 91..." ["…*Crotalophorus* is a genus of serpent in which scutes cover the underside of the belly and tail, and the tail ends in a rattle formed of jointed, trumpet-shaped segments. Systema Naturae, ed. 6, no. 91…"]. The reference on page 129 reads "... *System Nat.* N. 91..."

Linnaeus (1750 [1749]: 247): "... Jag stälde derpå up alla de ormar, jag hade I Museo, efter denna gifna anledning, som kan ses af *Syst. natur.* 6. p. 34..." ["…I then arranged all the snakes I had in the Museum according to this given principle, as can be seen in Systema Naturae, 6th edition, p. 34…"].

Linnaeus (1754: 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47): *Caecilia tentaculata* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. l), *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. l), *Anguis scytale* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 2), *Coluber plicatilis* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 23), *Coluber cobella* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 18), *Coluber vittatus* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 21), *Coluber natrix* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 12), *Coluber agilis* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 10), *Coluber aesculapii* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 9), *Coluber najas* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 7), *Coluber pallidus* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 16), *Coluber angulatus* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 6), *Coluber lemniscatus* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 1),

Coluber annulatus (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 8), *Coluber ahaetulla* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 14), *Coluber pullatus* (Syst. Nat. 34. n. 4), *Boas constrictor* (Syst. Nat. 35. n. 1), *Draco volans* (Syst. Nat. 36. n. 1), *Lacerta crocodilus* (Syst. Nat. 36. n. 1), *Lacerta cordylus* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 4), *Lacerta agilis* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 6), *Lacerta principalis* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 9), *Lacerta iguana* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 10), *Lacerta marmorata* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 11), *Lacerta calotes* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 13), *Lacerta amphibia* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 12), *Lacerta ameira* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 14), *Lacerta teguixin* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 19), *Lacerta chamaeleo* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 17), *Lacerta salamandra* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 18), *Lacerta gecko* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 15), *Lacerta barbara* (Syst. nat. 36. n. 16), *Lacerta lemniscata* (Syst. Nat. 36. n. 20).

Linnaeus (1758: 206): *L. aquatica* (*Syst. nat.* 6. *p.* 36. *n.* 8;).

Linnaeus (1758: 199, 203, 206, 209, 211, 212), Linné (1766: 358, 363, 369, 355, 356): *Draco volans* (*Syst. nat.* 36), *Lacerta agilis,* (*Syst. nat.* 36. *n.* 6), *L. chalcides* (*Syst. nat.* 36. *n.* 7), *Rana rubeta* (*Syst. nat.* 37. *n.* 5), *R. paradoxa* (*Syst. nat.* 36. *n.* 2).

Linnaeus (1763: 13): COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 176; squamis caudalibus 60. S. N. 109. XL. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 145, squamis caudalibus 36. S. N. 109.

Sidrén (1750: 12; 1751: 319): COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 176, squamis caudalibus 60. S. *N. 34.* and COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 145, squamis caudalibus 36. *S. N. 34.*

Comments: Linnaeus's own copy is in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same edition as the one cited.

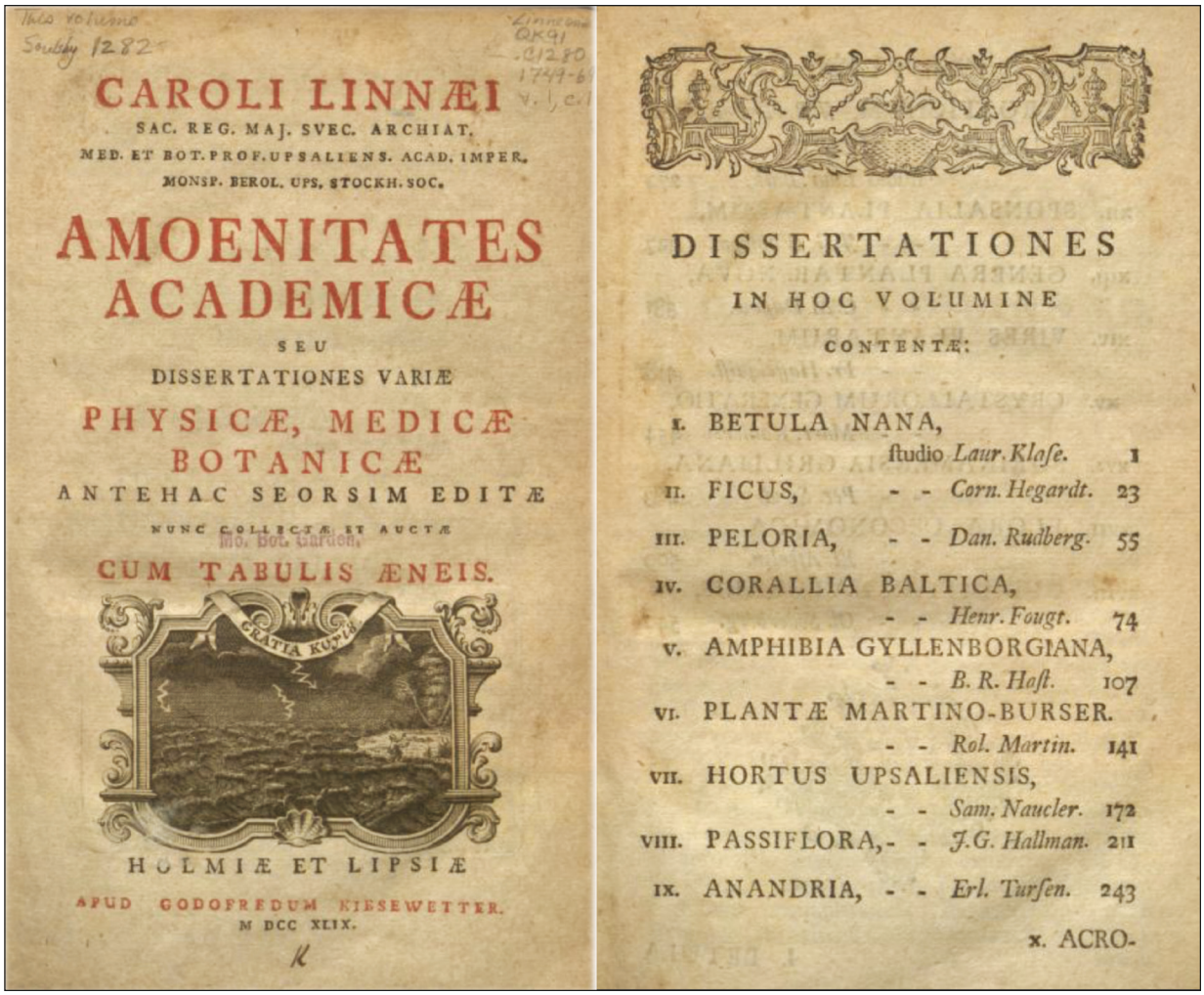
Linnaeus, C. 1749a. *Amoenitates academicae seu dissertationes variae physicae, medicae botanicae antehac seorsim editae nunc collectae et auctae cum tabulis aeneis*, Holmiae et Lipsiae, Godofr. Kiesewetter: [ii] + 1–563, Pl. I–XVII. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>. (Figure 92)

Abbreviated as: Amoen. acad. 1. (Amoenitates academicae volume 1 ed. 2 Holmiae & Lipsiae)

Cited in Darelius (1749; 1751), Kiernander (1751), Linnaeus (1754; 1758; 1759; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: References to amphibians and reptiles are contained in three different contributions: (1) *Amphibia Gyllenborgiana* (pp. 107-140), dissertation of B. R. Hast, first published in 1745. (2) *Museum Adolpho-Fridericianum* (pp. 277-326), dissertation of L. Balk, first published in 1746, and (3). *Surinamensia Grilliana* (pp 483-508), dissertation of P. Sundius, first published in 1748.

In *Amphibia Gyllenborgiana*, Hast (1749) described nine species of snakes, ten lizards, one frog and four turtles: *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXLIV, *caudalibus* XXXIX, (113-115), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXII, *caudalibus* CL, (115-116), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXVII, *caudalibus* LXXXV, (116-117), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CL, caudal*i*bus LIV, (117), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXVIII, *caudalibus* LXI, (117-118), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CCL, *caudalibus* XXXV, (118-119), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXXIV, *caudalibus* LX, (119), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CCVII, *caudalibus* LXXXV, (119-120), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXXXVI, *caudalibus* LXIV, (120-121), *Lacerta cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis*, (121-123), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata,* (123-126), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, alis femore connexis, crista gulae triplici*, (126-127), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus* XXX, (127-128), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis*, (128-129), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore triplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, gula subcristata*, (129-130), *Lacerta cauda tereti corpore sesquilongiore, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso lineis longitudinalibus striato*, (130-131), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato*, (131-132), *Lacerta cauda verticillata, squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis*, (132-133), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis subtus lunulato-imbricatis, corpore verrucoso*, (133-134), *Rana pedibus fissis, unguibus subrotundis, corpore laevi, pone angustato*, (135-136), *Testudo major terrestris americana, Mydas dicta*, (137), *Testudo unguibus acuminatis, palmarum duobus, plantarum unico*, (138-139), *Testudo unguibus acuminatis, palma-*



CAROLI LINNÆI
SAC. REG. MAJ. SVEC. ARCHIAT.
MED. ET BOT. PROF. UPSALIENS. ACAD. IMPER.
MONSP. BEROL. UPS. STOCKH. SOC.

AMOENITATES ACADEMICÆ
SEU
DISSERTATIONES VARIÆ
PHYSICÆ, MEDICÆ BOTANICÆ
ANTEHAC SEORSIM EDITÆ
NUNC COLLECTÆ ET AUCTÆ
CUM TABULIS ÆNEIS.

HOLMIÆ ET LIPSIÆ
APUD GODOFREDUM KIESEWETTER.
M DCC XLIX.

DISSERTATIONES
IN HOC VOLUMINE
CONTENTÆ:

I. BETULA NANA, studio *Laur. Klase.* 1
II. FICUS, - - *Corn. Hegardt.* 23
III. PELORIA, - - *Dan. Rudberg.* 55
IV. CORALLIA BALTICA, - - *Henr. Fougt.* 74
V. AMPHIBIA GYLLENBORGIANA, - - *B. R. Hast.* 107
VI. PLANTÆ MARTINO-BURSER. - - *Rol. Martin.* 141
VII. HORTUS UPSALIENSIS, - - *Sam. Naucler.* 172
VIII. PASSIFLORA, - - *J. G. Hallman.* 211
IX. ANANDRIA, - - *Erl. Tursen.* 243
X. ACRO-

Figure 92. The Stockholm and Leipzig [Holmiae et Lipsiae] edition of the first volume of *Amoenitates academicae* (Linnaeus 1749a).

rum plantarumque quaternis, (139), *Testudo picta vel stellata,* (139-140).

In *Museum Adolpho-Fridericianum,* Balk (1749) described one species of turtle, three frogs, 12 lizards (one of them in a footnote) and 15 snakes: *Testudo unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque solitariis*, (284-285), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis palmatis, apicibus digitorum subrotundis*, (285), *Rana pedibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis; geniculis subtus tuberosis*, (285-286), *Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis, subpalmatis: pollice latiusculo brevissimo*, (286), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista gulae integerrima, dorso levi*, (286-287, *t.* 14. *f.* 2), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista gulae pendula antice dentata, dorsi sutura denticulata*, (287-288), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, gula subcristata, antice dentata, dorso levi*, (288), *Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice denticulato, collo capiteque pone aculeato*, (288-289), *Lacerta cauda longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice dentato, capite pone denticulato*, (289-290), *Lacerta cauda tereti brevi, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis*, (290-292), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis: subtus lunulato-imbricatis, corpore verrucoso*, (292), *Lacerta cauda verticillata squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis*, (292-293), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus* XXX, (293), *Lacerta cauda verticillata, pedibus subpentadactylis, squamis quadratis*, (293-294), *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, squamis rotundatis levissimis subgriseis, lateralibus subfuscis*, (294), *Stincum marinus*, (294 Footnote, b), *Anguis* c) *annulis abdominalibus* CC, *annulis*

caudalibus XXX, (295-296), *Anguis* d) *squamis abdominalibus* CCXL, *caudalibus* XIII, (296-297), *Anguis* e) scutis abdominalibus CLXV, *caudalibus* XXX, (297-300), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CCXVII, *squamis caudalibus* CVIII, (300), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXXVIII, *squamis caudalibus* XLVI, (301), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXLII, *squamis caudalibus* LXXV, (301-302), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CL, *squamis caudalibus* LIV, (302), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLII, *squamis caudal ibus* CXXXV, (302), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLX, *squamis caudalibus* C, (302-303), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLXV, *squamis caudalibus* XXIV, (303), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLXXX, *squamis caudalibus* LXXXV, (304), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CLXXXIV, *squamis caudalibus* L, (304), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXC, *squamis caudalibus* XCVIII, (305), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXCVI, *squamis caudalibus* LXVII, (305), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CCIX, *squamis caudalibus* XC, (306), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CCXX, *squamis caudalibus* CXXIV, (306-307).

In *Surinamensia Grilliana*, Sundius (1749) described one *Caecilia*, one *Amphisbaena*, two *Anguis,* seven *Coluber*, one *Cenchris*, one *Crotalophorus* and two *Lacerta*, plus refrences to three unnamed individuals (numbers 5; 7 and 8): *Caecilia rugis* CXXXV, (489-491), *Amphisbaena annulis abdominalibus* CC, *caudalibus* XXX (491-492), *Anguis squamis abdominalibus* CCXXX, *caudalibus* XIII (492), *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CCL, *squamis caudalibus* XXXV (493), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXIX, *squamis caudalibus* CX, (493-494), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLV, *squamis caudalibus* XCIV, (494-495), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CLXIV, *squamis caudalibus* CL, (495), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CCVIII, *squamis caudalibus* XC, (495-496), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CL, *squamis caudalibus* L, (496-97), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXC, *squamis caudalibus* XLII, (497), *Cenchris scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV, (497-500), *Crotalophorus scutis abdominalibus* CLXXII, *scutis caudalibus* XXI, *paribusque squamarum* III, (500-501), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis* (501), *Lacerta cauda tereti brevi, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis* (501-502), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CXLII, *squamis caudalibus* XXXII (506-508). También incluye referencia a una Amphisbaena and dos Anguis, innominados.

Darelius (1749: 6; 1751: 105): ANGUIS conspicillo insignita. *Amoen. Acad.* 112.; also footnote referring to the action of diverse snakes venom ("... *sie morsus Aspidis inducit somnum, Cerastis tetanum, Viperae ictericum, Sepis gangraenam, Diapsidis polydipsiam, Presteris tumorem*...") ["... thus, the bite of the Asp induces sleep, that of the Cerastes tetanus, of the Viper jaundice, of the Seps gangrene, of the Diapsis excessive thirst, and of the Prester swelling..."].

Kiernander (1751: 129): "... I. CROTALOPHORUS Scut. Abdom. 172. Scut. Caud. 21. Squamisque 3. *Surinamens. Grill.* 17 *Amoen. acad.* I *p*. 500. ...".

Linnaeus (1754: 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50): *Caecilia tentaculata* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 489. t. 17. f. 1), *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (Amoen. Ac. 1. p. 295), *Anguis scytale* (Amoen. Ac. 1. p. 296), *Coluber plicatilis* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 301), *Coluber cobella* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 117 & 302 & 496), *Coluber vittatus* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 301.), *Coluber natrix* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 116), *Coluber agilis* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 304), *Coluber aesculapii* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 497), *Coluber pallidus* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 494), *Coluber angulatus* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 305), *Coluber lemniscatus* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 118), *Coluber annulatus* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 120 & 305), *Coluber ahaetulla* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 115), *Coluber pullatus* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 300), *Boas Constrictor* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 497), *Draco volans* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 126), *Lacerta crocodilus* (Amoenit. Acad. 1. p. 121), *Lacerta cordylus* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 132 & 292), *Lacerta principalis* (Amoen. Ac. 1. p. 286), *Lacerta iguana* (Amoenit. Acad. 1. p. 123 & 287), *Lacerta marmorata* (Amoenit. Acad. 1. p. 129), *Lacerta calotes* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 289), *Lacerta amphibia* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 288), *Lacerta ameira* (Amoenit. Acad. 1. p. 127 & 293), *Lacerta teguixin* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 128), *Lacerta chamaeleo* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 290), *Lacerta salamandra* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 131), *Lacerta gecko* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 133 & 292), *Lacerta barbara* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 294), *Lacerta lemniscata* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 130), *Rana lactea* (Amoen.

Acad. 1. p. 285), *Rana arborea* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 135), *Rana gibbosa* (Amoen. Acad. 1. p. 286), *Testudo atra* (Amoenitat. Acad. 1. p. 284).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225, 226, 228, 229), Linné (1766: 350, 351, 352, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 371, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 355, 357, 358, 372, 373, 376, 383, 377, 378, 380, 381, 382, 383, 386, 387, 388, 389, 392, 393):: *Testudo mydas* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 138. Testudo unguibus acuminatis: palmarum duobus, plantarum unico), *T. mydas* β (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 137. Testudo eadem), *T mydas* γ (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 287. *n.* 7. Testudo unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque solitariis), *T. lutaria* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 139. *n.* 23), *T. geometrica* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 139. *n.* 24), *Draco volans* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 126. Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, alis femore connexis, crista gulae triplice), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 121. Lacerta eadem), *L. principalis* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 286, *t.* 14. *f.* 2), *L. cordylus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 132 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 292), *L. seps* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 293. Lacerta cauda verticillata, pedibus subpentadactylis, squamis quadratis), *L. chamaeleon* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 290, idem / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 501. Idem), *L. salamandra* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 131. Lacerta cauda tereti brevi, pedibus inermibus: palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis), *L. gecko* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 133. Lacerta cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus pentadactylis: digitis cristatis imbricatis, corpore verrucoso / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 292. Lacerta cauda tereti mediocri, pedibus pentadactylis: digitis cristatis imbricatis, corpore verrucoso), *L. stincus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 294), *L. igvana* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 123. Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 287. Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata), *L. calotes* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 289), *Lacerta agama* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 288), *L. marmorata* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 129 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 288), *L. teguixin* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 128. Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis), *L. aurata* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 294. Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, squamis rotundatis laevissimis subgriseis: lateralibus subfuscis), *R. gibbosa* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 286. Rana palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis fissis, pollice latiusculo brevissimo), *R. arborea* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 135. Rana pedibus fissis, unguibus subrotundis, corpore laevi: postice angustato), *R. arborea* β (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 285. Rana pedibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis: geniculis subtus tuberosis), *R. boans* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 285. Rana palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis palmatis, digitorum apicibus subrotundis), *Crotalus drynas* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 297), *C. durssisus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 500), *Boa constrictor* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 497. *t.* 17. *f.* 3), *Coluber ammodytes* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 506. *n.* 25), *C. atrox* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 305. n. 35), *C. plicatilis* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 301. *n.* 26),*C. domicella* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 117. *n.* 5), *C. angulatus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 119. *n.* 7), *C. berus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 113. *n.* 1), *C. caeruleus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 303. *n.* 31), *C. cobella* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 496. *n.* 14 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 117. *n.* 4 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 302. n. 28), *C. vittatus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 30. *n.* 21), *C. cyaneus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 493. *n.* 10), *C. natrix* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 116. *n.* 3), *C. aesculapii* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 497. *n.* 15), *C. agilis* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 304. *n.* 33), *C. pallidus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 494. *n.* 11), *C. naja* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 305),*C. sibilans* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 302. *n.* 30), *C. sibon* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 304. *n.* 32), *C. lemniscatus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 118. *n.* 6), *C. annulatus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 120. *n.* 9 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 305. n. 34), *C. dipsas* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 302. *n.* 29), *C. petola* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 119. *n.* 8 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 306. *n.* 36 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 495. *n.* 13), *C. ahaetulla* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 115. *n.* 2 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 495. *n.* 12), *C. pullatus* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 300. *n.* 25), *C. cenchoa* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 306. *n.* 37), *Anguis scytale* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 296), *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 295), *Caecilia tentaculata* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 489. *t.* 17. *f.* 2 [75]).

In Linnaeus (1766) Coluber petola is named C. pethola.

Linnaeus (1758: 202, 203): *L. ameiva* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 127. Lacerta cauda tereti corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus 30 / *Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 293, Lacerta

75 *Caecilia tentaculata* is depicted in Fig. 1, not 2 as noted by Linnaeus.

cauda tereti corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus 30), *L. ameiva* β (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 130. Lacerta cauda tereti corpore sesquilongiore, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso lineis longitudinalibus striato).

Linnaeus (1761: 102, 104): 280. RANA *arborea* corpore laevi subtus panctis contiguis tuberculato, pedibus fissis unguibus orbiculato-dilatatis (*Amoen. acad*. 1. p. 135), 286. COLUBER ♂ *Berus* scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Amoen. Acad*. 1. *p*. 113. *n*. 1), 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX, squamis caudae LX (*Amoen. acad*. 1. *p*. 116. *n*. 3).

Linné (1766: 362): *L. ameiva* (*Amoen. acad*. I. *p.* 127, 293. Lacerta cauda tereti corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus 30.).

Comments: The first volume of *Amoenitates academicae* had two editions in the same year, one edited by Linnaeus and published by G. Kiesewetter in Stockholm and Leipzig [Holmiae et Lipsiae] (Linnaeus 1749a) and another edited by Petrus Camper and published by Cornelium Haak in Leiden [Lugduni Batavorum] (Linnaeus, 1749b). Kiesewetter's edition (Linnaeus 1749a) was followed in SN10. Refer to the discussion in Krecsák & Bauer (2025).

The reference *Amoen. acad*. I. (287. *n.* 7 in the synonymy of *Testudo mydas* γ) (Linnaeus, 1758: 197; Linné 1766: 351) is erroneous; the only turtle described by Balk (1749) is on page 284. The reference to the illustration of *Lacerta principalis* in Balk (1749: 286) (Tab. II. Fig. II) is also erroneous; as noted by Linnaeus, is Tab. XIV, fig. II. This is a common mistake in the *Amoenitates Academicae* editions of the dissertations, the author/printer missed to change the renumbered illustrations in the text.

Two species cited by Linnaeus are not accurately identified:

(a) *Coluber vittatus* (SN10: nº 220). Linnaean reference indicates "142-78. *Amoen. acad.* I. *p.* 30. *n.* 27". Since there is no snake described in page 30 of the first volume of the *Amoenitates*, it could be the species number 27 on la page 301, but differs in the number of caudal scales (*Anguis scutellis abdominalibus* CXLII, *caudalibus* LXXIV).

(b) *Coluber lemniscatus* (SN10: nº 285). Linnaeus reference indicates "250-37. *Amoen. acad.* I. *p.* 413. *n.* 9". As no snake is discussed on page 413, it could be the one described under number 9 on page 493 but differs in the number of caudal scales (*Coluber scutis abdominalibus* CCL*, squamis caudalibus* XXXV).

The reference *Amoen. acad*. I. *p*. 305, in the synonymy of *Coluber naja*, is conflictive. Balk (1749) described two species on page 305, number 34, *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXC, *squamis caudalibus* XCVIII, and number 35, *Anguis scutis abdominalibus* CXCVI, *squamis caudalibus* LXVII. Although the synonymy of number 35 includes *Serpentula ceilonica seu naja altera* of Seba (1734: 71), the species was explicitly cited in the synonymy of *Coluber atrox* by Linnaeus. Finally, the amphisbaenians, anguids and lizards described by Sundius were not included by Linnaeus in SN10 (Linnaeus 1758) and SN12 (Linné 1766).

Linnaeus's own copy of *Amoenitates Academicae* is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The Academy of Uppsala housed the publication as well (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the same Stockholm edition of *Amoenitates Academicae*.

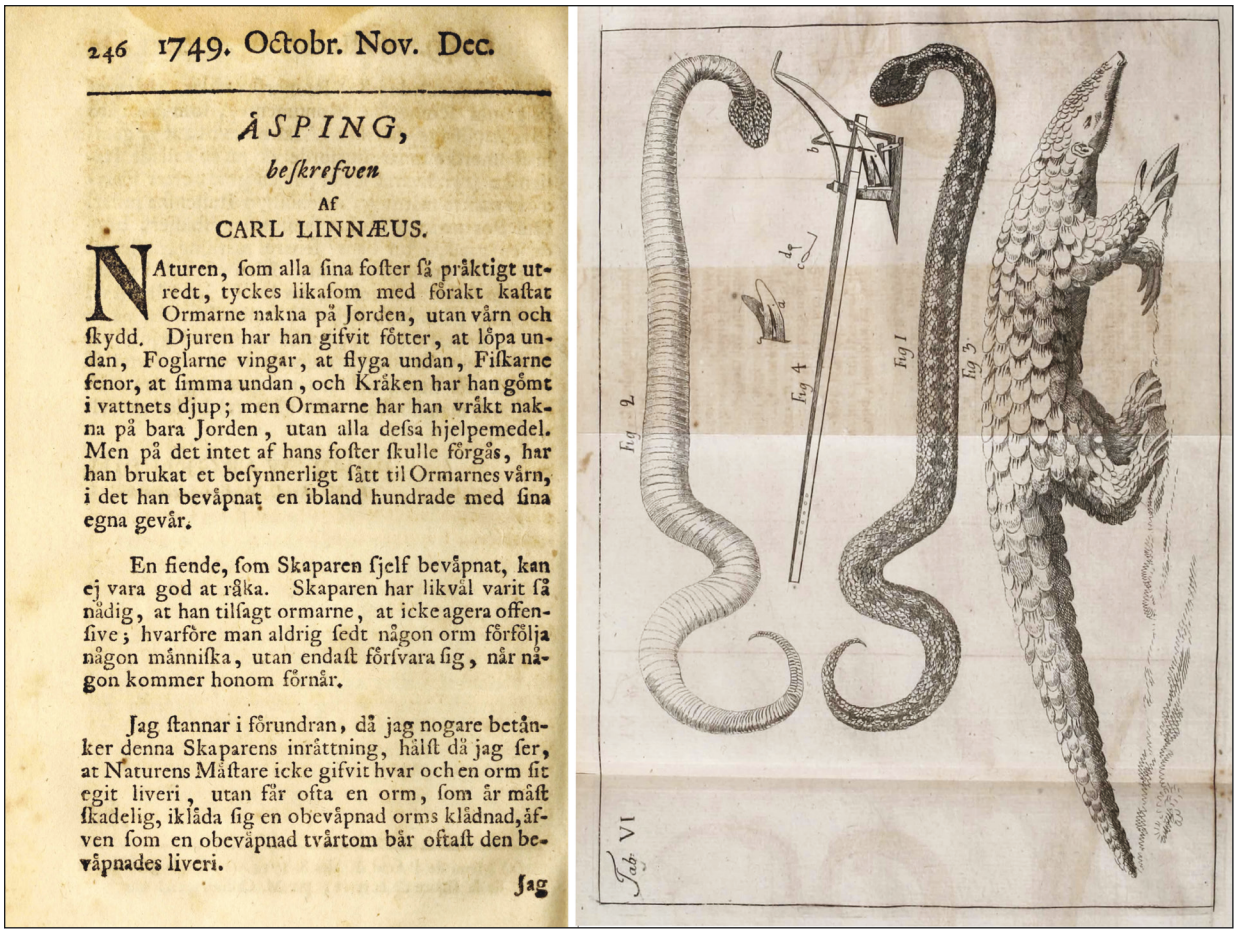
Linnaeus, C. 1750 [1749]. Äsping. ***Kongliga Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens handlingar*, 10 (Octobr. Nov. Dec.): 246–251, Pl. 6. – fig. 1 & 2. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/50688>.** (Figure 93)

Abbreviated as: Act. Holm. 1749.; L. Act. Stockh. 1749; Wet. Akademiens Handlingar 1749.

Cited in Linnaeus (1751a; 1758; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: Is the description of a new species of snake from Southern Sweden, not included in the first edition of *Fauna Svecica* (Linnaeus 1746a); the species is named *Coluber scutis abdominalibus* 150, *squamis caudalibus* 34.

Linnaeus (1751a: 314 (*sic*)): „...Ändteligen sände Herr Prosten *Ulmgren* i Angelstad en sådan orm til mig, och sedermera *Magister Kallenberg* twänne stucken dylika, hwarigenom jag fick tilfälle, at beskrifwa den samma uti Wet. *Akademiens* Handlingar 1749 *pag*. 246. *t.* 6. *f.* 1. 2..." ["...At last, the Reverend Ulmgren in Angelstad sent me such a snake, and thereafter Magister Kallenberg [sent] {from Nötbeck now most likely Nottebäck (Krecsák & Wahlgren 2008; Wahlgren 2012)} two specimens of the same kind, whereby I had the



246 1749. Octobr. Nov. Dec.

ÅSPING,
beſkrefven
Af
CARL LINNÆUS.

NAturen, ſom alla ſina foſter ſå pråktigt utredt, tyckes likaſom med förakt kaſtat Ormarne nakna på Jorden, utan vårn och ſkydd. Djuren har han gifvit fötter, at löpa undan, Foglarne vingar, at flyga undan, Fiſkarne fenor, at ſimma undan, och Kråken har han gömt i vattnets djup; men Ormarne har han vråkt nakna på bara Jorden, utan alla deſsa hjelpemedel. Men på det intet af hans foſter ſkulle förgås, har han brukat et beſynnerligt ſätt til Ormarnes vårn, i det han beväpnat en ibland hundrade med ſina egna gevår.

En fiende, ſom Skaparen ſjelf beväpnat, kan ej vara god at råka. Skaparen har likväl varit ſå nådig, at han tilſagt ormarne, at icke agera offenſive; hvarföre man aldrig ſedt någon orm förfölja någon månniſka, utan endaſt förſvara ſig, når någon kommer honom förnår.

Jag ſtannar i förundran, då jag nogare betänker denna Skaparens inråttning, hälſt då jag ſer, at Naturens Måſtare icke gifvit hvar och en orm ſit egit liveri, utan får ofta en orm, ſom är måſt ſkadelig, iklåda ſig en obeväpnad orms klådnad, åfven ſom en obeväpnad tvårtom bår oftaſt den beväpnades liveri.

Jag

Figure 93. Description of *Coluber chersea* in the journal *Kongliga Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens handlingar* (Linnaeus 1750 [1749]).

opportunity to describe it in *Wet. Akademiens* Handlingar 1749 *pag.* 246. *t.* 6. *f.* 1. 2...”].

Linnaeus (1758: 218) Linné (1766: 377): *Coluber chersea* (*L. Act. Stockh.* 1749. *p.* 246. *t.* 6).

Linnaeus (1761: 103): 285. COLUBER ♂ *Chersea* scutis abdomin. CL, squamis subcaudal. XXXIV (*Act. Holm*. 1749. *p*. 246. *t*. 6).

Comments: Cited as *Wet. Academiens Handlingar 1749 p. 246* in Linnaeus (1751a), *L. Act. Stockh. 1749 p. 246* in Linnaeus (1758; 1766), *Act. Holm*. 1749 in Linnaeus (1756).

Linnaeus’s own copy is not in London, but the library has the journal (Anonymous 1896). The library catalogue of the Academy of Uppsala does not list it either (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified the journal as the source.

Linnaeus, C. 1751a. *Skånska resa, på höga öfwerhetens befallning förrättad år 1749. Med rön och anmärkningar uti oeconomien, naturalier, antiquiteter, seder, lefnads-sätt. Med tilhörige figurer.* Stockholm, Lars Salvii: [ii] + [vi] + I–XIV + 1–434 + [xxxiv], 1 Map, Pl. I–VI. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.106597>. (Figure 94)

Abbreviated as: It. scan.; It. Scan.; Scanam.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Linnaeus (1761).

Contents: Is the narrative of the trip to Skania Escania (Skåne), in southern Sweden, between May and August 1749. Herpetofauna species included: *Rana* (Grodor) (pp. 108; 113; 244), *Klocke Grodor* (272), *Lacerta cauda verticillata* (228), *Snok* (265), *Asping* (Fn. 261) (413, incorrectly numbered as 414).

Acrell (1762: 16; 1763: 213): P. 16: “... *Inopinatum prorsus hujus rei exemplum expertus eat, mihique exposuit Nob. D. Praeses, cui per Scanam proficiscenti obvenit mulier, colubri Cherseae morsu sauciata: huic licet Oleum illud Olivarum ad praescriptam formulam propinarit Nob. D. Archiater, nihilo tamen minus accidit, ut e vivis miserrime decederet...*” [“…An entirely unexpected example of this

CARL LINNÆI,
ARCHIAT. REG. ET MED. PROF. UPSAL.
Skånska
Resa,
På
Höga Öfwerhetens
Befallning
Förrättad Ar 1749.
Med
Rön och Anmärkningar
Uti
Oeconomien, Naturalier, Antiquiteter,
Seder, Lefnads-sätt.
Med
Tilhörige Figurer.
Med Kongl. Maj:ts Allernådigste Privilegio.
STOCKHOLM,
Uplagd på LARS SALVII kostnad 1751.

Figure 94. *Skånska resa* (Linnaeus 1751a) narrative to Linnaeus's journey to Skåne, in southern Sweden.

matter was experienced and related to me by the esteemed President, who, while traveling through Scania, encountered a woman wounded by the bite of a viper; although the esteemed Archiater administered the olive oil according to the prescribed method, nonetheless, it happened that she most wretchedly departed from the living..."].

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 104): 277. RANA *Bombina corpore verrucoso, abdomine luteo nigro maculato, plica gulari* (It. scan. 122, 244, 272), 285. COLUBER ♂ *Chersea* scutis abdomin. CL (*It. Scan.* 413).

Comments: Linnaeus's own copy is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

Linnaeus, C. 1752. Anmärkning om ormarnas okilje-märken. *Kongliga Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens handlingar*, 13: 206–207. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/50688>. (Figure 95)

Abbreviated as Act. Stockh. 1752.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: Methodological work, which Linnaeus explains how to count the shields and / or abdominal and caudal scales for identifying snakes.

Linnaeus (1758: 195; 1759: 69), Linné (1766: 348).: In the diagnosis of snakes, "... *Diagnosin, qui velit horum, eandem desumat a Pedum succedaneis* Scutis abdominalibus caudalibusque*; ne vero numerus alteri demtus alterique additus seducat, juvat etiam uterque connumeratus* (Act. Stockh. 1752. p. 206)..." ["... As for the diagnosis, let anyone who wishes take it from the substitute scales of the feet, namely the abdominal and caudal scutes; but so that one is not misled by a number taken from one and added to the other, it is also helpful that both are counted together (Act. Stockh. 1752. p. 206)..."].

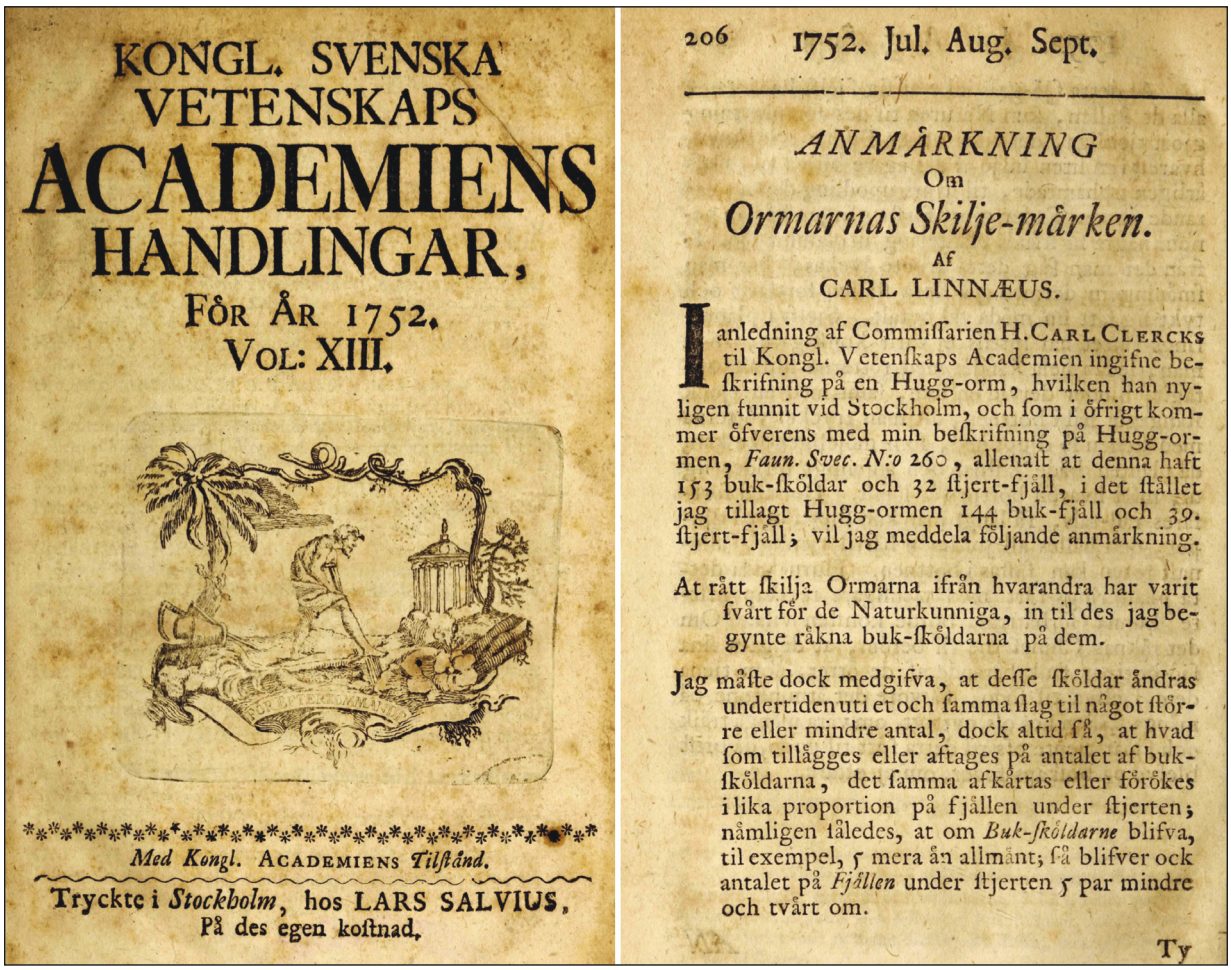
Comments: The method was already presented and shortly discussed by Hast (1745, 1749) in his dissertation *Amphibia Gyllenborgiana*. There is an English translation by Wahlgren (1999).

Linnaeus's own copy is not in London, but the library has the journal (Anonymous 1896). The journal was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814 b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have identified the journal as the source.

Linnaeus, C. 1754. *Museum S:æ R:æ M:tis Adolphi Friderici Regis Svecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque. Hær. Norv. Duc. Slesv. Hols. Storm. Ditm. Com. Oldenb. Delmenhorstiæ &c. &c. In quo Animalia Rariora Imprimis, et Exotica: Quadrupedia, Aves,* Amphibia*, Pisces, Insecta, Vermes describuntur et determinatur, Latin æ and Svetice cum Iconibus. Jussu Sac. reg. Maj:tis a Car. Linnæo, Equ.* Holmiæ, E Typographia Regia. Direct. Pet. Momma: I–XXX + 1–96 + [i] + [ii] + [iv], Pl. I–XXXIII. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k972707>. (Figure 96)

Abbreviated as: Mus. Ad. Fr.; Mus. Ad. Fr. 1.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759) Linné (1766).



KONGL. SVENSKA VETENSKAPS ACADEMIENS HANDLINGAR, FÖR ÅR 1752. VOL: XIII.

Med Kongl. ACADEMIENS Tilstånd.

Tryckte i Stockholm, hos LARS SALVIUS, På des egen kostnad.

206 1752. Jul. Aug. Sept.

ANMÅRKNING Om Ormarnas Skilje-märken. Af CARL LINNÆUS.

I anledning af Commissarien H. CARL CLERCKS til Kongl. Vetenskaps Academien ingifne beskrifning på en Hugg-orm, hvilken han nyligen funnit vid Stockholm, och som i öfrigt kommer öfverens med min beskrifning på Hugg-ormen, *Faun. Svec. N:o* 260, allenast at denna haft 153 buk-sköldar och 32 stjert-fjäll, i det stället jag tillagt Hugg-ormen 144 buk-fjäll och 39. stjert-fjäll; vil jag meddela följande anmärkning.

At rätt skilja Ormarna ifrån hvarandra har varit svårt för de Naturkunniga, in til des jag begynte räkna buk-sköldarna på dem.

Jag måste dock medgifva, at desse sköldar ändras undertiden uti et och samma slag til något större eller mindre antal, dock altid så, at hvad som tillägges eller aftages på antalet af buk-sköldarna, det samma afkårtas eller förökes i lika proportion på fjällen under stjerten; nämligen således, at om *Buk-sköldarne* blifva, til exempel, 5 mera än allmänt; så blifver ock antalet på *Fjällen* under stjerten 5 par mindre och tvärt om.

Ty

Figure 95. The article *Anmärkning om ormarnas okilje-märken* (Linnaeus1 752) containing the methodology for scale counting on snakes.

Contents: Linnaeus (1754) describied 90 species of amphibians and reptiles from the collectiopn of the King Adolf Frederick (MAF): *Amphisbaena alba* (20), *A. fuliginosa* (20), *Anguis bipes* (21), *A. maculata* (21), *A. scytale* (21), *Boas caninus* (39), *B. constrictor* (38), *Caecilia tentaculata* (19), *C. glutinosa* (19), *Coluber aesculapii* (29), *C. agilis* (27), *C. ahaetulla* (35), *C. albus* (24), *C. angulatus* (23), *C. angulatus* (33), *C. annulatus* (34), *C. atropos* (22), *C. aulicus* (29), *C. aurora* (25), *C. buccatus* (29), *C. calamarius* (23), *C. candidus* (33), *C. canus* (31), *C. carinatus* (31), *C. cinereus* (37), *C. cobella* (24), *C. corallinus* (33), *C. exoletus* (34), *C. filiformis* (36), *C. fuscus* (32), *C. hippocrepis* (36), *C. hortulanus* (37), *C. lacteus* (28), *C. laticaudatus* (31), *C. lemniscatus* (34), *C. lineatus* (30), *C. melanocephalus* (24), *C. miliaris* (27), *C. minervae* (36), *C. mucosus* (37), *C. mucosus* (37), *C. mycterizans* (28), *C. najas* (30), *C. natrix* (27), *C. nebulatus* (32), *C. pallidus* (31), *C. petolarius* (35), *C. plicatilis* (23), *C. pullatus* (35), *C. reginae* (24), *C. rhombeatus* (27), *C. saturninus* (32), *C. scaber* (36), *C. severus* (25), *C. stolatus* (26), *C. vittatus* (26), *Crotalius horridus* (39), *Draco volans* (40), *Lacerta agilis* (43), *L. ameira* (45), *L. amphibia* (44), *L. azurea* (42), *L. barbara* (46), *L. calotes* (44), *L. chamaeleo* (45), *L. cordylus* (42), *L. crocodilus* (40), *L. gecko* (46), *L. hispida* (44), *L. iguana* (43), *L. lemniscata* (47), *L. lineata* (46), *L. marmorata* (43), *L. principalis* (43), *L. punctata* (46), *L. salamandra* (45), *L. superciliosa* (41), *L. teguixin* (45), *L. tigrina* (41), *Rana arborea* (47), *R. bufo* (48), *R. cornuta* (48), *R. gibbosa* (48), *R. lactea* (47), *R. marginata* (47), *R. paradoxa* (49), *R. pipa* (49), *R. ventricosa* (48), *Testudo amboinensis* (50), and *T. atra* (50).

Linnaeus (1758: 205, 209): *Lacerta hispida* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 44), *L. lineata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 46).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214,215,

MUSEUM
S:æ R:æ M:tis.
ADOLPHI FRIDERICI
REGIS
SVECORUM, GOTHORUM, VANDALORUMQVE.
HÆR. NORV. DUC. SLESV. HOLS. STORM. DITM.
COM. OLDENB. DELMENHORSTIÆ. &c. &c.
IN QUO
ANIMALIA RARIORA
IMPRIMIS, ET EXOTICA:
QUADRUPEDIA, AVES, AMPHIBIA,
PISCES, INSECTA, VERMES
DESCRIBUNTUR ET DETERMINANTUR,
LATINE ET SVETICE
CUM ICONIBUS.
JUSSU SAC. REG. MAJ:tis
A
CAR. LINNÆO, Equ.
HOLMIÆ,
E TYPOGRAPHIA REGIA.
Direct. Pet. Momma.
MDCCLIV.

Figure 96. Title page and plate 22 from Linnaeus's herpetological magnum opus *Museum S:æ R:æ M:tis Adolphi Friderici Regis* (1754).

216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229), Linné (1766: 350, 351, 358, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 371, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393): *Testudo mydas* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 50), *T. mydas* γ (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 50), *T. geometrica* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 50), *Draco volans* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 40), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 40), *L. superciliosa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 40), *L. monitor* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 41), *L. principalis* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 43), *L. azurea* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 42), *L. ameiva* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 45), *L. agilis* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 43), *L. chamaeleon* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 45), *L. salamandra* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 45), *L. gecko* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 46), *L. igvana* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 43), *L. calotes* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 44), *L. agama* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 44), *L. marmorata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 43), *L. teguixin* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 45), *L. aurata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 46), *L. punctata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 46), *L. lemniscata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 47), *Rana pipa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 49), *R. gibbosa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 48), *R. ventricosa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 48), *R. cornuta* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 48), *R. marginata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 47), *R. paradoxa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 49), *R. arborea* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 47), *R. boans* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 47), *Crotalus horridus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 39), *Boa canina* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 39), *B. constrictor* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 38), *B. hortulana* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 37), *Coluber atropos* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 22), *C. calamarius* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 23), *C. plicatilis* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 23), *C. buccatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 29), *C. angulatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 23), *C. albus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 24), *C. melanocephlus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 24), *C. reginae* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 24), *C. severus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 25), *C. aurora* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 25), *C. stolatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 26), *C. vittatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 26), *C. miliaris* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 27), *C. rhombeatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 27), *C. aesculapii* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 29), *C. agilis* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 27), *C. lacteus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 28), *C. aulicus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 29), *C. pallidus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 31), *C. lineatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 30), *C. naja* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 30), *C. canus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 31), *C. laticaudatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 31), *C.*

atrox (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 33), *C. nebulatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 32), *C. fuscus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 32), *C. saturninus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 32), *C. candidus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 33), *C. scaber* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 36), *C. carinatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 31), *C. corallinus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 33), *C. exoletus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 34), *C. lemniscatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 34), *C. annulatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 34), *C. ahaetulla* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 35), *C. petolarius* (as *C. petalarius* in Linné 1766: 387) (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 35), *C. filiformis* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 36), *C. pullatus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 35), *C. hippocrepis* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 36), *C. minervae* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 36), *C. cinereus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 37), *C. mucosus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 37), *C. mycterizans* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 28), *C. caerulescens* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 37), *Anguis bipes* (denoted *A. bpes* in Linné 1766: 390) (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 21), *A. maculata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 21), *A. scytale* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 21), *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 20), *A. alba* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 26), *Caecilia tentaculata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 19), *C. glutinosa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 19).

Linnaeus (1759: 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81): 3. L. cauda carinata, dorso superciliisque squamis ciliatis (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* I. *p.* 40), 5. L. cauda carinata, corpore mutico (*Mus. Ad. fr.* (sic) I. *p.* 41), 6. R. ore semiovato, jugulo prominulo (*Mus. ad. Frid.* 1. *p.* 48), 11. R. lateribus marginatis, corpore laevi, plantis fissis (*Mus. Ad. Fr. p.* 47), 418. Hortulana (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 37), 162. Calamarius (*Mus. Ad. Fr. p.* 23. *t.* 6. *f.* 3),180. Buccatus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 29. *t.* 19. *f.* 3.), 190. Albus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 24. *t.* 14. *f.* 2), 202. Melanocephalus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 24. *t.* 15. *f.* 2), 207. Regina (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 24. *t.* 13. *f.* 3), 212. Severus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 25. *t.* 8. *f.* 1), 216. Aurora (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 25. *t.* 19. *f.* 1), 219. Stolatus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 26. *t.* 22. *f.* 1), 221. Miliaris (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 27), 227. Rhombeatus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 27. *t.* 24. *f.* 2); 235. Lacteus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 28. *t.* 18. *f.* 1), 244. Aulicus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 29. *t.* 12. *f.* 2), 251. Lineatus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 30. *t.* 12. *f.*; 1. *t.* 20. *f.* 1), 253. Naja (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 30. *t.* 21. *f.* 1), 258. Canus (*Mus. Ad. Fr. p.* 31. *t.* 11. *f.* 1), 261. laticaudatus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 31. *t.* 16. *f.* 1), 266. Fuscus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 32. *t.* 17. *f.* 1), 267. Saturninus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 32. *t.* 9. *f.* 1), 270. Candidus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 33. *t.* 7. *f.* 1), 272. Scaber (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 36. *t.* 10. *f.* 1), 273. Carinatus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 31), 275. Corallinus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 33), 279. Exoletus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 34. *t.* 10. *f.* 2), 314. Petolarius (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 35. *t.* 9. *f.* 2), 323. Filiformis (*Mus. Ad. Fr. p.* 36. *t.* 17. *f.* 2), 326. Hippocrepis (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 36. *t.* 16. *f.* 2), 328. Minervae (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 36), 337. Cinereus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 37), 340. Mucosus (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 37. *t.* 23. *f.* 1), 385. Caerulescens (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 37. *t.* 20. *f.* 2), 160. Bipes (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 21. *t.* 28. *f.* 3), 239. Alba (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 26. *t.* 4. *f.* 2); 350. Glutinosa (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 19. *t.* 4. *f.* 1).

Linné (1766: 365, 371): *L. orbicularis* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 1. *p.* 44. Lacerta eadem.), *L. 4-lineata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr*. 1. *p*. 46. Lacerta cauda tereti longa, pedibus subunguiculatis fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis).

Comments: This is the first zoological work in which the binominal nomenclature was used consistently. For a review from a herpetological standpoint refer to Krecsák (2006) and Wahlgren (2012). Almost all the species described here were included in SN10, the main discrepancies being:

Differences in page numbers: *Amphisbaena alba* p. 20-21 (no p. 26), *Lacerta superciliosa* p. 41-42 (no p. 40).

References not included under the respective species: *Coluber cobella*, *C. natrix*, *Lacerta cordylus*, *Rana boans*, *R. bufo*.

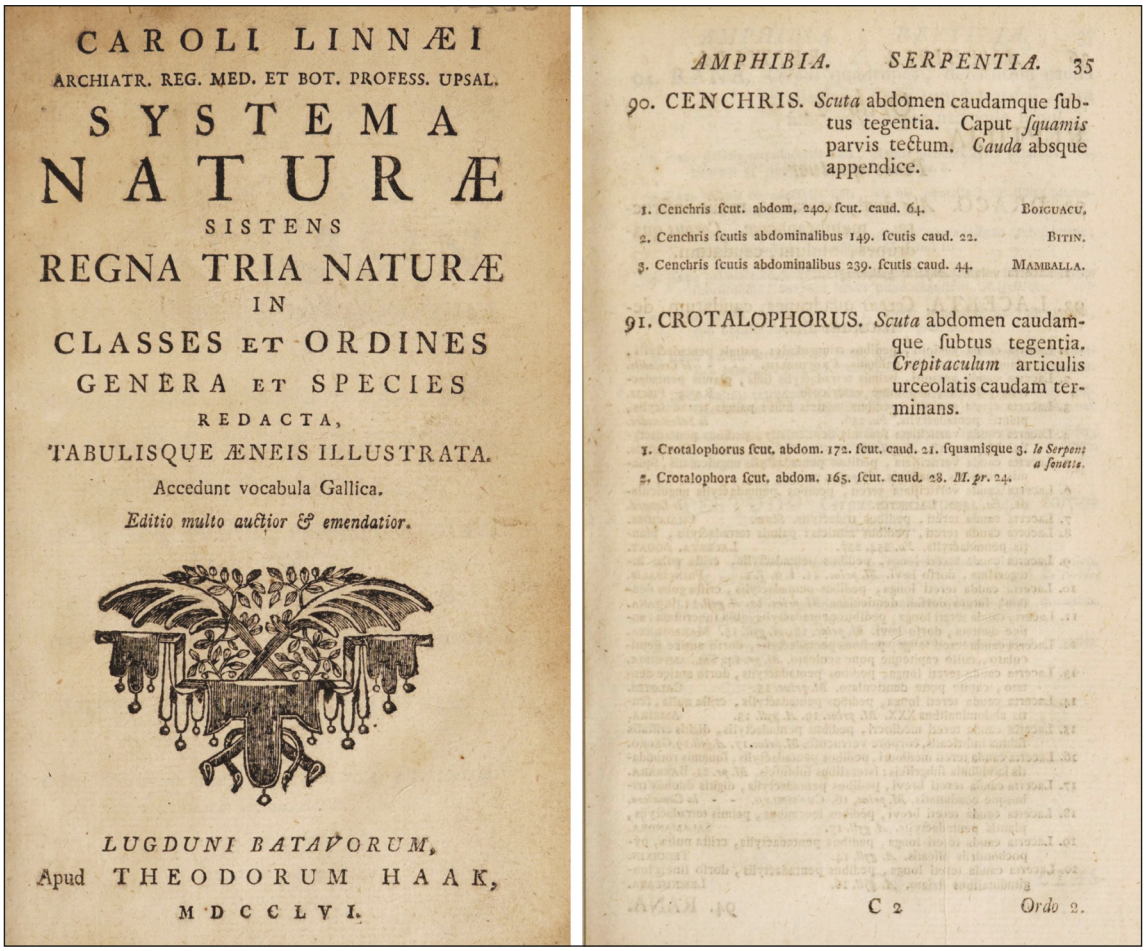
Species described in MAF but not in Linnaeus (1758; 1766): *Lacerta amphibia*, *Rana lactea*, *Testudo amboinensis*.

Lacerta hispida of Linnaeus (1758) appears here as *L. orbicularis* in SN12, whereas *L. lineata* in SN10 is listed as *L.4-lineata* in SN12.

Differences in the spelling of names: *Boas* (MAF) = *Boa* (SN); *Crotalius* (MAF) = *Crotalus* (SN10), *Boas caninus* (MAF) = *Boa canina* (SN), *Coluber annulatus* (MAF) = *C. angulatus* (SN), *Coluber hortulanus* (MAF) = *Boa hortulana* (SN10), *Coluber coerulescens* (MAF) = *C. caerulescens* (SN), *Lacerta iguana* (MAF) = *L. igvana* (SN), *Lacerta ameira* (MAF) = *L. ameiva* (SN), *Lacerta chamaeleo* (MAF) = *L. chamaeleon* (SN).

Synonymy: *Testudo atra* (MAF) in the synonymy of *T. mydas* (SN); *Lacerta tigrina* (MAF) in the synonymy of *Lacerta monitor* (SN), and *L. barbara* (MAF) in the synonymy of *L. aurata* (SN).

Linnaeus's own copy of is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous



CAROLI LINNÆI
ARCHIATR. REG. MED. ET BOT. PROFESS. UPSAL.
SYSTEMA
NATURÆ
SISTENS
REGNA TRIA NATURÆ
IN
CLASSES ET ORDINES
GENERA ET SPECIES
REDACTA,
TABULISQUE ÆNEIS ILLUSTRATA.
Accedunt vocabula Gallica.
Editio multo auctior & emendatior.

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Apud THEODORUM HAAK,
MDCCLVI.

AMPHIBIA. SERPENTIA. 35

90. CENCHRIS. *Scuta* abdomen caudamque ſubtus tegentia. Caput *ſquamis* parvis tectum. *Cauda* absque appendice.

1. Cenchris ſcut. abdom. 240. ſcut. caud. 64. Boiguacu.
2. Cenchris ſcutis abdominalibus 149. ſcutis caud. 22. Bitin.
3. Cenchris ſcutis abdominalibus 239. ſcutis caud. 44. Mamballa.

91. CROTALOPHORUS. *Scuta* abdomen caudamque ſubtus tegentia. *Crepitaculum* articulis urceolatis caudam terminans.

1. Crotalophorus ſcut. abdom. 172. ſcut. caud. 21. ſquamisque 3. *le Serpent a ſonette.*
2. Crotalophora ſcut. abdom. 165. ſcut. caud. 28. *M. pr.* 24.

C 2 Ordo 2.

Figure 97. Edition 9 of *Systema Naturae* (Linnaeus 1756).

1896). The book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have identified this work as the source.

Linnaeus, C. 1756. *Systema Naturæ sistens regna tria naturæ in classes et ordines, genera et species redacta, tabulisque æneis illustrata. Accedunt vocabula Gallica. Editio multo auctior & emendatior*. Lugduni Batavorum, Theodorum Haak: [ii] + [ii] + [ii] + 1–227 + [i] + [xiv] + [iv] + [viii] + [ii], Pl. I–VIII. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.7374>. (Figure 97)

Abbreviated as Syst. nat. Ed. 9.

Cited in Linnaeus (1759)

Contents: Similar to the sixth edition (Linnaeus, 1748a, *vide supra*), with three additions, 90. Cenchris. 1. Cenchris scut. abdom. 240. scut. caud. 64. Boiguacu; 2. Cenchris scutis abdominalibus 149. scutis caud. 22. Bitin and 3. Cenchris scutis abdominalibus 239. scutis caud. 44. Mamballa.

Linnaeus (1759: 75): 3. Rana corpore verrucoso, ano subtus punctato. *Syst. nat. Ed.* 9, g. 94 n. 5.

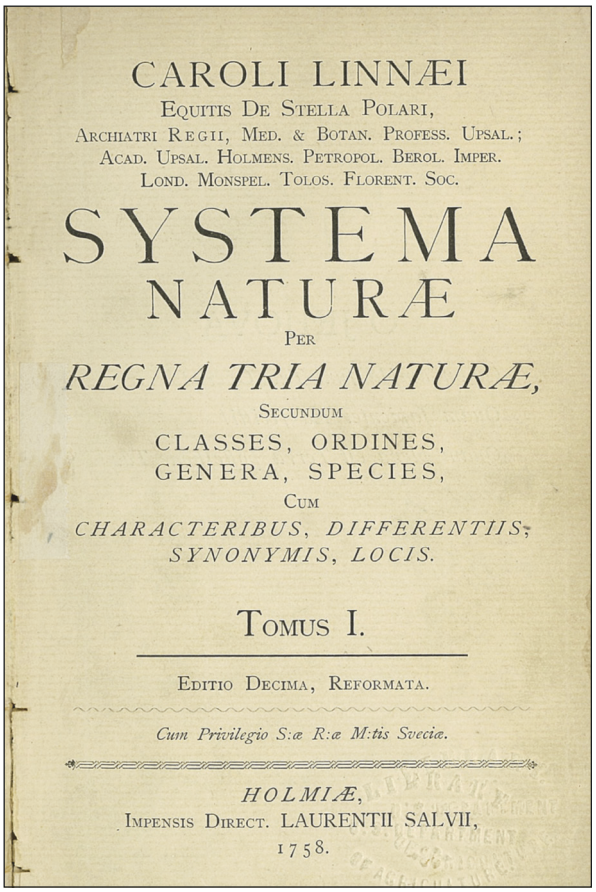
Comments: Linnaeus's own copy of is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not cover this reference.

Linnaeus, C. 1758. *Systema Naturæ per regna tria naturæ, secundum classes, ordines, genera, species, cum characteribus, differentiis, synonymis, locis. Tomus I. Editio decima, reformata. Cum Privilegio S:ae R:ae M:tis Sveciae.* Holmiæ, Laurentii Salvii: [vii] + 5–823 + [i]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.542>. (Figure 98)

Abbreviated as: S. N. [b]; Syst. Nat. 10; Systema Nat. 216.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Linné (1764a), Uddman (1765; 1769).

Contents: *Testudo mydas, T. caretta* (p. 197), *T. orbi-*



CAROLI LINNÆI
EQUITIS DE STELLA POLARI,
ARCHIATRI REGII, MED. & BOTAN. PROFESS. UPSAL.;
ACAD. UPSAL. HOLMENS. PETROPOL. BEROL. IMPER.
LOND. MONSPEL. TOLOS. FLORENT. SOC.

SYSTEMA
NATURÆ
PER
REGNA TRIA NATURÆ,
SECUNDUM
CLASSES, ORDINES,
GENERA, SPECIES,
CUM
CHARACTERIBUS, DIFFERENTIIS,
SYNONYMIS, LOCIS.

TOMUS I.

EDITIO DECIMA, REFORMATA.

Cum Privilegio S:æ R:æ M:tis Sveciæ.

HOLMIÆ,
IMPENSIS DIRECT. LAURENTII SALVII,
1758.

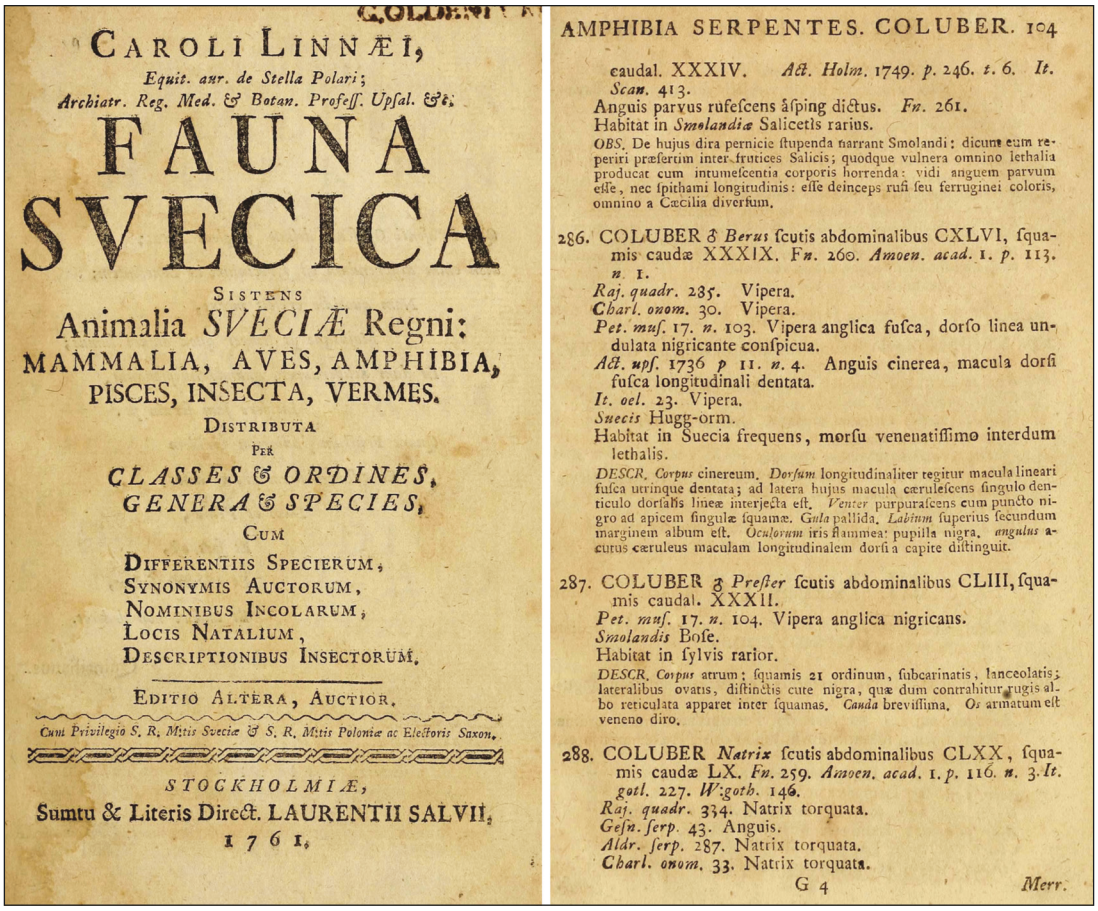
Figure 98. Title page of the 10th edition of *Systema Naturae* (Linnaeus 1758).

cularis, T. scabra, T. lutaria, T. graeca, T. carolina, T. carinata (p. 198), *T. geometrica, T. pusilla, T. serpentina, Draco volans* (p. 199), *Lacerta crocodilus, L. caudiverbera, L. superciliosa* (p. 200), *L. scutata, L. monitor, L. principalis, L. bicarinata, L. palustris* (p. 201), *L. cordylus, L. stellio, L. mauritanica, L. azurea, L. turcica, L. ameiva* (p. 202), *L. agilis, L. algira* (p. 203), *L. seps L. angulata L. chamaeleon, L. salamandra* (p. 204), *L. gecko, L. stincus, L. hispida* (p. 205), *L. orbicularis, L. vulgaris, L. aquatica, L. basiliscus, L. iguana* (p. 206), *L. calotes, L. agama, L. umbra* (p. 207), *L. plica, L. marmorata, L. bullaris, L. strumosa, L. teguixin* (p. 208), *L. aurata L. punctata L. lemniscata, L. fasciata, L. lineata, L. chalcides* (p. 209), *L. anguina, Rana pipa, R. bufo* (p. 210), *R. rubeta, R. gibbosa, R. variegata, R. ventricosa, R. marina, R. typhonia, R. ocellata* (p. 211), *R. cornuta, R. marginata, R. paradoxa, R. temporaria, R. esculenta* (p. 212), *R. hyla, R. arborea, R. boans* (p. 213), *Crotalus horridus C. dryinas, C. durissus, Boa scytale* (p. 214), *B. canina, B. hypnale , B. constrictor, B. murina, B. cenchria, B. orophias, B. enydris, B. hortulana* (p. 215), *Coluber vipera, C. atropos, C. leberis, C. lutrix, C. calamarius, C. constrictor, C. ammodytes* (p. 216), *C. cerastes, C. plicatilis, C. domicella, C. alidras, C. buccatus, C. angulatus, C. berus* (p. 217), *C. chersea, C. caeruleus, C. albus, C. aspis, C. typhlus, C. lebetinus, C. melanocephalus, C. cobella* (p. 218), *C. reginae, C. severus, C. aurora, C. sipedon, C. maurus, C. stolatus, C. vittatus* (p. 219), *C. miliaris, C. rhombeatus, C. cyaneus, C. natrix, C. aesculapii, C. agilis, C. lacteus, C. aulicus* (p. 220), *C. monilis, C. pallidus, C. lineatus, C. naja, C. padera, C. canus* (p. 221), *C. sibilans, C. laticaudatus, C. sirtalis, C. atrox, C. sibon, C. nebulatus* , *C. fuscus* (p. 222), *C. saturninus, C. candidus, C. niveus, C. scaber, C. carinatus, C. corallinus C. ovivorus, C. exoletus, C. situla* (p. 223), *C. triscalis, C. lemniscatus, C. annulatus, C. dipsas, C. pelias, C. tyria* (p. 224), *C. jugularis, C. petola, C. molurus, C. ahaetulla, C. petolarius, C. haje, C. filiformis, C. pullatus* (p. 225), *C. hippocrepis, C. minervae, C. cinereus, C. viridissimus, C. mucosus, C. cenchoa, C. mycterizans* (p. 226), *C. caerulescens, C. arges, Anguis bipes, A. meleagris* (p. 227), *A. colubrina, A. jaculus, A. cerastes, A. maculata, A. reticulata, A. lumbricalis, A. laticauda, A. scytale* (p. 228), *A. eryx, A. fragilis, Amphisbaena fuliginosa, Am. alba, Caecilia tentaculata,* and *C. glutinos*a (p. 229).

Acrell (1762: 14; 1763: 210): "... in *Systema Nat. 216, N:o 173 Amodytes* (sic) *vocatur...*"

Linné (1764a: 36, 37, 38, 39, 40): Testudo serpentina. TESTUDO testa postice obtusa acute quinquedentata *Syst. Nat.* 10. *p.* 199. *n.* 11., Lacerta stellio. LACERTA cauda verticillata, squamis denticulatis, corpore muricato *Syst. Nat*. 10. *p*. 202. *n*. 10., L. umbra. LACERTA cauda tereti longa, dorso striato, nucha subcristata, occipite calloso. *Syst. Nat*. 10. *p*. 207. *n*. 31., Rana ocellata. RANA palmis 4-dactylis fissis, plantis 5-dactylis subpalmatis, auribus ocelliformibus. *Syst. Nat*. 10. *p*. 211. *n*. 9., R. paradoxa. RANA femoribus postice oblique striatis. *Syst. Nat*. 10. *p*. 212. *n*. 12.

Uddman (1765: 12; 1769: 103): "...*CURA*. Lepram *propulsuri adhibuere veteres coctum ex* viperis jaculum, *quod tamen nostro tempore parum succedit. Sed observandum juxta fuisse* Viperam *veterum* Colubrum S.N. 140 *cum e contrario utuntur nostrates* Colubro Bero..." ["…TREATMENT**.** To drive away leprosy, the ancients employed a decoction



CAROLI LINNÆI,
Equit. aur. de Stella Polari;
Archiatr. Reg. Med. & Botan. Professf. Upsal. &c.

FAUNA SVECICA

SISTENS
Animalia *SVECIÆ* Regni:
MAMMALIA, AVES, AMPHIBIA, PISCES, INSECTA, VERMES.
DISTRIBUTA
PER
CLASSES & ORDINES, GENERA & SPECIES,
CUM
DIFFERENTIIS SPECIERUM,
SYNONYMIS AUCTORUM,
NOMINIBUS INCOLARUM,
LOCIS NATALIUM,
DESCRIPTIONIBUS INSECTORUM.

EDITIO ALTERA, AUCTIOR.

Cum Privilegio S. R. Mitis Sveciæ & S. R. Mitis Poloniæ ac Electoris Saxon.

STOCKHOLMIÆ,
Sumtu & Literis Direct. LAURENTII SALVII,
1761.

AMPHIBIA SERPENTES. COLUBER. 104

caudal. XXXIV. *Act. Holm.* 1749. *p.* 246. *t.* 6. *It. Scan.* 413.
Anguis parvus rufescens âsping dictus. *Fn.* 261.
Habitat in *Smolandiæ* Salicetis rarius.
OBS. De hujus dira pernicie stupenda narrant Smolandi: dicunt eum reperiri præsertim inter frutices Salicis; quodque vulnera omnino lethalia producat cum intumescentia corporis horrenda: vidi anguem parvum esse, nec spithami longitudinis: esse deinceps rufi seu ferruginei coloris, omnino a Cæcilia diversum.

286. COLUBER ♂ *Berus* scutis abdominalibus CXLVI, squamis caudæ XXXIX. *Fn.* 260. *Amoen. acad.* 1. *p.* 113. *n.* 1.
Raj. quadr. 285. Vipera.
Charl. onom. 30. Vipera.
Pet. mus. 17. *n.* 103. Vipera anglica fusca, dorso linea undulata nigricante conspicua.
Act. upf. 1736 *p* 11. *n.* 4. Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinali dentata.
It. oel. 23. Vipera.
Suecis Hugg-orm.
Habitat in Suecia frequens, morsu venenatissimo interdum lethalis.
DESCR. Corpus cinereum. *Dorsum* longitudinaliter regitur macula lineari fusca utrinque dentata; ad latera hujus macula cæruleſcens singulo denticulo dorsalis lineæ interjecta est. *Venter* purpurascens cum puncto nigro ad apicem singulæ squamæ. *Gula* pallida. *Labium* superius secundum marginem album est. *Oculorum* iris flammea: pupilla nigra. *angulus* acutus cæruleus maculam longitudinalem dorsi a capite distinguit.

287. COLUBER ♂ *Prester* scutis abdominalibus CLIII, squamis caudal. XXXII.
Pet. mus. 17. *n.* 104. Vipera anglica nigricans.
Smolandis Bose.
Habitat in sylvis rarior.
DESCR. Corpus atrum; squamis 21 ordinum, subcarinatis, lanceolatis; lateralibus ovatis, distinctis cute nigra, quæ dum contrahitur rugis albo reticulata apparet inter squamas. *Cauda* brevissima. *Os* armatum est veneno diro.

288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX, squamis caudæ LX. *Fn.* 259. *Amoen. acad.* 1. *p.* 116. *n.* 3. *It. gotl.* 227. *W:goth.* 146.
Raj. quadr. 334. Natrix torquata.
Gesn. serp. 43. Anguis.
Aldr. serp. 287. Natrix torquata.
Charl. onom. 33. Natrix torquata.
G 4 *Merr.*

Figure 99. The second edition of the systematic account of the Swedish fauna, *Fauna Svecica* (Linnaeus 1761).

made from vipers' darts, which, however, in our time has little effect. But it must be noted that the ancient viper corresponds to *Coluber* S.N. 140, while, conversely, we use the *Coluber Bero*…"].

Comments: There is no snake with 173 scales on page 216 as cited by Acrell (1762; 1763). Additionally, Amodytes is a lapsus for Ammodytes 142-32. The species is thus numbered 174 on page 216 of SN10 (Linnaeus 1758).

Linnaeus's own copies are now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) discussed in details this edition this edition of SN. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

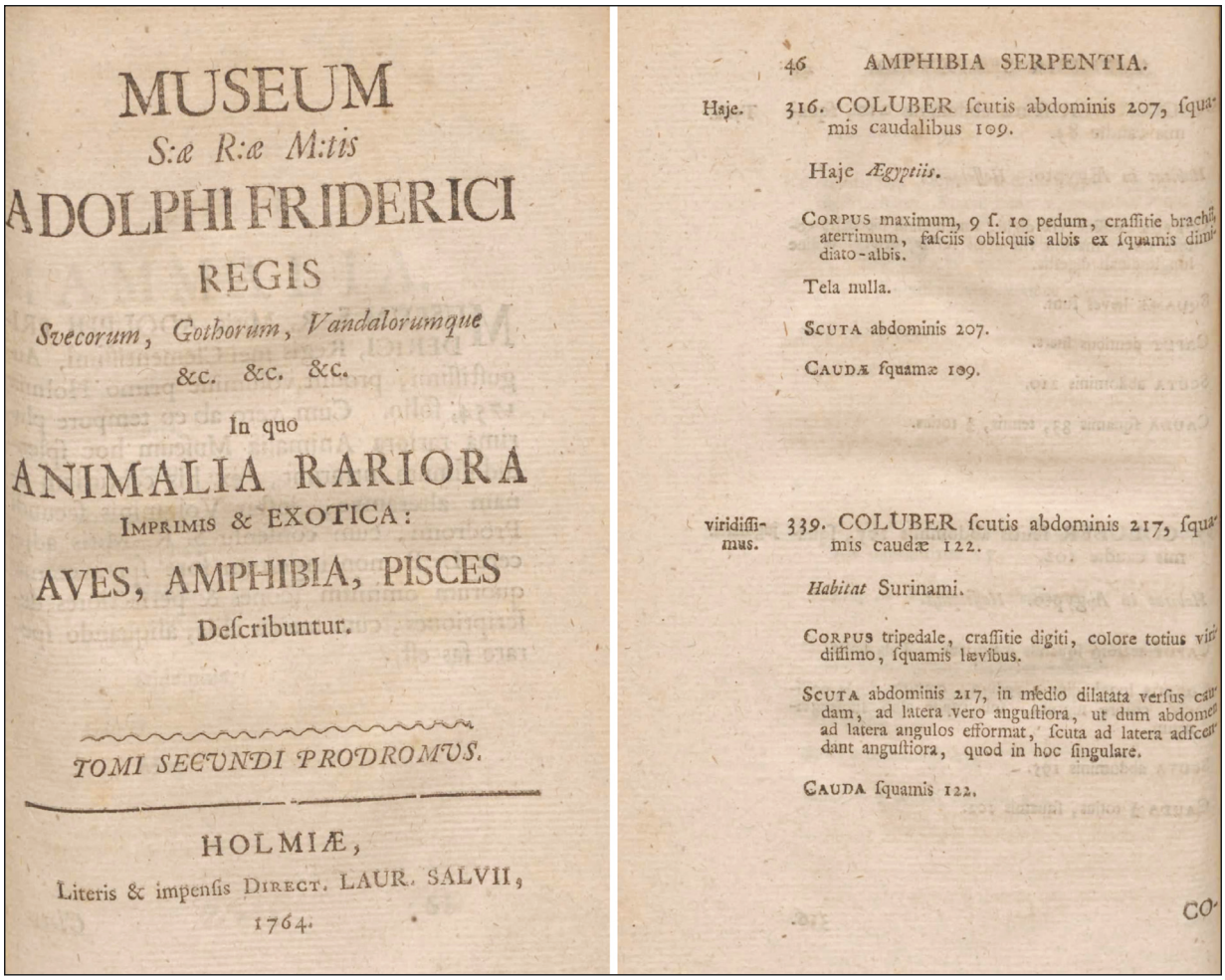
Linnaeus, C. 1761. *Fauna Svecica Sistens Animalia Sveciæ Regni: Mammalia, Aves,* Amphibia, *Pisces, Insecta, Vermes. Distributa per Classes & Ordines, Genera & Species. Cum Differentiis Specierum, Synonymis Autorum, Nominibus Incolarum, Locis Habitationum, Descriptionibus Insectorum. Editio Altera, Auctior.* Stockholmiæ, Laurentii Salvii> [i] + [i] + [ix] + [viii] + [ii] + [xxvi] + 1–578, Pl. I–II. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.46380>. (Figure 99)

Abbreviated as: Fn. Svec. [b]; Faun. svec. [b].

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: The second edition of *Fauna Suecica*, listing the following species: 275. *Rana bufo* (101), 276. *Rana rubeta* (101), 277. *Rana bombina* (101), 278. *Rana temporaria* (101-102), 279. *Rana esculenta* (102), 280. *Rana arborea* (102), 281. *Lacerta palustris* (102-103), 282. *Lacerta aquatica* (103), 283. *Lacerta vulgaris* (103), 284. *Lacerta agilis* (103), 285. *Coluber chersea* (103-104), 286. *Coluber berus* (104), 287. *Coluber prester* (104), 288. *Coluber natrix* (104-105), and 289. *Anguis fragilis* (105).

Linné (1766: 354, 355, 357, 363, 370, 377, 392): *Rana bufo* (*Fn. svec.* 275), *R. rubeta* (Fn. svec. 276), *R. bombina* (Fn. Svec. 277), *R. temporaria* (*Fn. svec.* 278), *Rana esculenta* (*Faun. svec.* 279), *R. arborea* (*Fn. svec.* 180, *in errore*, page number is 280),



MUSEUM
S:æ R:æ M:tis
ADOLPHI FRIDERICI
REGIS
Svecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque
&c. &c. &c.
In quo
ANIMALIA RARIORA
IMPRIMIS & EXOTICA:
AVES, AMPHIBIA, PISCES
Deſcribuntur.

TOMI SECUNDI PRODROMUS.

HOLMIÆ,
Literis & impenſis DIRECT. LAUR. SALVII,
1764.

46 AMPHIBIA SERPENTIA.

Haje. 316. COLUBER ſcutis abdominis 207, ſquamis caudalibus 109.

Haje *Ægyptiis*.

CORPUS maximum, 9 ſ. 10 pedum, craſſitie brachii, aterrimum, faſciis obliquis albis ex ſquamis dimidiato-albis.

Tela nulla.

SCUTA abdominis 207.

CAUDÆ ſquamæ 109.

viridiſſimus. 339. COLUBER ſcutis abdominis 217, ſquamis caudæ 122.

Habitat Surinami.

CORPUS tripedale, craſſitie digiti, colore totius viridiſſimo, ſquamis lævibus.

SCUTA abdominis 217, in medio dilatata verſus caudam, ad latera vero anguſtiora, ut dum abdomen ad latera angulos efformat, ſcuta ad latera adſcendant anguſtiora, quod in hoc ſingulare.

CAUDA ſquamis 122.

CO-

Figure 100. Second part of the catalog of the collection of King Adolf Frederick (Linnaeus 1764a).

Lacerta agilis (*Faun. svec.* 284), *L. vulgaris* (*Faun. svec.* 283), *L. aquatica* (*Fn. svec.* 282), *L. palustris* (*Fn. svec.* 281), *Coluber chersea* (*Faun. svec.* 285), *C. prester* (*Fn. svec.* 287), *Anguis fragilis* (*Faun. svec.* 289).

Comments: Linnaeus's own copies are now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee's (1994) review ended with SN10. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

Linné, C. 1764a. *Museum S:æ R:æ M:tis Adolphi Friderici Regis Svecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque &c. &c. &c. In quo Animalia Rariora Imprimis & Exotica: Aves,* Amphibia, *Pisces Describuntur. Tomi secundi prodromus.* Holmiæ, Laur. Salvii: [i] + [3]–110 + [i]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.119811>. (Figure 100)

Abbreviated as Mus. Ad. Fr. 2.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: *Testudo serpentina* (36), *Lacerta stellio* (37), *L. umbra* (38), *Rana ocellata* (39), *R. paradoxa* (40), *Boa hipnale* (41), *B. cenchria* (41), *B. murina* (42), *Coluber vipera* (43), *C. lebetinus* (43), *C. padera* (44), *C. situla* (44), *C. tyiria* (45), *C. jugularis* (45), *C. haje* (46), *C. viridissimus* (46), *Coluber scutis abdominis* 254, *squamis caudalibus* 61? (47), *Coluber scutis abdominis* 204, *squamis caudae* 60? (47), *Anguis meleagris* (48), *A. jaculus* (48), and *A. laticaudatus* (48).

Linnaeus (1758: 212, 221, 226, 228): *Rana paradoxa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* ..), *Coluber padera* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* ..), *C. viridissimus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* ..), *Anguis laticauda* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* ..).

Linné (1766: 354, 356, 367, 373, 374, 375, 378, 382, 385, 386, 387, 388, 390, 391, 392): *Testudo serpentina* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* 36), *Rana ocellata* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* 39), ***R.*** *paradoxa* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* 40), *Lacerta umbra* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* 38), *Boa hipnale*

(*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* 41), *B. murina* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p*. 42), *B. cenchria* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* 41), *Coluber vipera* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* 43), *C. lebetinus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p.* 43), *C. padera* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p*. 44), *C. situla* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p*. 44), C. tyria (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p*. 445), C. jugularis (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p*. 45), *C. haje* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. p. 46), *C. viridissimus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p*... [46]), *Anguis meleagris* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. p. 48), *A. jaculus* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. p. 48), *A. laticauda* (*Mus. Ad. Fr.* 2. *p*. 48).

Comments: Although the second part of the catalog of the collection of King Adolf Frederick would have been completed in 1754 (fide Andersson, 1899: 1), it was published ten years later. Therefore, their references in Linnaeus (1758) are an anachronism.

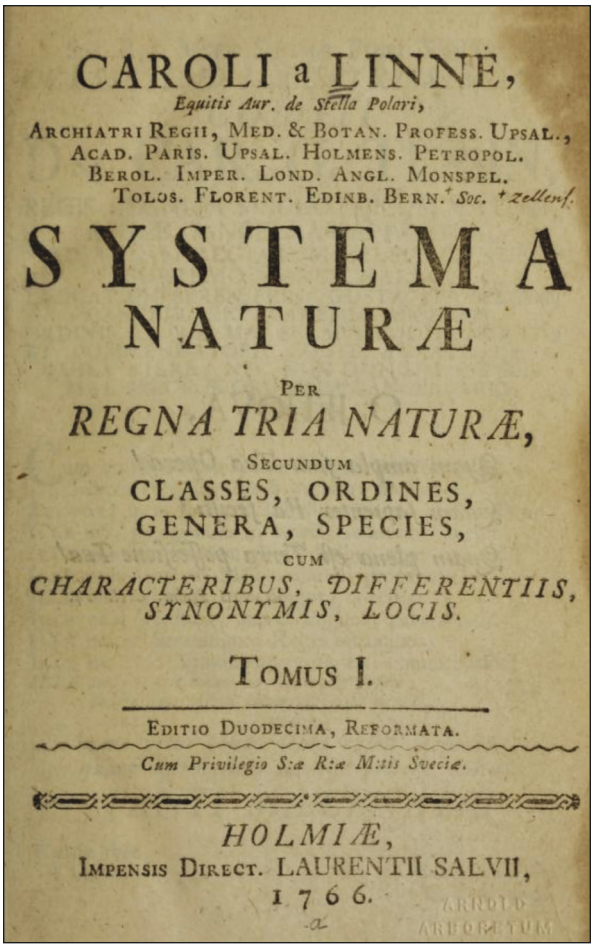
Linnaeus's own copy is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee's (1994) review ended with SN10. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

Linné, C. 1766. *Systema Naturæ per Regna Tria Naturæ, Secundum Classes, Ordines, Genera, Species, cum Characteribus, Differentiis, Synonymis, Locis. Tomus I. Editio duodecima, reformata.* Holmiæ, Laur. Salvii: [i] + [i] + [i] + [5–10] + 11–532. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.68927>. (Figure 101)

Abbreviated as S. N. [c].

Cited in Linné (1772).

Contents: *Testudo coriacea, T. imbricata, T. mydas* (p. 350), *T. caretta, T. orbicularis, T. scabra* (p. 351), *T. lutaria, T. scorpioides, T. denticulata, T. graeca, T. carolina* (p. 352), *T. carinata, T. geometrica, T. pusilla* (p. 353), *T. serpentina, Rana pipa, R. musica, R. Bufo* (p. 354), *R. Rubeta, R. gibbosa, R. Bombina, R. ventricosa* (p. 355), *R. marina, R. typhonia, R. ocellata, R. cornuta, R. marginata, R. paradoxa* (p. 356) , *R. temporaria, R. esculenta, R. arborea* (p. 357), *R. boans, Draco volans, D. praepos* (p. 358), *Lacerta crocodilus, L. caudiverbera* (p. 359), *L. dracaena, L. superciliosa, L. scutata, L. monitor, L. principalis* (p. 360), *L. bicarinata, L. cordylus, L. stellio, L. mauritanica* (p. 361), *L. azurea, L. turcica, L. ameiva* (p. 362), *L. agilis, L. algira, L. seps* (p. 363), *L. 6-lineata, L. angulata, L. chamaeleon* (p. 364), *L. gecko, L. stincus, L. orbicularis* (p. 365), *L. 5-lineata, L. basiliscus, L. igvana*


CAROLI a LINNÉ,
Equitis Aur. de Stella Polari,
Archiatri Regii, Med. & Botan. Profess. Upsal.,
Acad. Paris. Upsal. Holmens. Petropol.
Berol. Imper. Lond. Angl. Monspel.
Tolos. Florent. Edinb. Bern.† Soc. †Zellens.

SYSTEMA
NATURÆ

Per
REGNA TRIA NATURÆ,
Secundum
CLASSES, ORDINES,
GENERA, SPECIES,
cum
CHARACTERIBUS, DIFFERENTIIS,
SYNONYMIS, LOCIS.

Tomus I.

Editio Duodecima, Reformata.
Cum Privilegio S:æ R:æ M:tis Sveciæ.

HOLMIÆ,
Impensis Direct. LAURENTII SALVII,
1766.

Figure 101. Title page of the 12th edition of *Systema Naturae* (Linné 1766).

(p. 366), *L. calotes, L. agama, L. umbra, L. plica* (p. 367), *L. marmorata, L. bullaris, L. strumosa, L. teguixin, L. aurata* (p. 368), *L. nilotica, L. punctata, L. lemniscata, L. fasciata, L. chalcides* (p. 369), *L. vulgaris, L. aquatica, L. palustris, L. punctata* (p. 370), *L. 4-lineata, L. salamandra, L. angvina* (p. 371), *Crotalus miliarius, C. horridus, C. dryinas , C. durissus* (p. 372), *C. mutus, Boa contortrix, B. canina, B. hipnale, B. constrictor* (p. 373), *B. murina, B. cenchria, B. scytale, B. ophrias, B. enydris, B. hortulana* (p. 374), *Coluber vipera, C. atropos, C. leberis, C. lutrix, C. calamarius, C. simus, C. striatulus* (p. 375), *C. Ammodytes, C. Cerastes, C. plicatilis, C. Domicella, C. Alidras, C. punctatus* (p. 376), *C. buccatus, C. Berus, C. Chersea, C. Prester, C. angulatus, C. caeruleus* (p. 377), *C. albus, C. Aspis, C. Typhlus, C. fasciatus, C. Lebetinus, C. melanocephalus, C. Cobella, C. Reginae* (p. 378), *C. doliatus, C. ordinatus, C. mexicanus, C. severus, C. Aurora, C. Sipedon, C. maurus, C. stolatus* (p. 379), *C. vittatus, C. miliaris.* 162-59. *Mus. Ad. Fr.*

27, *C. Aesculapii, C. rhombeatus, C. cyaneus, C. Natrix* (p. 380), *C. agilis, C. lacteus, C. jaculatrix, C. aulicus, C. monilis, C. fulvius, C. pallidus* (p. 381), *C. lineatus, C. Naja, C. Padera, C. canus, C. getulus.*(p. 382), *C. sibilans, C. laticaudatus, C. Sirtalis, C. atrox, C. Sibon, C. nebulatus, C. fuscus* (p. 383), *C. saturninus, C. candidus, C. niveus, C. scaber, C. carinatus, C. corallinus* (p. 384), *C. ovivorus, C. Saurita, C. Constrictor, C. exoletus, C. Situla, C. Triscalis, C. guttatus* (p. 385), *C. lemniscatus, C. annulatus, C. Dipsas, C. Pelias, C. Tyria* (p. 386), *C. jugularis, C. Pethola, C. aestivus, C. Molurus, C. Ahaetulla, C. petalarius* (p. 387), *C. filiformis, C. pullatus, C. Hippocrepis, C. minervae, C. cinereus, C. viridissimus, C. mucosus* (p. 388), 341. *domesticus,* 344. *Cenchoa, C. mycterizans, C. caerulescens, C. Arges* (p. 389), *Anguis quadrupes, A. bipes, A. Meleagris, A. colubrina* (p. 390), *A. Jaculus, A. maculata, A. reticulata, A. Cerastes, A. lumbricalis, A. ventralis, A. platura* (p. 391), *A. Laticauda, A. Scytale, A. Eryx, A. fragilis, A. ventralis, Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (p. 392), *A. alba, Caecilia tentaculata, C. glutinosa* (p. 393), *Siren lacertina, Lacerta chalcidica* (Apéndice).

Linné (1772: 18, 19): 36. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato. *S. N.* 257., 37. RANA *Bufo* corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque. *S. N.* 354., 38. LACERTA *Scincus* cauda tereti mediocri apice compressa, digitis muticis marginatis. *S. N.* 365., 39. COLUBER *Vipera scutis abdominalibus CXVIII. squamis subcaudalibus XXII. S. N.* 375., 40. COLUBER *Natrix*scutis abdominalibus CLXX, squamis subcaudalibus LX. *S. N.* 380.

Comments: The reference to *Rana temporaria* is erroneous; the species is described in page 357, not in p. 257 as cited by Linné.

Linnaeus's own copies are now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). The book was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee's (1994) review ended with SN10. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

Lister, M. 1711. *Dissertatio de humoribus, in qua veterum ac recentiorum medicorum ac philosophorum opiniones & sententiae examinantur.* Amstelodami, Janssonio – Waesbergios: [ii] + [5]–486 + [xxiii]. <https://archive.org/details/b33003373>. (Figure 102)

Abbreviated as Lister.

Cited in Linnaeus (1747b).

Contents: *Rana Rubeta* (44).

Linnaeus (1747b: 205): When Linnaeus was in Uddewalla (19 de julio; p. 205), wrote: "... Jag hußade hunden på en stor Padda, han bet henne ock, men riste och skackade sedermera munnen ratt, illa, och wisade tydeligen, at det skadade honom, ej eller kunde han sedermera förmås till nytt försök, så at idet är troligt, hwad Lister berättar, at om man tager detta djur med en tång, få pißar hon med hwarje wårta en hwit saft, som skadar och giftar.." ["…I set the dog upon a large toad; he bit it too but afterward shook and twisted his mouth badly and clearly showed that it had harmed him. Nor could he be persuaded to try again, so that what Lister reports seems likely—that if one takes this animal with tongs, it squirts a white fluid from each wart, which harms and poisons…"].

Comments: Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). A copy of this work was in the library of the Uppsala Academy (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss this source.

Lucanus, M.A. 1469. *M. Annei Lucam Pharsallie. Pomponii infortunati mannaeus Lucanus.* Romae. Konrad Sweynheym et Arnold Pannartz. [217 unnumbered pages].

Abbreviated as: Lucanus; Lucretius Lib. 9.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Book IX contains references to *Ammodytes* (IX: 716), *Amphisbaena* (IX: 719), *Aspid* (IX: 610; 701; 707; 901), *Basiliscus* (IX: 726; 828), *Cenchris* (IX: 712), *Cerastes* (IX: 716; 851), *Chelydros* or *Chersydros* (IX: 711), *Dipsas* (IX: 610; 718; 738; 754; 851), *Haemorrhois*(IX: 709; 806), *Hydra* (IX: 644), *Iaculus* (IX: 720; 823), *Natrix* (IX:720), *Ophites* (IX: 714); *Parias* (IX: 721), *Prester* (IX: 722; 791), *Salpuga* (IX: 837), *Scytale* (IX: 717) and *Seps* (IX: 723; 764).

Acrell (1762: 8, 13; 1763: 205, 210): In chapters *Virus* and *Puncturae Symptomata* mentions *Haemorrhous* and *Dipsas*, transcribing several verses.

Hast (1745: 2; 1749: 110): "...*Haemorrhois enim morsu suo ex omnibus emissariis corporis sanguinem*

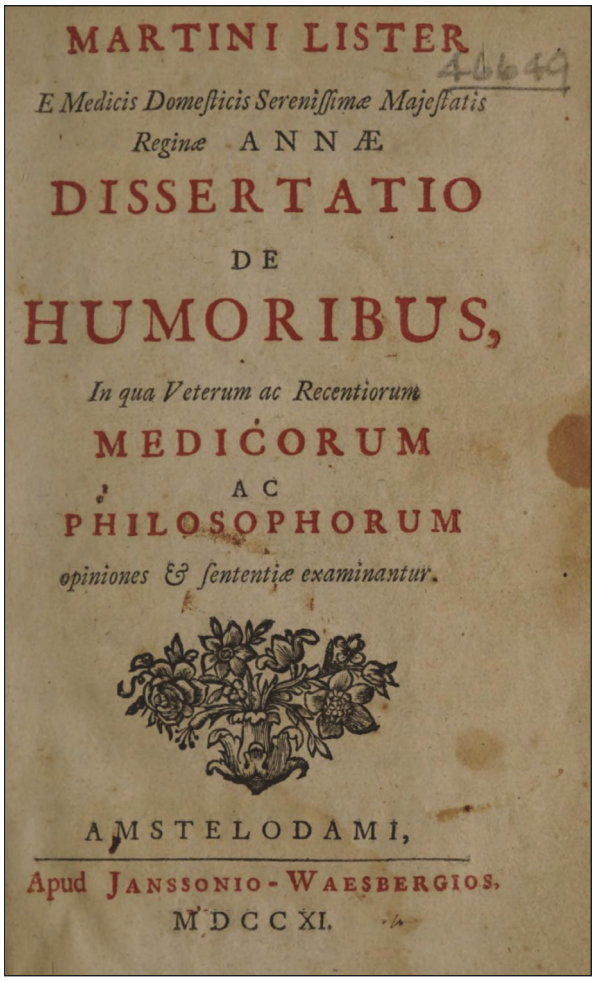

MARTINI LISTER
E Medicis Domesticis Serenissimæ Majestatis
Reginæ ANNÆ
DISSERTATIO
DE
HUMORIBUS,
In qua Veterum ac Recentiorum
MEDICORUM
AC
PHILOSOPHORUM
opiniones & sententiæ examinantur.
AMSTELODAMI,
Apud JANSSONIO-WAESBERGIOS,
MDCCXI.

Figure 102. Title page of Lister's (171) medical textbook on classical and modern opinions on human fluids.

expellit, de quo Lucretius (sic) *Lib. 9 canit...*" ["… For the *Haemorrhois*, with its bite, expels blood from all the outlets of the body, of which Lucretius (*sic*) sings in Book 9…"].

Linnaeus (1758: 195), Linné(1766: 348): Under *Serpentes*, Linnaeus wrote: "*... Sunt autem haec Tela dentibus simillima, sed extra maxillam superiorem collocata, proque lubitu exserenda & retrahenda, sacculo saniei affixa, quam vulnere inflant in sanguinem, tum diri effectus causam, caeterum inertem; sicque Catonia haec morsu virus habent & fatum dente minantur, pocula morte carent, prout solide Redi...*" ["…These weapons are indeed very similar to teeth, but are situated outside the upper jaw, and can be extended or withdrawn at will. They are attached to a sac of venom, which they inject into the blood through the wound—this being the cause of their dreadful effect, though otherwise inert. Thus, these creatures of Cato carry venom in their bite and threaten death with their tooth, but lack poison in their drink, as Redi conclusively proved…"].

Comments: The epic poem "*Pharsalia*", also known as *De bello civile*, was written by Lucanus, not by Lucretius, as cited by Hast (1745; 1749). The poem has several editions since its *editio princeps* published in Rome, in 1469, by Sweynheym and Pannartz. Several of them were in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius, 1814a), but it was not possible to identify which was the source consulted by Linnaeus and/or his disciples. Not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). *Pharsalia* was not included as Linnaean source by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007), although many of the names contained in Book IX were used as generic names or specific epithets in SN10 and SN12. The Cato reference in SN10 is second hand and is based on a comment of Redi (1664). Given the aforementioned impossibility to identify the edition used, the first is proposed here.

Marcgravius, G. 1648. Historiæ Rervm Naturalivm Brasiliæ, Libri Octo: Quorum Tres Priores Agvnt de Plantis. Quartus de Piscibvs. Quintus de Avibus. Sextus de Quadrupedibvs, et Serpentibvs. Septimus de Insectis. Octavus de Ipsa regione, et Illivs Incolis. Cum appendice de Tapuyis, et Chilensibvs. Ioannes de Laet, Antvverpianvs, in ordinem digessit & Annotationes addidit multas, & varia ab Auctore Omissa supplevit & illustravit. *In:* I. Mauritius (ed.): *Historia naturalis Brasiliæ, Auspicio et Beneficio Illustriss. I. Mavritii Com. Nassav. illius provinciæ et maris summi præfecti adornata: In qua Non tantum Plantæ et Animalia, sed et Indigenarum morbi, ingenia et mores describuntur et Iconibus supra quingentas illustrantur*. Lugduni Batavorum (Franciscum Hackium) & Amstelodami (Lud. Elzevirium): [i] + [ii] + [i] + [i] + 1–293 + [vii]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.61959>. (Figure 103)

Abbreviated as: Marcgr.; Marcgr. bras.; Margr. Bras.; Marcgrav.; Mrg.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1; 1749), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1735; 1740b; 1754; 1758; 1759), Linné (1766), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: The sixth book of the Natural History of Brazil by Georg Marggraf includes characterizations of *Senembi seu Iguana* (236-237), *Tejuguacu & Temapara Tupinambis* (237-238),

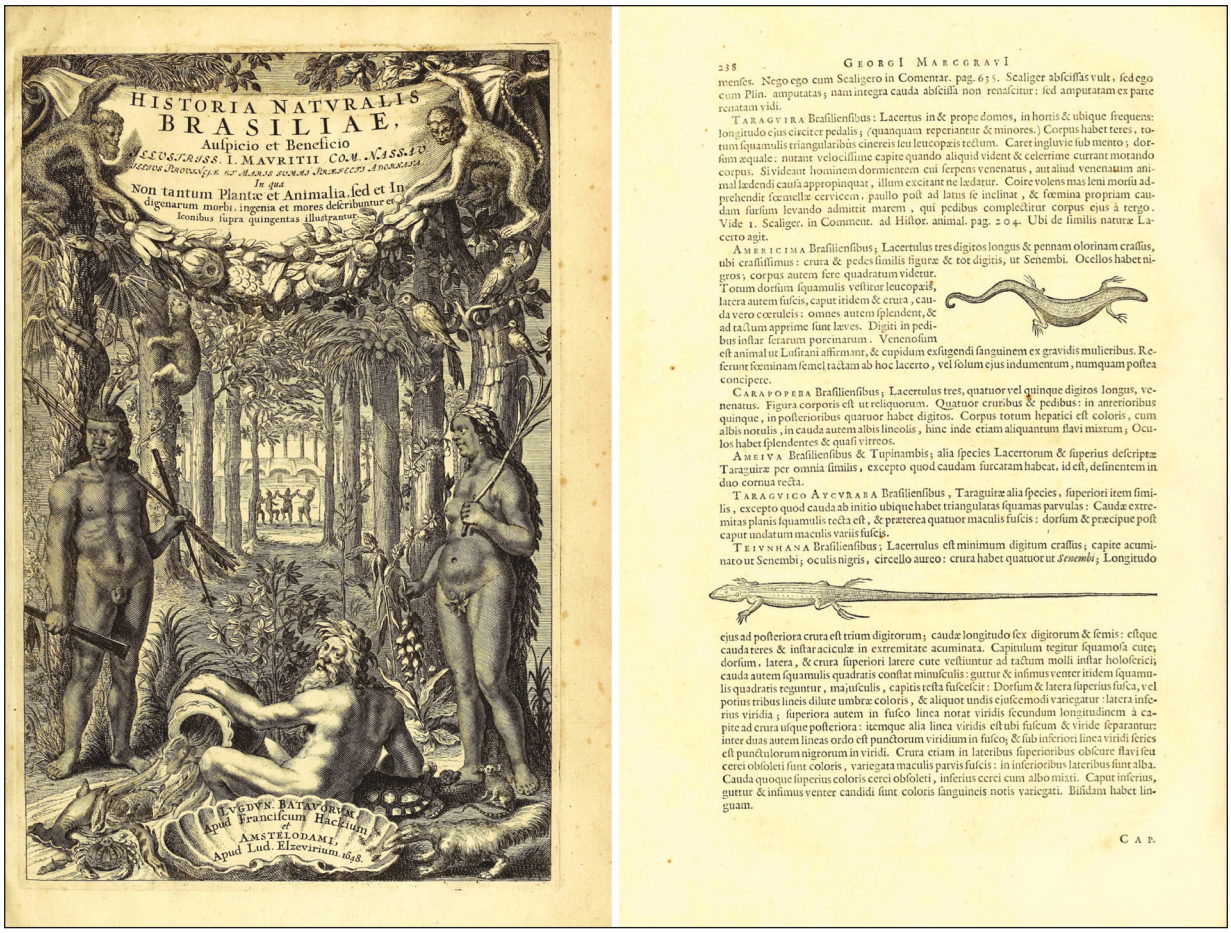


Figure 103. Title page and page 238 of the sixth book of the Natural History of Brazil by Georg Marggraf (Marcgravius 1648).

Taraguira Brasiliensibus (238), *Americima Brasiliensibus* (238), *Carapopeba Brasiliensibus* (238), *Ameiva Brasiliensibus & Tupinambis* (238), *Taraguico Aycuraba Brasiliensibus* (238), *Teiunhana Brasiliensibus* (238), *Boî guacu Brasilianis* (239), *Ibyara Brasiliensibus* (239), *Ibiboboca Brasiliensibus* (240), *Boicininga & Boicininingа & Boitininga atque etiam Boiquira Brasiliensibus* (240), *Curucucu Brasiliensibus* (241), *Boitiapo Brasiliensibus* (241), *Rana* (241), *Jurucua Brasiliensibus* (241), *Jurura Brasiliensibus* (241-242), *Jacare Brasiliensibus* (242), and *Amore pinima* (242).

Balk (1746: 17; 20; 1749: 295, 297): 22. *ANGUIS annulis abdominalibus CC, anulis caudalibus XXX.* (*Ibyaru.* Margr. Bras.); 24. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX.* (*Boicocininga,* Marc. Bras. 240.).

Hast (1745: 18, 19, 31; 1749: 124, 125, 126, 137): 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Marcgrav. pag. 236. tab. 236. *Senembi seu Iguana*); 21. TESTUDO *major terrestris americana, mydas dicta* (Marcgr. bras. 241. *Jurucua Brasiliensibus*. Also, on p. 19 respectively 125, referring to 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata*: "*...Animal hocce tam orientales quam Occidentales Indi, sicut & Christiani quidam eo accedentes, cibi loco habent, quin & ova ejus commedunt.* Seb. Lactant. Marcgr. Bochart..." ["… This animal is eaten as food by both the East and West Indians, as well as by certain Christians who come into contact with it; indeed, they even eat its eggs. — Seba, Lactantius, Marcgraf, Bochart…"].

Linnaeus (1735: [xi]; 1740b: 53): *[Lacerta] Senembi Mrg.*

Linnaeus (1754: 43): *Lacerta iguana* (Marcgr. bras. 236. t. 236).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 200, 206), Linné (1766: 351, 359, 366): *Testudo mydas* β (*Marcgr. bras.* 241. *Jurucuja brasiliensibus*), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Marcgr. bras.* 242. *Jacare*), *L. igvana* (*Marcgr. bras.* 236. *f.* 236).

Linnaeus (1759: 71): 1. T. pedibus pinniformibus,

Petri Andreæ
MATTHIOLI
SENENSIS
MEDICI,
Commentarij in ſex libros Pedacij Dioſcoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia,
IAM DENVO AB IPSO AVTORE RECOGNITI, ET LOCIS PLVS MILLE AVCTI.
Adiectis plantarum, & animalium Iconibus, ſupra priores editiones longè pluribus, ad uiuum delineatis.
Acceſſerunt quoq; ad margines Græci contextus quàm plurimi, ex antiquiſſimis codicibus deſumpti, qui Dioſcoridis ipſius deprauatam lectionem reſtituunt.
CVM LOCVPLETISSIMIS INDICIBVS, TVM AD REM Herbariam, tum Medicamentariam pertinentibus.
CVM PRIVILEGIIS AMPLISSIMIS, vt videre eſt ſtatim poſt Præfationem ad Lectores.
VIN CENT
VENETIIS,
Ex Officina Valgriſiana. M DLXX.

274 And. Matthioli Comm.
SALAMANDRA.
Vana opinio.
Ariſt. uana opiniones.
Salamandra aquatica.
SALAMANDRA AQVATICA.

Figure 104. The 1570 edition of Matthioli's comments on *Materia Medica* of Pedanius Dioscorides (c. 40–90 AD).

unguibus palmarum binis, plantarum solitariis, testa ovata, **β** (*Marcgr. bras.* 241);

Sundius (1748: 20; 1749: 497): 16.CENCHRIS *scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Marcgr. bras. 239).

Comments: Linnaeus's own copy is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). Linnaeus and his disciples could have consulted the copy of this work in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

Matthioli, P. A. 1570. *Petri Andreae Mattioli senensis medici, Commentarii in sex libros Pedacij Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia, iam denvo ab ipso avtore recogniti, et locis plvs mille avcti. Adiectis plantarum, & animalium Iconibus, supra priores editiones longè pluribus, ad uiuum delineatis. Accesserunt quoq; ad margines Graeci contextus quàm plurimi, ex antiquissimis codicibus desumpti, qui Dioscoridis ipsius deprauatam lectionem restituunt. Cvm locupletissimis indicibvs, tvm ad rem Herbariam, tvm Medicamentariam pertinentibus. Cum privilegiis amplissimis, vt videre est statim post Praefationem ad Lectores*. Venetiis, Officina Valgrisiana: [CLIX] + 1–956. <https://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/mattioli1570>. (Figure 104)

Abbreviated as: Mathiol. dioscor.; Mathiol. dioscorid.; Matth. diosc.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758), Linné (1766), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: Includes several references to amphibians and reptiles: (a) In the second book, on medical uses of animals, *Vipera* (237-240), *Senecta anguinum* (240), *Ranae* (250-251), *Bufo* (251), *Salamandra* (273-275), *Lacerta* (276), *Seps* (277), *Scincus* (277-278), *Crocodilus* (278-279), and *Chamaeleon* (279). (b) In the sixth book, on venemous animals, *Salamandra* (905-906), *Rubeta, et palustris rana* (925-926), *Vipera* (948-951), *Caecilia, et Amphisbaena* (951-952), *Dryinus* (952), *Haemmorrhous, et Dipsas* (952-953), *Natrix*

(954), *Cenchrus* (954), *Cerastes* (954-955), and *Aspis* (955), finishing with the mythical *Basiliscus* (955-956).

Hast (1745: 16, 25; 1749: 122, 131): 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Mathiol. dioscorid. p. 278. tab. 278. *Crocodilus*); 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (Mathiol. dioscor. p. 274. tab. 274. *Salamandra*).

Linnaeus (1754: 40, 45): *Lacerta crocodilus* (Matth. diosc. 278. t. 278), and *Lacerta salamandra* (Matth. diosc. 274. t. 274).

Linnaeus (1758: 205), Linné (1766: 371): *Lacerta salamandra.* (*Matth. diosc. 274.* f. *274.* Salamandra).

Sundius (1748: 34; 1749: 507): "...Matthiolus in Dioscorides p. 950. In viperam quoque genere ea nimirum fera immanis recenseri potest, quam ammoditen vocant..." ["...Matthiolus in his commentary on Dioscorides (p. 950) notes that among the viper kind, that truly savage beast called 'ammodytes' may indeed be numbered..."].

Comments: The first edition of Matthioli's comments on Dioscorides *Materia Medica* was published in Venice in 1554 (Matthioli 1554), and was subsequently re-edited several times. The library of the Academy of Uppsala housed editions from 1558, 1570, 1583, 1604. Despite having analyzed multiple editions, Dundee (1994) was unable to identify the edition used by Linnaeus. Heller (2007) listed an 1565 Venetiis edition as the source.

The references of Linnaeus and his students coincide with the edition of 1570, a copy of which was in his personal library (Anonymous 1896; Heller 1976).

Merian, M. S. 1726. *Dissertatio de generatione et metamorphosibus insectorum Surinamensium: In quá, praeter vermes & erucas surinamenses, earumque admirarnram metamorphosin, plantae, flores & fructus, quibus vescuntur, & in quibus fuerunt inventae, exhibentur. His adjunguntur bufones, lacerti, serpentes, aranae, aliaque admiranda istius regionis animalcula; omnia manu ejusdem Matronae in America ad vivum accurate depicta, & nunc aeri incisa. Accedit Appendix Transformationum Piscium in Ranas, & Ranarum in Pisces. Dissertation sur la Generation et les Transformations des Insectes de Surinam: Dans laquelle on traite des vers et des chenilles de Surinam, des Plantes, fleurs, & fruits dont ils vivent & dans lesquels on les a trouvez. On and parle aussi des crapaux, lezards, serpens, aragnees, & autres petits animaux du même païs, peints sur les lieux d'après nature, & depuis gravez avec beaucoup de soin. On and a joint Un Traité des changemens des Poissons en Grenouilles & des Grenouilles en poissons.* Hagae Comitum/La Haye, Pierre Gosse: [ii] + [ii] + [ii] +1–72, Pl. 1–72. <https://archive.org/details/mariaesibillaem00meri>. (Figure 105)

Abbreviated as: Merian. sur.; Merian. surin.; Meriana.

Cited in Dahlberg (1755, 1759), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766), Österdam (1766; 1769).

Contents: Amphibians and reptiles are represented by two plates (and their respective descriptions) of crocodiles (pl. IV and LXIX), three of snakes (V, XLVI and LXIX), two of lizards (XXIII and LXX) and four of frogs and tadpoles (LVI, LIX, LXXI and LXII).

Dahlberg (1755: 6; 1759: 369): "... *Rana piscis, Surinamensis incola, de quo Vincent, Meriana, Seba & alii demonstrare conate sunt, rana in piscen transmutari, contrario plane modo ac in ranis fieri assolet...*" ["…The frog-fish, an inhabitant of Suriname, about which Vincent, Merian, Seba, and others have attempted to demonstrate that the frog is transformed into a fish—by a process entirely contrary to what usually happens in frogs…"].

Linnaeus (1758: 200, 212), Linné (1766: 359, 356): Lacerta crocodilus (Merian. sur. 49. f. 69. Crocodil), Rana paradoxa (Merian. surin. 71. t. 71).

Österdam (1766: 6; 1769: 316): «... *Has metamorphoses in gradationibus naturae observandis adcurate sequi decet, atque in catena antrorsum procedere, non retrorsum ut Meriana & Seba, qui transmutatione retrograda Ranam paradoxam in Piscem abire putabant...*" ["…These metamorphoses ought to be carefully followed in observing the gradations of nature, and one should proceed forward along the chain, not backward like Merian and Seba, who believed—by a retrograde transformation—that the Rana paradoxa turns into a fish…"].

Comments: Dundee (1994) considered the first edition of this work (Merian 1705) as the source

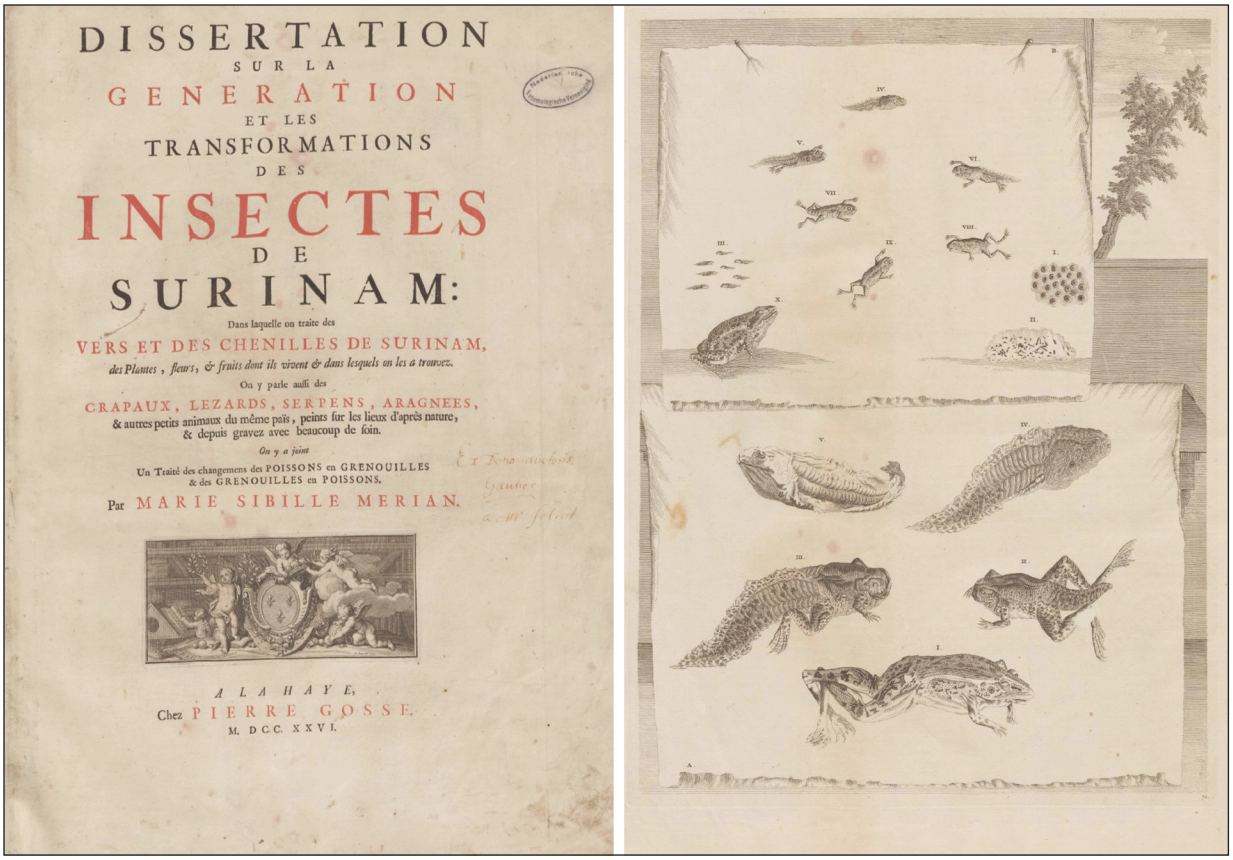

DISSERTATION
SUR LA
GENERATION
ET LES
TRANSFORMATIONS
DES
INSECTES
DE
SURINAM:
Dans laquelle on traite des
VERS ET DES CHENILLES DE SURINAM,
des Plantes, fleurs, & fruits dont ils vivent & dans lesquels on les a trouvez.
On y parle aussi des
CRAPAUX, LEZARDS, SERPENS, ARAGNEES,
& autres petits animaux du même païs, peints sur les lieux d'après nature,
& depuis gravez avec beaucoup de soin.
On y a joint
Un Traité des changemens des POISSONS en GRENOUILLES
& des GRENOUILLES en POISSONS.
Par MARIE SIBILLE MERIAN.
A LA HAYE,
Chez PIERRE GOSSE.
M. DCC. XXVI.

Figure 105. Title page and depiction of Rana paradoxa by Merian in *Dissertatio de generatione et metamorphosibus insectorum Surinamensium* (1726).

for Linnaeus and his students, but this edition contains only 60 plates. Two years after Merian's death, Joannem Oosterwyk added twelve additional plates in the second edition, published in two versions, in Latin (Merian 1719) and in Dutch (Meriaen 1719), which were re-edited several times. With more doubts than certainties, the bilingual French - Latin edition, published in 1726, is proposed as the source for the comments of Linnaeus and Österdam, as it is the one that was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). The work was not in Linnaeus's private library (Anonymous 1896). The Dutch and Latin editions of 1719 and the Latin French bilingual of 1726 have the same content and pagination.

Heller (2007) considered the above listed 1726 edition the one used by Linnaeus.

Merrett, C. 1667. *Pinax rerum naturalium Britannicarum, continens vegetabilia, animalia, et fossilia, in hac insula reperta inchoatus*. Londini, T. Roycroft: [xxviii] + 1–221 + [i]. <https://archive.org/details/b30341085>. (Figure 106)

Abbreviated as Merr. pin.

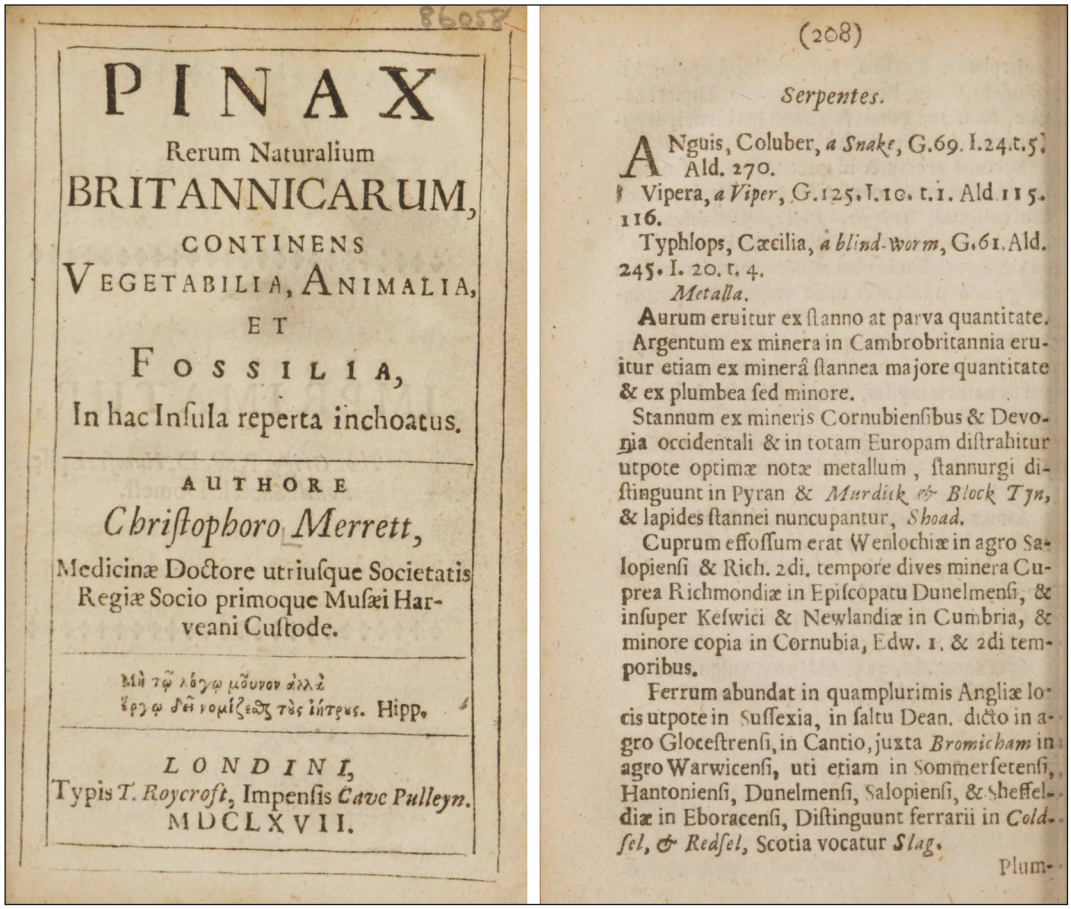
Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1761).

Contents: Amphibiasn and reptiles are mentioned in two sections. In page 169, *Digitata ovipara cute tecta:* (1) *Rana,* a Frog; (2) *Ranunculus viridis, seu Dryopetes*; (3) *Ranae faeutus caudatus,* Tadpoles; (4) *Bufo,* a toad. (5) *Lacertus,* an Eft or Newt, comprises five species, (a) *Terrestris vulgaris ventre nigro maculato,* (b) *Terrestris anguiformis in Ericetis,* (c) *Parvus terrestris fuscus oppido rarus,* (d) *Aquat. Fuscus* and (e) *Aquat. Niger, Lacertus hibernicus*. In page 208, *serpentes:* (1) Anguis, Coluber, a Snake; (2) Vipera, a Viper; (3) Typhlops, Caecilia, a blind-worm.

Hast (1745: 8): 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Merret. pin. pag. 204. *Anguis Coluber*).

Hast (1749: 116): 3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Merret. pin. pag. 204. *Anguis Coluber*).

Linnaeus (1746a: 96): 258. ANGUIS squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Merr. pin*. 208. Typhlos



PINAX
Rerum Naturalium
BRITANNICARUM,
CONTINENS
VEGETABILIA, ANIMALIA,
ET
FOSSILIA,
In hac Insula reperta inchoatus.

AUTHORE
Christophoro Merrett,
Medicinæ Doctore utriusque Societatis Regiæ Socio primoque Musæi Harveani Custode.

Μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ ἔργῳ δεῖ νομίζειν τὸν ἰατρόν. Hipp.

LONDINI,
Typis T. Roycroft, Impensis Cave Pulleyn.
MDCLXVII.

(208)

Serpentes.

ANguis, Coluber, *a Snake*, G.69. I.24.t.5. Ald. 270.

Vipera, *a Viper*, G.125. I.10. t.1. Ald. 115. 116.

Typhlops, Cæcilia, *a blind-worm*, G.61. Ald. 245. I. 20. t. 4.

Metalla.

Aurum eruitur ex stanno at parva quantitate.

Argentum ex minera in Cambrobritannia eruitur etiam ex minerâ stannea majore quantitate & ex plumbea sed minore.

Stannum ex mineris Cornubiensibus & Devonia occidentali & in totam Europam distrahitur utpote optimæ notæ metallum, stannurgi distinguunt in Pyran & *Murdick & Block Tyn*, & lapides stannei nuncupantur, *Shoad.*

Cuprum effossum erat Wenlochiæ in agro Salopiensi & Rich. 2di. tempore dives minera Cuprea Richmondiæ in Episcopatu Dunelmensi, & insuper Keswici & Newlandiæ in Cumbria, & minore copia in Cornubia, Edw. 1. & 2di temporibus.

Ferrum abundat in quamplurimis Angliæ locis utpote in Sussexia, in saltu Dean. dicto in agro Glocestrensi, in Cantio, juxta *Bromicham* in agro Warwicensi, uti etiam in Sommersetensi, Hantoniensi, Dunelmensi, Salopiensi, & Sheffeldiæ in Eboracensi, Distinguunt ferrarii in *Coldsel, & Redsel*, Scotia vocatur *Slag*.

Plum-

Figure 106. *Pinax rerum naturalium Britannicarum* (1667), catalogue of the flora and fauna of England by Merrett.

Caecilia), 259. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII (*Merr. pin.* 204. Anguis Coluber).

Linnaeus (1761: 105): 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*Merr. pin.* 204. Anguis Coluber), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Merr. pin.* 208. Typhlos Caecilia).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of the second edition of *Pinax rerum* in his personal library (Anonymous 1896), but there the reference to *Anguis Coluber* is in page 208, not in p. 204 as cited. The first edition (not seen) was published in London the previous year, but almost all the copies were burned during the Great Fire of 1766 (Bruce 2003).

The 1667 second edition was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified the 1666 edition as the source.

Mortimer, C. 1741. VI. An abstract by C. Mortimer, M.D. Secr. R.S. of an Inaugural Dissertation published at Wittemberg, 1736. by Dr. Abraham Vater, F.R.S. concerning the Cure of the Bite of a Viper, cured by Sallad-oil. *Philosophical transactions. Giving some account of the present undertakings, studies, and labours, of the ingenious, in many considerable parts of the world.* vol. XL. *for the years 1737, 1738. With a supplement, being the Croonean Lectures on muscular motion, for the year 1738*: 441–444. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstl.1737.0077>. (Figure 107)

Abbreviated as *Acta Anglicana*.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763).

Contents: Work on the properties of olive oil (or salad oil) as an antidote against snake bites.

Acrell (1762: 16; 1763: 213): "... *Apud Europaeos* olei olivarum, *vel Olei cujusvis expressi, usus est fortissimus. Propinatur autemo eum illud majori copia ac ad semilibram interdum & amplius, ebibendum, dum simul leasa pars hoc eodem olo saepius & copiosissime perungitur. De hoc ipso medicamento, non minus ac de felici ejus effectu, consuli possunt* Acta Anglicana p. 443. Act. paris. 1737...". ["...Among Europeans, the use of olive

oil—or of any expressed oil—is very widespread. It is administered orally, and indeed in rather large quantity, sometimes up to half a pound or more to be drunk, while at the same time the affected part is repeatedly and most liberally anointed with this same oil. On this very remedy, and equally on its successful effect, one may consult the Acta Anglicana, p. 443, and the Acta Parisiensia, 1737...”].

Comments: Not in Linnaeus’s private library (Anonymous 1896), but the journal was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified the publication as the source.

Mus. De Geer (Reference to the collection of Carl De Geer.)

Abbreviated as Mus. De Geer.

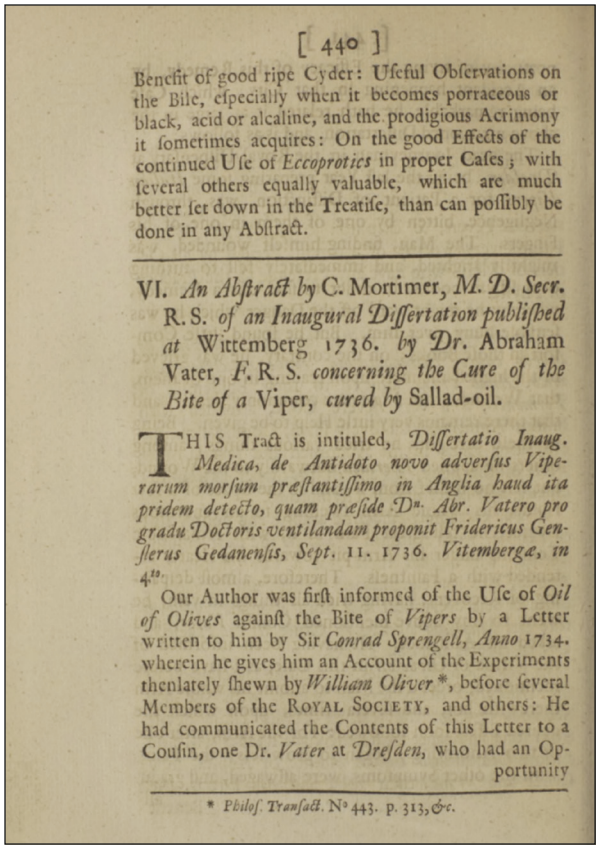
Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Collection of the entomologist, industrialist and court Marshal Carl De Geer (1720–1778) from Leufsta in Upland referred to by Linnaeus in SN10 and SN12 (Lönnberg 1896). After 1778 the greater part of his collection was donated to the Natural History Museum (Lönnberg 1896; Löwegren 1952; Fernholm & Wheeler 1983).

Linnaeus (1758: 215, 217, 218, 221, 223, 224, 225), Linné (1766: 274 (*sic*), 376, 378, 381, 384, 386, 387, 352): *Boa Orophias* (345. Orophias. 281–64. Mus. De Geer.); *Boa Enydris* (375. Enydris. 270–105. Mus. De Geer.); *Coluber Alidras* (179. Alidras. 121–58. Mus. De Geer.); *Coluber Typhlus* (193. Typhlus. 140–53. Mus. De Geer.); *Coluber monilis* (246. monilis. 164–82. Mus. De Geer.); *Coluber niveus* (271. niveus. 209–62. Mus. De Geer.); *Coluber Pelias* (290. Pelias. 187–103. Mus. De Geer.); *Coluber Molurus* (307. Molurus. 248–59. Mus. De Geer.); *Testudo denticulata* (Habitat in Virginia. Mus. De. Geer. [“...Lives in Virginia. Mus. De. Geer....”]).

Comments: References to Mus. De Geer were recorded by Dundee (1944) and Heller (2007).

Nieremberg, J.E. 1635. *Historia Natvræ, Maxime Peregrinae, Libris XVI. Distincta. In quibus rarissima Naturæ arcana, etiam astronomica, & ignota Indiarum animalia, quadupedes, aues, pisces, reptilia, insecta, zoophyte, plantæ, metalla, lapides, & alia mineralia, fluuiorum´-que & elementorum conditiones, etiam cum proprietatibus medicinalibus, describuntur; nouæ & curiosissimæ quæstionibus disputantur, ac plura sacræ Scripturæ loca erudite enodantur. Accedunt de miris & miraculosis Naturis in Europâ Libri duo: item de iisdem in Terrâ Hebræis promissâ Liber vnus.* Antverpiæ, Balthasaris Moreti: [v] + [i] + 1–502 + [i–c] + [i] + [i] + [i]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.66786>. (Figure 108)



[440]

Benefit of good ripe Cyder: Useful Observations on the Bile, especially when it becomes porraceous or black, acid or alcaline, and the prodigious Acrimony it sometimes acquires: On the good Effects of the continued Use of *Eccoprotics* in proper Cases; with several others equally valuable, which are much better set down in the Treatise, than can possibly be done in any Abstract.

VI. *An Abstract by* C. Mortimer, *M. D. Secr.* R. S. *of an Inaugural Dissertation published at* Wittemberg 1736. *by Dr.* Abraham Vater, *F.* R. S. *concerning the Cure of the Bite of a* Viper, *cured by* Sallad-oil.

THIS Tract is intituled, *Dissertatio Inaug. Medica, de Antidoto novo adversus Viperarum morsum præstantissimo in Anglia haud ita pridem detecto, quam præside Dn. Abr. Vatero pro gradu Doctoris ventilandam proponit Fridericus Gensterus Gedanensis, Sept.* 11. 1736. *Vitembergæ, in* 4to.

Our Author was first informed of the Use of *Oil of Olives* against the Bite of *Vipers* by a Letter written to him by Sir *Conrad Sprengell, Anno* 1734. wherein he gives him an Account of the Experiments thenlately shewn by *William Oliver* *, before several Members of the Royal Society, and others: He had communicated the Contents of this Letter to a Cousin, one Dr. *Vater* at *Dresden*, who had an Opportunity

* *Philos. Transact.* N° 443. p. 313, &c.

Figure 107. Mortimer’s 1741 paper on snakebite treatment with olive oil.

Abbreviated as: Nieremb. hist.; Nieremb. nat.; Nieremb. Natur.; Nierenb. nat.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: *Liber XII: De reptilibus similiter* of Nieremberg’s Natural History included an interesting group of Mexican amphibians and reptiles (mostly snakes), plus diverse improbable beings like winged serpents and biped dragons. They are: *Domina serpentum, sive Teuhtlacocauhqui* (268), *De haemorroo Indico* (269), *De aliquibus viperis Chiappae* (269), *De serpente armato* (270), *De caymane seu crocodilo* (270), *De iguanis* (271-272),

IOANNIS EVSEBII NIEREMBERGII
MADRITENSIS EX SOCIETATE IESV
IN ACADEMIA REGIA MADRITENSI
PHYSIOLOGIÆ PROFESSORIS
HISTORIA
NATVRAE,
MAXIME PEREGRINAE,
LIBRIS XVI. DISTINCTA.
In quibus rariſſima Naturæ arcana, etiam aſtronomica, & ignota Indiarum animalia, quadrupedes, aues, piſces, reptilia, inſecta, zoophyta, plantæ, metalla, lapides, & alia mineralia, fluuiorumque & elementorum conditiones, etiam cum proprietatibus medicinalibus, deſcribuntur; nouæ & curioſiſſimæ quæſtiones diſputantur, ac plura ſacræ Scripturæ loca eruditè enodantur.
Accedunt de miris & miraculoſis Naturis in Europâ Libri duo: item de iiſdem in Terrâ Hebræis promiſſâ Liber vnus.
LABORE CONSTANTI ET
ANTVERPIÆ,
EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA
BALTHASARIS MORETI.
M. DC. XXXV.

268
IOANNIS EVSEBII NIEREMBERGII
EX SOCIETATE IESV
HISTORIÆ NATVRÆ
LIBER DVODECIMVS.
DOMINA SERPENTVM, ſiue TEVHTLACOCAVHQVI.
CAPVT PRIMVM.
De dominâ ſerpentum.
NO ſine naturæ vſu reptilia ſunt: nec minùs maieſtatē Creatoris humilitate ſuâ exaggerant, non minùs bonitatem peſte ſuâ. Scit peſtimis Deus iuuare, cùr venenno medetur liberalem medicina opem è noxijs iſtis vſurpat. Exordium occupet atrox genus ſerpentum, Teuhtlacocauhqui, ſeu dominam ſerpentum Barbari vocant, viperam Hiſpani, ſiue ob ſimilitudinem capitis, ſiue peſtis. Anguis hic quaternos pedes aut amplius longus, & humanum, vbi mediocriter crаſſus eſt, latus: dorſo eminenti, viperino capite, ventre ex albo pallescente, lateribus opertis, candentibus ſquamis, falcijs tamen pullis per interualla intermixtis dorſum fuſcum eſt, laqueis tamen lineis ſeſe in ipsâ ſpinâ ſecantibus inſigne. Multæ ſunt eius ſerpentis differētiæ, non plurimùm inter ſe diſtantes,

Figure 108. Title page and illustration of Domina serpentum in Nieremberg's *Historia Natvræ* (1635).

De serpente aquatili sive acoatl (272), *De matre formicarum, sive tzicatlinan* (272-273), *De angue cervino, sive macacoatl* (273), *De amphisbaenis* (273), *De aguasen* (273), *De oto* (274), *De dopone* (274), *De attaligato* (274), *De angue venti* (274), *De angue laqueo* (274), *De angue stupido, sive canauhcoatl* (274-275), *De bitin serpente* (275), *De lacertis Indicis* (275), *De monoxilo mucronato* (275-276), *De tapayaxin* (276), *De cuti* (276), *De taletec* (276), *De haro coloti genere* (276), *De Lacerta soporifera* (276), *De cantore lacerta* (277), *De bufone Indico* (277), *De rubetis sive tamacolin* (277), *De serpente raro* (277), *De serpente oculipeto* (277), *De ignitis serpentibus, seu tleoa* (277-278), *De serpentibus sanguineis* (278), *Qui fuerint igniti serpentes Scripturae* (278-280), *De tetzauhcoatl* (282), *De alatis serpentibus* (282), *De diacone bipede* (282), *De serpentibus bambae* (282), *De serpentibus medicinalibus* (282-283), *De serpentibus mansuefactis* (283), *De serpenti forti* (283), *De animalibus insulte Iamboli* (283), *De serpentibus Senegae & incantationibus serpentibus* (283-284), *De anguibus maripetis* (284), *De apachycoatl* (284), *De tzinhuittzli* (284), *De yxhunpezkin* (284), *De polpoch* (285), and *De Kokob serpentis genere* (285).

Balk (1746: 20, 22; 1749: 297, 300): 24. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX.* (Nieremb. hist. l. 12. c. 1.); 25. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CCXVII, squamis caudalibus CVIII.* (*Apachykoatl,* Nieremb. Natur. 284.).

Hast (1745: 18; 1749: 124): 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Nierenb. nat. pag. 271. tab. 271. Iguana).

Linnaeus (1758: 207), Linné (1766: 366): *Lacerta igvana* (*Nieremb. nat.* 271. *t.* 271).

Sundius (1748:20, 22, 23; 1749: 498, 499, 500): 16. CENCHRIS *scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (ANGUIS stupidus. Nieremb. nat. 274), 17. CROTALOPHORUS scutis abdominalibus CLXXII, scutis caudalibus XXI, pari-

Gottorffische
Kunst-Cammer/
Worinnen
Allerhand ungemeine Sachen/ So theils die
Natur/ theils künstliche Hände hervor gebracht und bereitet.
Vor diesem
Aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammen getragen.
Jetzo beschrieben Durch
Adam Olearium, Bibliothecarium und Antiquarium
auff der Fürstl. Residentz Gottorff.
Schleßwig in der Fürstl. Druckerey gedruckt durch Johan. Holwein/
Im Jahr 1666.

Figure 109. Title page and plate 7 of Olearius's *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer* (1666b).

busque sqvamarum III (Domina serpentum. Nieremb. nat. 268. t. 268).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have identified this edition as the source.

Olearius, A. 1666a. *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer Worinnen Allerhand ungemeine Sachen So theils die Natur theils künstliche Hände hervor gebracht und bereitet; Vor diesem Aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammen getragen*. Schleßwig in der Fürstl, Johan Holwein: [xi] + [i]+ 1–88, Pl. I–XXXVI. < https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k853296n>.

Olearius, A. 1666b. *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer Worinnen Allerhand ungemeine Sachen So theils die Natur theils künstliche Hände hervor gebracht und bereitet; Vor diesem Aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammen getragen*. Schleßwig in der Fürstl, Johan Holwein: Pl. I–XXXVI. <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/24-1-2-phys/start.htm>. (Figure 109)

Abbreviated as Olear. mus.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758; 1759), Linné (1766), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: Herpetological references are scattered, including *Yuana* or *Yvana* (6, pl. VI, fig. 1), *Lacertus peregrinus squamosis* (8, pl. VII, fig. 1), *Iguana* (8, pl. VII, fig. 2), *Crocodil* or *Crocodilus* (8, pl. VII, fig. 3), *Scincus aegyptiacus terrestris & montanus* (9, pl. VIII, fig. 1), *Chamaeleon* (number 3 in text of page 9, but figure 2 in plate VIII), *Salamandra* (Nº 4 in text of p. 9; figs. 3 and 4 in pl. VIII), *Zicatlinan* or mater formicarum (17, pl. XI, fig. 1), *Tenthlacacauhqui*, or *Domina serpentum* (18, pl. XI, fig. 2), a Brasilian snake (18-19, pl. XI, fig. 3), and a *Schildpadder* or *Schildkröte*, a marine turtle (27, pl. XVII, fig. 1).

Balk (1746: 13, 20; 1749: 290, 297): 16. *LACERTA cauda tereti brevi, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis* (*Chamaeleon,* Olear. mus. 9. t. 8. f. 3.); 24. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX.* (Olear. mus. 17. t. 11. f. 2.).

Hast (1745: 16, 18, 25, 32; 1749: 122, 124, 131, 138): 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Olear. mus. p. 8. tab. 7. fig. 3. *Crocodilus*), 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Olear. mus. pag. 6. tab. 6. fig. 1. & p. 8. tab. 7. fig. 2. *Yvana*), 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (Olear. mus. p. 9. tab.8. fig. 4. *Salamandra*), 22. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum duobus, plantarum unico* (Olear. mus. p. 27. tab. 17. fig. 1. *Testudo*).

Linnaeus (1754: 40, 45): *Lacerta crocodilus* (Olear. Mus. 8. t. 7), *Lacerta chamaeleo* (Olear. mus. 9. t. 8. f. 3).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 200, 204, 205, 207), Linné (1766: 351, 359, 364, 371, 365, 366): *Testudo mydas* (*Olear. mus.* 27. *t.* 17. *f.* 1), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Olear. mus.* 8. *t.* 7. *f.* 3. Crocodylus), *L. chamaeleon* (*Olear. mus.* 9. *t.* 8. *f.* 3. Chamaeleon), *L. sal-*

amandra (*Olear. mus. t.* 8. *f.* 4), *L. stincus* (*Olear. mus.* 9. *t.* 8. *f.* 1), *L. igvana* (*Olear. mus. t.* 6. *f.* 1. Yvana).

Linnaeus (1759: 71): 1. T. pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum binis, plantarum solitariis, testa ovata (*Olear. mus.* 27. *t.* 17. *f.* 1).

Sundius (1748: 23; 1749: 500): 17.CROTALOPHORUS scutis abdominalibus CLXXII, scutis caudalibus XXI, paribusque sqvamarum III (Olear. Mus. 18. t. II. f. 2).

Comments: The description of *Yvana* is on p. 6, and that of *Salamandra* ion p. 9; both numbers were omitted in Linnaeus (1758) Linné (1766). Dundee (1994) and Bauer (2012) considered the edition of 1674 (Olearius 1674) as the Linnaean source. However, references in Balk (1746; 1749), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758), Linné (1766) and Sundius (1748; 1749) match the first edition of Olearius (1666a, b) catalogue, as already noted by Heller (2007). Although the illustration in the first page says *Gottorffische Kunst- Kammer*, on the title page the wording is *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer*, and as such is transcribed here.

The 1674 edition was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b).

A copy of the first 1666 edition was in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), which is here accepted as the Linnaean source.

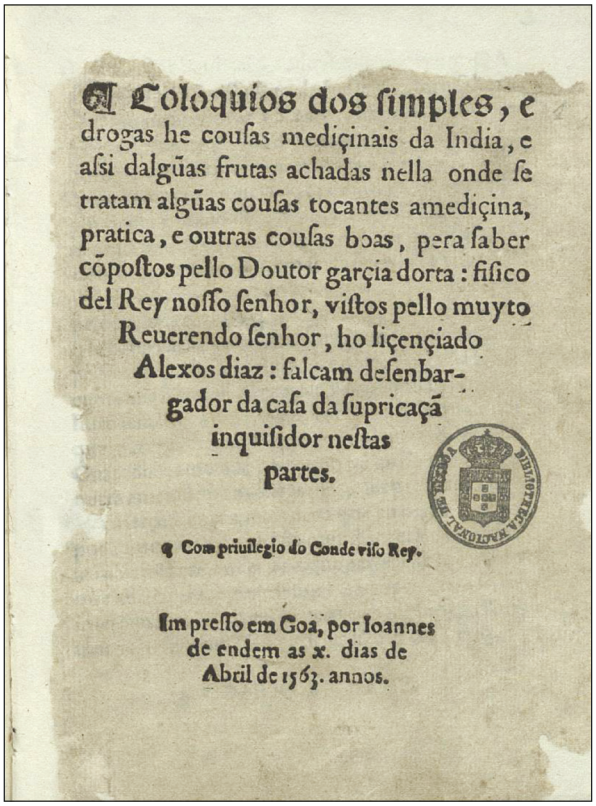
Orta [del Horto], Garcia de. 1563. *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas mediçinais da India, e assi dalgu[m]as frutas achadas nella onde se tratam algu[m]as cousas tocantes amediçina, pratica e outras cousas boas, pera saber / cõpostos pello Doutor garçia dorta: fisico del Rey nosso senhor, vistos pello muyto Reuerendo senhor, ho liçençiado Alexos diaz : falcam desenbargador da casa da supricaçã inquisidor nestas partes.* Goa. Ioannes de endem. [i] + [iii] + [i] + [iii] + [iii] + 1–217 [i.e 258]. <https://purl.pt/22937>. (Figure 110)

Abbreviated as Garzia.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763); Darelius (1749; 1751).

Contents: Probably refers to *Coloquio 45. da pedra bezar emterlucutores*, but see comments.

Acrell (1762: 18; 1763: 215): "... Lapis Serpentum, *Pedra de Cobra di capello, quasi Lapis desumtus e capite Colubri Najae, famosus per totam Indiam, tanquem specificum contra Morsuram serpentum exclamatus a Garzia, Kirckero aliisque...*" ["…The serpent stone, *Pedra de Cobra di capello*, as if a stone taken from the head of the *Naja* serpent, renowned throughout all of India, proclaimed by Garzia, Kircher, and others as a specific remedy against serpent bites…"].


Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas mediçinais da India, e assi dalgũas frutas achadas nella onde se tratam algũas cousas tocantes amediçina, pratica, e outras cousas boas, pera saber cõpostos pello Doutor garçia dorta: fisico del Rey nosso senhor, vistos pello muyto Reuerendo senhor, ho liçençiado Alexos diaz: falcam desenbargador da casa da supricaçã inquisidor nestas partes.

Com priuilegio do Conde viso Rey.

Impresso em Goa, por Ioannes de endem as x. dias de Abril de 1563. annos.

Figure 110. First, 1563 edition of *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas mediçinais da India* by Garcia de Orta [del Horto].

Darelius (1749: 10, 11; 1751: 110, 111, 112): Frequently cited in text; the whole section IX is devoted to "Garzias ab Horto in *historia aromatorum apud indos nascentium...*".

Comments: Garcia de Orta's work was originally published in Portuguese in 1563, and successively translated to diverse languages (and in several editions) during XVI-XVIII centuries, the first Latin edition being published in 1657 (Horto 1657). It is not clear what was the edition used by Acrell, and is probably a second hand reference. In fact, his comments are very similar to those of Ray (1693: 318) who wrote: "*...Antidotum hojus veneni & remedium praesentaneum censetur lapis ille Serpentinus* La Pierre de Cobras di Capelo *Lusitanis dictus, & per totam Indiam famosissimus, Garciae ab Horto, Kirchero, aliisque ...*" ["…The antidote to this venom and an immediate rem-

edy is believed to be that serpent stone, called *La Pierre de Cobras di Capelo* by the Portuguese, and most renowned throughout all of India—according to Garcia de Orta, Kircher, and others…"]. Despite the many quotes attributing to Garcia de Orta the description of a stone with antivenom properties, he actually described a root, named *Pao da Cobra* (Coloquio 42. do pao da cobra).
Not in Linnaeus's private library (Anonymous 1896). An 1574 edition was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007). Since we could not ascertain whether the exact edition used during the writing of the dissertations, we use as placeholder for the source the first edition of the book.

Osbeck, P. 1757. *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa åren 1750. 1751. 1752. Med anmärkningar uti naturkunnigheten, främmande folkslags språk, seder, hushållning.* Stockholm, Lor. Ludv. Grefing: [ii] + [iv] + [1]–376 + [xvi], Pl. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.112527>. (Figure 111)

Abbreviated as: Osb.; Osb. iter.

Cited in Hager (1757; 1760), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: The narrative of journey to China and East Indies performed during 1750-52. Species described: *Testudo javanica* (p. 97), *Rana chinensis* (p. 187); *Lacerta chinensis* (p. 280); *Skyllpaddor* (indetified as *Testudo atra* in a footnote) (p. 293).

Hager (1757: 12; 1760: 74): "TESTUDO *Midas* (*sic*), dormitura pelagi superficiem petit, resupinataque natat (Osb. 66) noctibus at littora adscendit, ubi incultas inter cautes, in arena testaceo calcarea, ova sua ponit (Osb. 293)".

Linnaeus (1758: 197), Linné (1766: 350): *Testudo mydas* (*Osb. iter.* 293).

Comments: Osbeck described three species, *Testudo javanica*, *Rana chinensis* and *Lacerta chinensis*, none of which was included in Linnaeus (1758) or Linné (1766). The book was originally published in Swedish, there is German translation, apparently corrected and augmented, by Jacob Georgi in 1765 (therefore the names are nomenclatural available) (Osbeck 1765), and another from the German to English by John Reinhold Forster in 1771 (Osbeck 1771), reprinted in 2009 (Osbeck 2009).

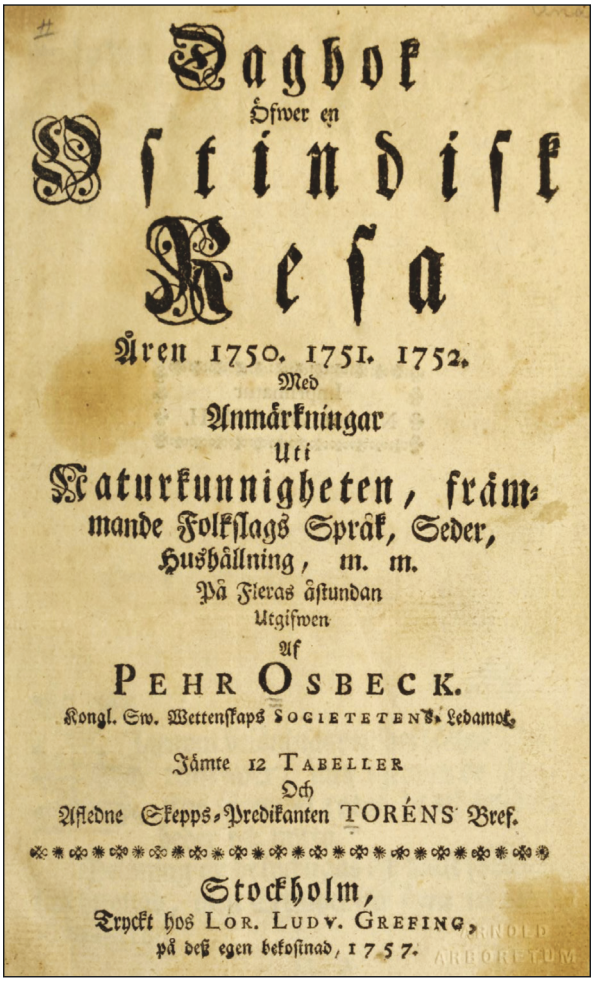

Dagbok
Öfwer en
Ostindisk
Resa
Åren 1750. 1751. 1752.
Med
Anmärkningar
Uti
Naturkunnigheten, främmande Folkslags Språk, Seder, Hushållning, m. m.
På Fleras åstundan
Utgifwen
Af
PEHR OSBECK.
Kongl. Sw. Wettenskaps SOCIETETENS Ledamot.
Jämte 12 TABELLER
Och
Afledne Skepps-Predikanten TORÉNS Bref.
Stockholm,
Tryckt hos LOR. LUDV. GREFING,
på deß egen bekostnad, 1757.

Figure 111. Journey narrative *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk resa åren 1750. 1751. 1752.* (1757) by one of LInnaues's apostles Pehr Osbeck (1723–1805).

A copy of the Swedish edition was in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous, 1896). The same edition was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have identified this edition as the source.

Österdam, A. 1766. *S. A. N. Siren Lacertina, dissertatione academica orbi eruditi data quam venia Nob. et Experient. Fac. Med. ad Reg. Acad. Upsal. præside viro nobilissimo et experientissimo D:no. Doct. Carolo a Linné, Equite Aurato de Stella Polari; S:æ R:æ M:tis Suec. Archiatro, Med. & Botan. Professore Reg. et Ord. Acad. Paris. Petropol. Imper. N. C. Holm. Upsal. Lond. Angl. Flor. Berol. Monsp. Tolos. Bernens. Edinb. Nidros. Membro, publice ventilandam sistit stipendiarius regius Abrahamus Österdam, Holmensis in Auditorio Carolino Majori die XXI*

S. A. N.

SIREN LACERTINA,

DISSERTATIONE ACADEMICA
ORBI ERUDITO DATA
QUAM VENIA NOB. ET EXPERIENT. FAC. MED.
AD REG. ACAD. UPSAL.
PRÆSIDE
VIRO NOBILISSIMO et EXPERIENTISSIMO
D:NO DOCT. CAROLO
A LINNE',
EQUITE AURATO DE STELLA POLARI;
S:Æ R:Æ M:TIS SUEC. ARCHIATRO,
MED. ET BOTAN. PROFESSORE REG. ET ORD. ACAD. PARIS.
PETROPOL. IMPER. N. C. HOLM. UPSAL.
LOND. ANGL. FLOR. BEROL. MONSP. TOLOS. BERNENS. EDINB.
NIDROS. MEMBRO,
PUBLICE VENTILANDAM SISTIT
STIPENDIARIUS REGIUS
ABRAHAMUS ÖSTERDAM,
HOLMIENSIS
IN AUDITORIO CAROLINO MAJORI
DIE XXI JUNIJ ANNI MDCCLXVI.
H. A. M. C.
UPSALIÆ.

SIREN lacertina

Siren Bartholini

Figure 112. Dissertations of Österdam *Siren Lacertina* (1766).

***Junij Anni MDCCLXVI. H.A.M.C.* Upsaliæ: [ii] + [i] + 1–15 + [i], 1 Pl. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-146.pdf>.** (Figure 112)

Abbreviated as: de Sirene 1766.; Dissert. Siren. Upsal.

Cited in Linné (1766; 1767).

Contents: The dissertation includes comments on *Lacerta* (13ff.), *Lacerta aquatica* (13), *Lacerta iguana* (13), *Lacerta palustris* (13), *Lacerta punctata* (13), *Lacerta salamandra* (13), *Rana arborea* (13), *Siren* (13ff.), and *Siren bartholini*, plus the description of *Siren lacertina* (15; plate).

Linné (1766: 371): Footnote on page 371: Siren lacertina *an Larva Lacertae? conf. diss. nostr. de Sirene 1766.*

Linné (1767: Addenda): On the penultimate page of the *Addenda*, "Lacertina. I. SIREN, *de qua pag.* 371. *lin. ult. Dissert. Siren. Upsal.* 1766. *c. fig.*".

Comments: Krecsák & Bauer (2025) assigned authorship to the thesis and to the taxa described in the thesis to Linné & Österdam, while Lavilla (2026), considers Österdam as the author, despite the references to "our thesis on Siren".

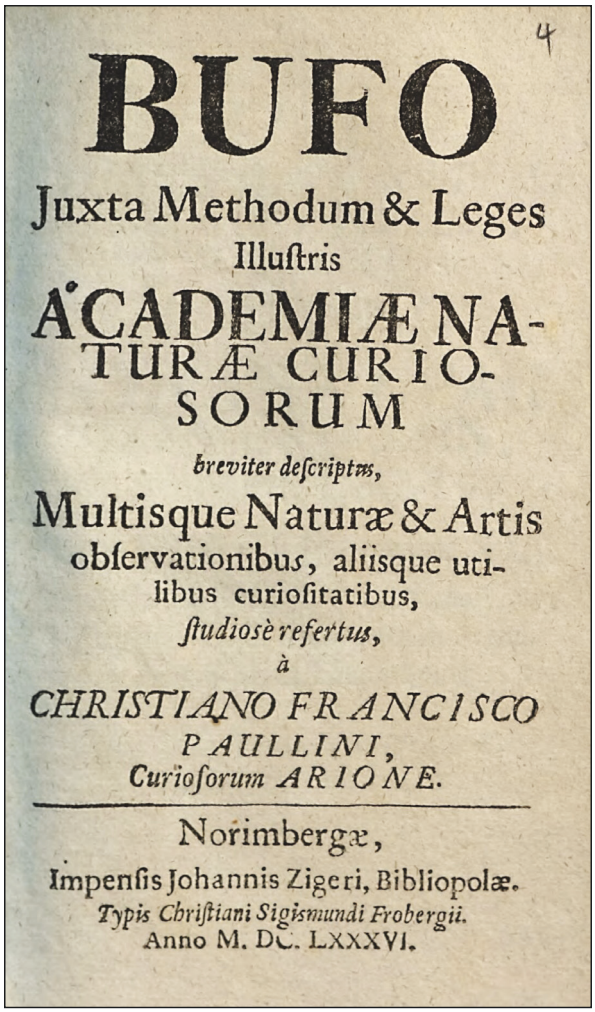
Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). Not in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a, b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified the dissertation as the source.

Paullini, C.F. 1686. *Bufo juxta methodum & Leges illustris Academiae Naturae Curiosorum breviter descriptum, multisque naturae & artis observationibus, aliisque utilibus curisitatibus.* Norimbergae, Johannis Ziegeri. [i] + [ix] + [iii] + 1–120. <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_TbeiuTQvDbcC>. (Figure 113)

Abbreviated as Paullini C.F. Bufo curiosus.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: The book is divided into two sections. The theoretical (pp. 1-86) contains three chapters, I. *De nomine Bufonis*, II. *De definitione & differentia*, and III. *De specialiori Bufonis descriptione*, while the practical (pp. 86-120) has two, *De usu Bufonis interno,* with one section (*De usu Bufonis in hydrope*) and *De usu bufonis externa,* with four


4

BUFO

Juxta Methodum & Leges
Illuſtris
ACADEMIÆ NATURÆ CURIOSORUM
breviter deſcriptus,
Multisque Naturæ & Artis
obſervationibus, aliisque utilibus curioſitatibus,
ſtudiosè refertus,
à
CHRISTIANO FRANCISCO PAULLINI,
Curioſorum ARIONE.

Norimbergæ,
Impenſis Johannis Zigeri, Bibliopolæ.
Typis Chriſtiani Sigismundi Frobergii.
Anno M. DC. LXXXVI.

Figure 113. Title page of Paullini's *Bufo juxta methodum & Leges illustris Academiar Naturae Curiosorum* (1686).

(I. *Inn morbis supremi ventris*, II. *In morbi medii ventris,* III. *In morbis infimi ventris*).

Linné (1766: 355): *Rana Bufo* (*Paullini C.F. Bufo curiosus. Noriberg. 1686.*).

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007). The general nature of the citation (i.e., Linnaeus does not direct the reader to a certain page) suggest that this was a secondhand reference.

Petiver, J. 1698. *Musei Petiveriani centuria secunda & tertia, rariora naturae continens: viz. animalia, fossilia, plantas, ex variis mundi plagis advecta, ordine digesta, & nominibus propriis signata*. London, Smith & Walford: 17–28 + [iv], 1 Pl. <https://archive.org/details/museipetiverian00peti>. (Figure 114)

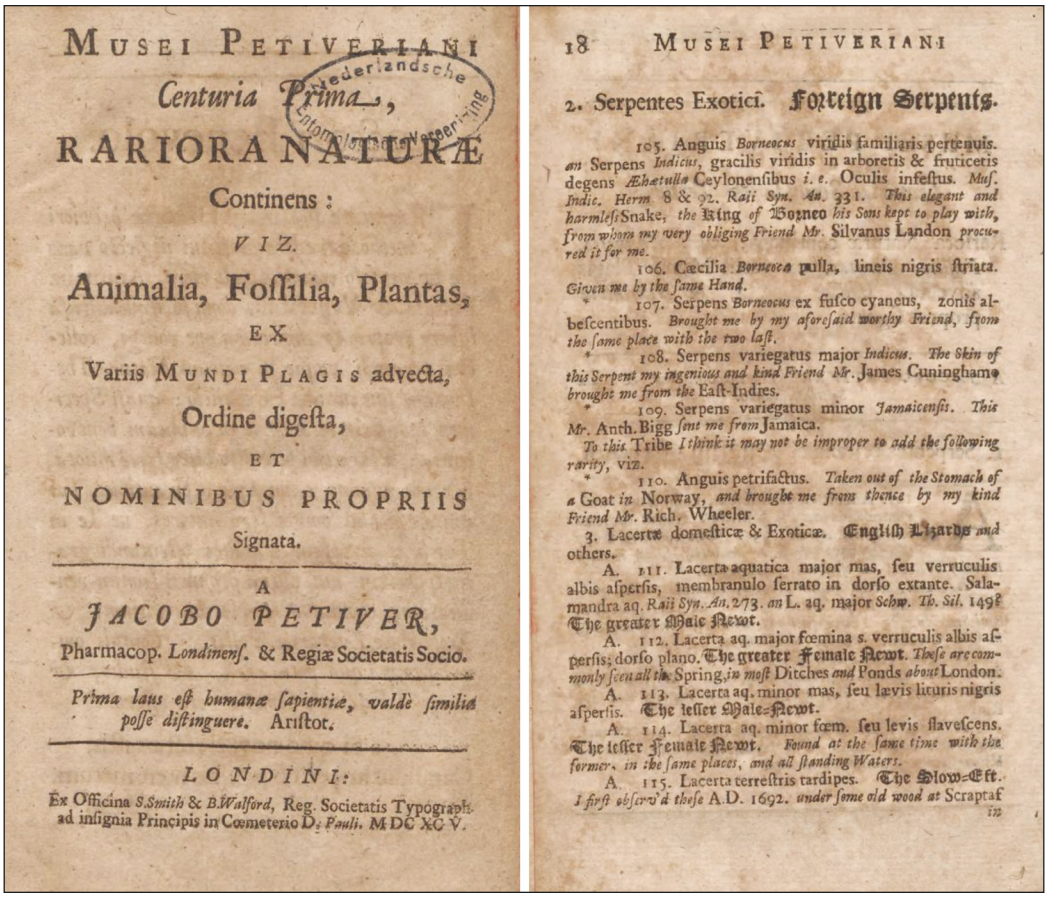
Abbreviated as: Pet. mus.; Petiv. mus.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1754; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: In Centuria secunda: 1. *Serpentes Britannici* . 101. *Anguis vulgaris fuscus, collo flavescente ventre albis maculis distinctus.* 102. *Caecilia Anglica cinerea, squamis parvis, mollibus compactis.* 103. *Vipera* (...) *Anglica fusca, dorso linea undata nigricante conspicua.* 104. *Vipera Anglica nigricans* (17). 2. *Serpentes Exotici.* 105. *Anguis Borneocus viridis familiaris pertenuis.* 106. *caaecilia Borneaca pulla, lineis nigris striata.* 107. *Serpens Borneocus ex fusco cyaneus, zonis albescentibus.* 108. *Serpens variegatus major Indicus.* 109. *Serpens variegatus minor Jamaicensis.* 110. *Anguis petrifactus.* 3. *Lacertae domestica & Exoticae.* 111. *Lacerta aquatica major mas, seu verruculis albis aspersis, membranulo serrato indorso extante.* 112. *Lacerta aq. major foemina s. verruulis albis aspersis, dorso plano.* 113. *Lacerta aq. minor mas, seu laevis lituris nigris aspersis.* 114. *Lacerta aq. minor foem. seu levis flavescens.* 115. *Lacerta terrestris tardipes* (18). 116. *Lacerta vulgaris.* 117. *Lacerta Jamaicensis, linea in dorso pyramidali, indice posteriori longissimo.* 118. *Lacerta Indica, squamis & verruculis rotundis, digitis latis interne rugosis.* 119. *Lacertus volans seu Dracunculus alatus.* 120. *Scincus Cyprius cinereus, squammis ex nigro alboque tessellatus* (19).

Hast (1745: 5, 6, 7, 8, 27): 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (Petiv. mus. pag. 17. n. 104. Vipera anglica nigricans.), 1. β. Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinaliter dentata (Petiv. mus. pag. 17. n. 103. Vipera anglica fusca, linea undata nigricante conspicua), 2. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CLXII. caudalibus CL (Petiv. mus. pag. 18. n. 105. Anguis borneocus, viridis, familiaris, pertenuis),3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Petiv. mus. pag. 17. n. 101. Anguis vulgaris fuscus, collo flavescente, ventre albis maculis distincto), 19. LACERTA cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis subtus lunulato - imbricatis, corpore verrucoso (Petiv. mus. p. 19. n. 118.Lacerta indica squamis & verrucis rotundis).

Hast (1749: 113, 114, 115, 116, 133): 1. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX (Petiv. mus. pag. 17. n. 104. Vipera anglica nigricans.), 1. β. Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca



MUSEI PETIVERIANI
Centuria Prima,
RARIORA NATURÆ
Continens:
VIZ.
Animalia, Fossilia, Plantas,
EX
Variis MUNDI PLAGIS advecta,
Ordine digesta,
ET
NOMINIBUS PROPRIIS
Signata.

A
JACOBO PETIVER,
Pharmacop. Londinens. & Regiæ Societatis Socio.

Prima laus est humanæ sapientiæ, valdè similia posse distinguere. Aristot.

LONDINI:
Ex Officina S.Smith & B.Walford, Reg. Societatis Typographis ad insignia Principis in Cœmeterio D. Pauli. MDCXCV.

18 MUSEI PETIVERIANI

2. Serpentes Exotici. Foreign Serpents.

105. Anguis Borneocus viridis familiaris pertenuis. an Serpens Indicus, gracilis viridis in arboretis & fruticetis degens Æhætulla Ceylonensibus i. e. Oculis infestus. Mus. Indic. Herm 8 & 92. Raii Syn. An. 331. This elegant and harmless Snake, the King of Borneo his Sons kept to play with, from whom my very obliging Friend Mr. Silvanus Landon procured it for me.

106. Cæcilia Borneoca pulla, lineis nigris striata. Given me by the same Hand.

* 107. Serpens Borneocus ex fusco cyaneus, zonis albescentibus. Brought me by my aforesaid worthy Friend, from the same place with the two last.

* 108. Serpens variegatus major Indicus. The Skin of this Serpent my ingenious and kind Friend Mr. James Cuninghame brought me from the East-Indies.

* 109. Serpens variegatus minor Jamaicensis. This Mr. Anth. Bigg sent me from Jamaica.

To this Tribe I think it may not be improper to add the following rarity, viz.

* 110. Anguis petrifactus. Taken out of the Stomach of a Goat in Norway, and brought me from thence by my kind Friend Mr. Rich. Wheeler.

3. Lacertæ domesticæ & Exoticæ. English Lizards and others.

A. 111. Lacerta aquatica major mas, seu verruculis albis aspersis, membranulo serrato in dorso extante. Salamandra aq. Raii Syn. An. 273. an L. aq. major Schw. Th. Sil. 149? The greater Male Newt.

A. 112. Lacerta aq. major fœmina s. verruculis albis aspersis; dorso plano. The greater Female Newt. These are commonly seen all the Spring, in most Ditches and Ponds about London.

A. 113. Lacerta aq. minor mas, seu lævis lituris nigris aspersis. The lesser Male-Newt.

A. 114. Lacerta aq. minor fœm. seu levis flavescens. The lesser Female Newt. Found at the same time with the former, in the same places, and all standing Waters.

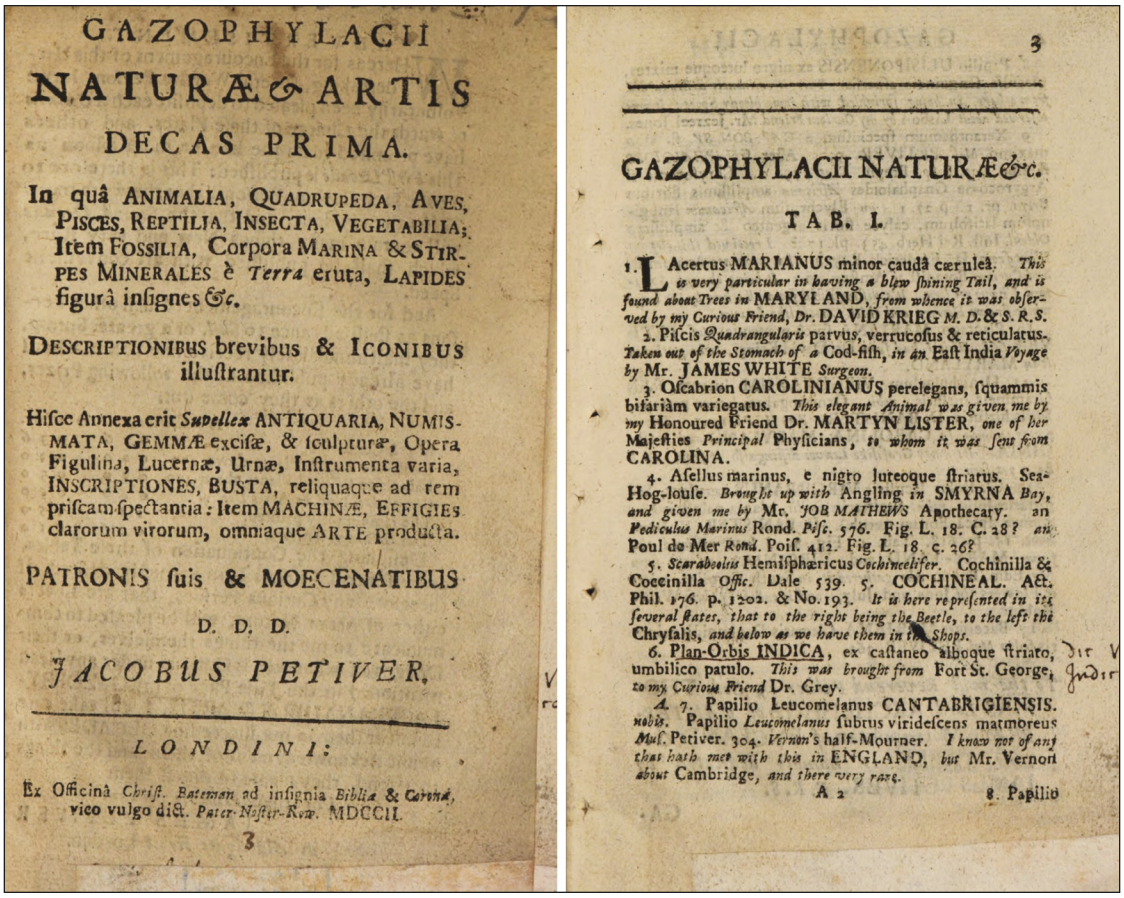
A. 115. Lacerta terrestris tardipes. The Slow-Eft. I first observ'd these A.D. 1692. under some old wood at Scraptaf in

longitudinaliter dentata (Petiv. mus. pag. 17. n. 103. Vipera anglica fusca, linea undata nigricante conspicua), 2. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXII. caudalibus CL (Petiv. mus. pag. 18. n. 105. Anguis borneocus, viridis, familiaris, pertenuis),3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Petiv. mus. pag. 17. n. 101. Anguis vulgaris fuscus, collo flavescente, ventre albis maculis distincto), 19. LACERTA cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis subtus lunulato - imbricatis, corpore verrucoso (Petiv. mus. p. 19. n. 118.Lacerta indica squamis & verrucis rotundis).

Linnaeus (1746a: 95, 96, 97): 254. LACERTA pedibus inermibus, manibus tetradactylis, palmis pentadactylis, corpore livido, line dorsali fusca duplici (*Petiv. mus.* 19. n. 116. Lacerta vulgaris velox), 256. LACERTA pedibus inermibus fissis (*Pet. mus.* 18. n. 111. Lacerta aquatica major mas s. verrucis albis adspersis, membranula serrata in dorso extante. / Lacerta aquatica major, foemina, s. verrucis albis adspersis, dorso plano), 258. ANGUIS squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Pet. mus.* 17. n. 10. Caecilia anglica cinerea, squamis parvis mollibus compactis), 259. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII (*Pet. mus.* 17. n. 101. Anguis vulgaris fuscus, collo flavescente, ventre albis maculis distincto), (*Pet. mus.* 18 n. 113. Lacerta aquatica minor mas s. laevis lituris nigris adspersa. / Lacerta aquatica minor foemina, s. levis flavescens), 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Pet. mus.* 17, n. 103. Vipera anglica fusca, dorso linea undulata nigricante conspicua).

Linnaeus (1754: 40): *Draco volans* (Pet. mus. 19. n. 119).

Linnaeus (1761: 102, 103, 104, 105): 281. LACERTA *palustris* cauda ancipiti lanceolata (*Pet. mus.* 18. n. 111. Lacerta aquatica major mas s. verrucis albis adspersis, membranula serrata in dorso extante. Lacerta aquatica major, foemina, s. verrucis albis adspersis, dorso plano), 282. LACERTA *aquatica* cauda teretiuscula mediocri (*Pet. mus.* 18 n. 113. Lacerta aquatica minor mas s. laevis lituris nigris adspersa), 283. LACERTA *vulgaris* cauda tereti mediocri (*Petiv. mus.* 19. n. 116 Lacerta vulgaris velox), 286. COLUBER ♂ *Berus* scutis abdomina-



GAZOPHYLACII NATURÆ & ARTIS DECAS PRIMA.

In quâ ANIMALIA, QUADRUPEDA, AVES, PISCES, REPTILIA, INSECTA, VEGETABILIA; Item FOSSILIA, Corpora MARINA & STIRPES MINERALES è *Terra* eruta, LAPIDES figurâ insignes &c.

DESCRIPTIONIBUS brevibus & ICONIBUS illustrantur.

Hisce Annexa erit *Supellex* ANTIQUARIA, NUMISMATA, GEMMÆ excisæ, & sculpturæ, Opera Figulina, Lucernæ, Urnæ, Instrumenta varia, INSCRIPTIONES, BUSTA, reliquaque ad rem priscam spectantia: Item MACHINÆ, EFFIGIES clarorum virorum, omniaque ARTE producta.

PATRONIS suis & MOECENATIBUS

D. D. D.

JACOBUS PETIVER.

LONDINI:

Ex Officinâ *Christ. Bateman* ad insignia *Bibliæ & Coronæ*, vico vulgo dict. *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCII.

3

3

GAZOPHYLACII NATURÆ &c.

TAB. I.

1. LAcertus MARIANUS minor caudâ cærulea. *This is very particular in having a blew shining Tail, and is found about Trees in* MARYLAND, *from whence it was observed by my Curious Friend, Dr.* DAVID KRIEG *M. D. & S. R. S.*

2. Piscis *Quadrangularis* parvus, verrucosus & reticulatus. *Taken out of the Stomach of a* Cod-fish, *in an* East India *Voyage by* Mr. JAMES WHITE *Surgeon.*

3. Oscabrion CAROLINIANUS perelegans, squammis bifariàm variegatus. *This elegant Animal was given me by my* Honoured Friend Dr. MARTYN LISTER, *one of her* Majesties *Principal* Physicians, *to whom it was sent from* CAROLINA.

4. Asellus marinus, e nigro luteoque striatus. Sea-Hog-louse. *Brought up with* Angling *in* SMYRNA *Bay, and given me by* Mr. JOB MATHEWS Apothecary. an *Pediculus Marinus* Rond. *Pisc.* 576. Fig. L. 18. C. 28? *an* Poul de Mer *Rond.* Pois. 412. Fig. L. 18. c. 26?

5. *Scarabæolus* Hemisphæricus *Cochineelifer.* Cochinilla & Coccinilla *Offic.* Dale 539. 5. COCHINEAL. Act. Phil. 176. p. 1202. & No. 193. *It is here represented in its several states, that to the right being the Beetle, to the left the* Chrysalis, *and below as we have them in the Shops.*

6. Plan-Orbis INDICA, ex castaneo alboque striato, umbilico patulo. *This was brought from* Fort St. George, *to my Curious Friend* Dr. Grey.

A. 7. Papilio Leucomelanus CANTABRIGIENSIS. *nobis.* Papilio *Leucomelanus* subtus viridescens marmoreus *Mus.* Petiver. 304. *Vernon's* half-Mourner. *I know not of any that hath met with this in* ENGLAND, *but* Mr. Vernon *about* Cambridge, *and there very rare.*

A 2 8. Papilio

Figure 115. Petiver's *Gazophylacii naturae & artis decas prima-quinta* (1702).

libus CXLVI (*Pet. mus.* 17, n. 103. Vipera anglica fusca, dorso linea undulata nigricante conspicua), 287. COLUBER ♂ *Prester* scutis abdominalibus CLIII, squamis caudal. XXXII (*Pet. mus.* 17. n. 104. Vipera anglica nigricans), 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*Pet. mus.* 17. n. 101. Anguis vulgaris fuscus, collo flavescente, ventre albis maculis distincto), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Pet. mus.* 17. n. 10. Caecilia anglica cinerea, squamis parvis mollibus compactis.).

Linné (1766: 377): *Coluber prester* (*Pet. mus.* 17. *n.* 104. Vipera anglica nigrans).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). This edition was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

Petiver, J. 1702. *Gazophylacii naturae & artis decas prima-quinta. In quâ animalia, quadrupeda, aves, pisces, reptilia, insecta, vegetabilia; item fossilia, corpora marina & stirpes minerales è terra eruta, lapides figurâ insignes &c. Decriptionibus brevibus & iconibus illusrantur. Hisce annexa erit supellex antiquaria, numismata, gemmae excisae, & sculplturae, opera figulina, lucernae, urnae, instrumenta varia, inscriptiones, busta, relinaque ad rem priscam spectantia: item machinae, effigies clarorum virorum, omniaque arte producta*. Londini, Christ. Bateman: [i] + 3–96, Pl. I-L. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10076261>. (Figure 115)

Abbreviated as: Pet. gaz.; Petiv. Gaz.

Cited in Linnaeus (1759), Linné (1766).

Contents: DECAS PRIMA: *Lacertus MARIANUS minor cauda caerulea* (3, t. I: 1), *Anguis EXOTICA, fusca, dorso albis maculis aspersus* (11, t. VI: 5), *Anguis CAPENSIS tricolor* (15, t. X: 3), DECAS SECUNDA: *Lacerta MARIANA undata, subtus coerules* (22, t. XIV: 8), *Lacertus GUINEENSIS major, verruculis nigris albisque venusta obsitis* (23, t. XV: 6), *Anguis CAPENSIS argenteus maculatus* (25, t. XVI: 12), DECAS TERTIA:

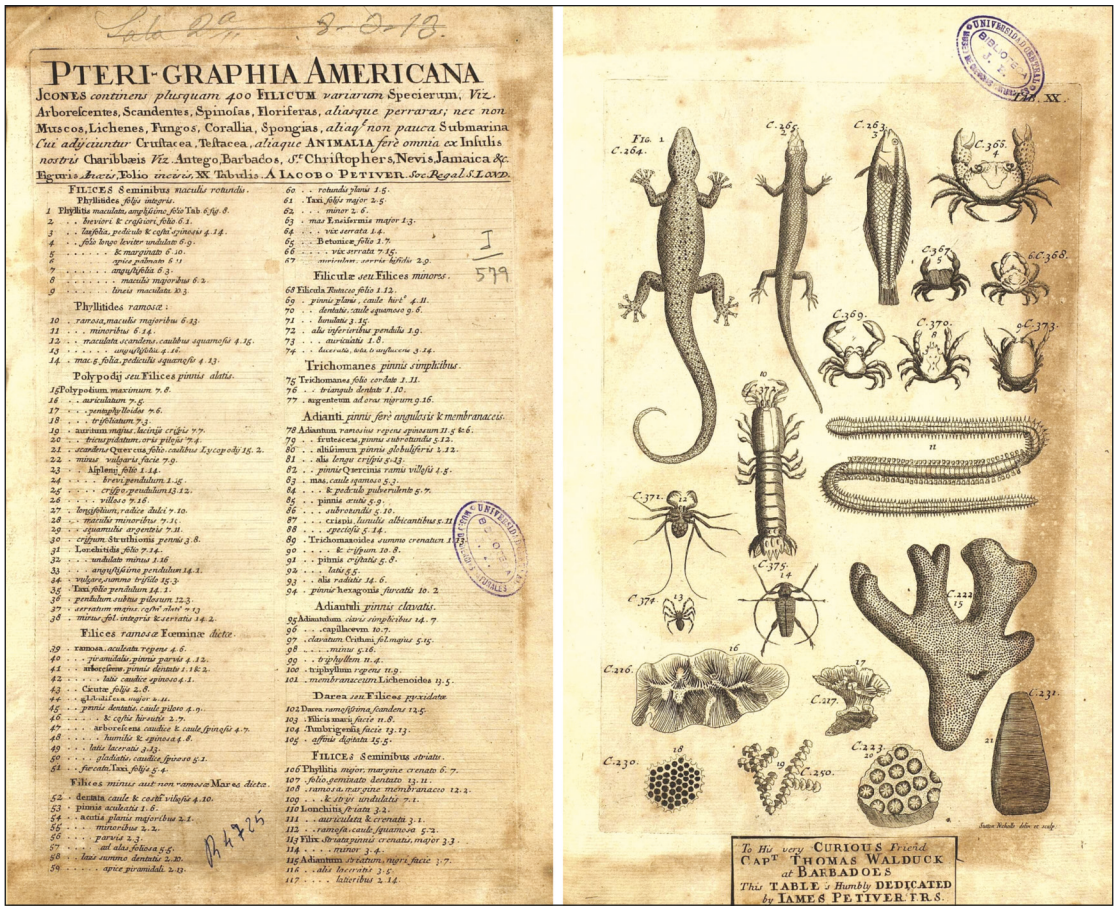


Figure 116. Title page and plate 20 from *Pteri-graphia Americana* (Petiver [1712]).

Rana CAROLINIANA maxima, voce taurino (40, t. XXV: 5), *Caecilia BORN. &c* (45, t. XXIX: 11), DECAS QUARTA: *Dracunculus VOLANS Looganus, ex sicus desumtus* (60, t. XXXIX: 2), *Yguana LUZON. edulis, capite coerulescente. Cagasagam vel Layagan Indigenis* (62, t. XL: 9) and DECAS QUINTA: *Serpens American. variegatus, cingulis maculisque nigris interpersis* (72, t. XLVI: 1).

Linnaeus (1759: 74): 40. L. cauda tereti longiuscula, dorso brunneo lineis quinque flavescentibus (*Petiv. Gaz. t.* 1. *f.* 1).

Linnaeus (1766: 369): *Lacerta fasciata* (*Pet. gaz.* I. *t.* I. *f.* 1. Lacertus marianus minor, cauda caerulea).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). This edition was also available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

Petiver, J. [1712]. *Pteri-graphia Americana icones continens plusquam 400 filicum variarum specierum, viz. arborescentes, scandentes, spinosas, floriferas, aliasque perraras; nec non muscos, lichenes, fungos, corallia, spongias, aliaq^e non pauca submarina cui adijciuntur crustacea, testacea, aliaque animalia ferè omnia ex insulis nostris Charibbaeis viz. Antego, Barbados, S^t. Christophers, Nevis, Jamaica &c. Figuris aenaeis, folio incisis, XX tabulis.* London. Royal Society. [iii], Pl. I– XX. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/13660>. (Figure 116)

Abbreviated as Petiv. pterogr.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Only two lizards included in plate XX, *Lacerta BARB. unguibus fuscis* (fig. 1: 264) and *Caeciliae facie* (fig. 2: 265).

Linné (1766: 365): *Lacerta gecko* (*Petiv. pterogr. t.* 20. *f.* 1).

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymoys 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source. The accuracy of the citation suggest that Linnaeus owned a copy

which was used as source, but this book was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith.

Petri, L. 1541 (translator). *Biblia* Thet är All then Helgha Scrifft på Swensko [Gustavus Vasa's bibel]. Uppsala, Georg Richolff: 762 pp. <https://archive.org/details/SWEGVB_DBS_HS> (Figure 117)

Abbreviated as Apocalypticae à S. JOANNE; Apocalypticae à S. JoANNE; Apocalypticae à S. IOANNE; Jobi. 40:20; 41:24.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1735; 1740a, b; 1744a; 1747a; 1758; 1759); Linné (1766).

Contents: In the Book of Job, the description of *Leviathan* runs from capter/vesicle 40:20 to 41:25. Additionally refers to the Book of Revelation or Apocalypse of St. John.

Hast (1745: 16; 1749: 122): *Crocodilus Leviathan Jobi*.

Linnaeus (1735: [xi]): In *Animalia Paradoxa,* when referring to *Hydra*, Linnaeus noted its "*... similitudinem referens Hydrae Apocalypticae à S. JoANNE CAP. XII. & XIII. descriptae...*".

Linnaeus (1740a: 65;1740b: 69; 1744a: 102): "*... similitudinem referens Hydrae Apocalypticae à S. JOANNE Cap. XII. & XIII. descriptae...*". ["... bearing a resemblance to the Apocalyptic *Hydra* described by St. John in chapters 12 and 13..."]. In Linnaeus (1747a: 73) "*...S. IOANNE Cap. XII. & XIII. descriptae...*".

Linnaeus (1758: 200); Linné (1766: 358): *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Leviathan Jobi,* 40:20; 41: 24).

Linnaeus (1759: 72): 1. L. cauda compressa, pedibus triunguiculatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis tetradactylis palmatis (*Leviathan Jobi* 40: 20; 41: 24).

Comments: Also known as Gustav Vasa's[76] Bible, was translated into Swedish by Laurentius Petri and first published in 1541 and remained as the official Bible of the Swedish Church until 1917. As it was not possible to identify precisely the edition cited by Linnaeus, the first is arbitrarily considered as such.

Dundee (1994) mentioned that *Leviathan* is from the Bible but did not discuss the edition. Heller (2007) did not discuss the work.

Figure 117. Title page of the Swedish translation of Gustav Vasa's Bible (Petri 1541).

Piso, W. 1648. De medicina Brasiliensi libri quatuor: I. De äere, aquis, & locis. II. De morbis endemiis. III. De venenatis & antidotis. IV. De facultatibus simplicium. Pp. [viii] + 1–122 + [ii] *in* [De Laet, I.], *Historia naturalis Brasiliæ, Auspicio et Beneficio Illustriss. I. Mavritii Com. Nassav. illius provinciæ et maris summi præfecti adornata: In qua Non tantum Plantæ et Animalia, sed et Indigenarum morbi, ingenia et mores describuntur et Iconibus supra quingentas illustrantur*. Lugdun. Batavorum: Apud Franciscum Hackium; et Amstelodami: Lud. Elzevirium. Medicina Brasiliensi. *In:* I. Mauritius (ed.): Lugduni Batavorum. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.61959>. (Figure 118)

Abbreviated as: Pis. bras. [a]; Pis. Bras. [a].

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749, part), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: *Liber tertius, qui agit de venenis eorumque antidotis*. On page 40 it states "*...Inter venenata Brasiliae animantia, serpentes primum locum occupant, è quorum numero circiter viginti hactenus innotuerunt, ut sunt, Boiguacû, sive Iiboya, Arabô, Boibi, Boicininga, Boitrapô, Boycupecanga, Boipeba, Cucurucu, Caninana, Curucacutinga, Guinpaiiguara, Ibyara, Iacapecoaja, Ibiboboca, Iararaca, Manima, Vona, Tareiboya & Cacaboya,*

76 Gustav Vasa (1496-1560), or Gustav Eriksson. King of Sweden, as Gustav I, from 1523.

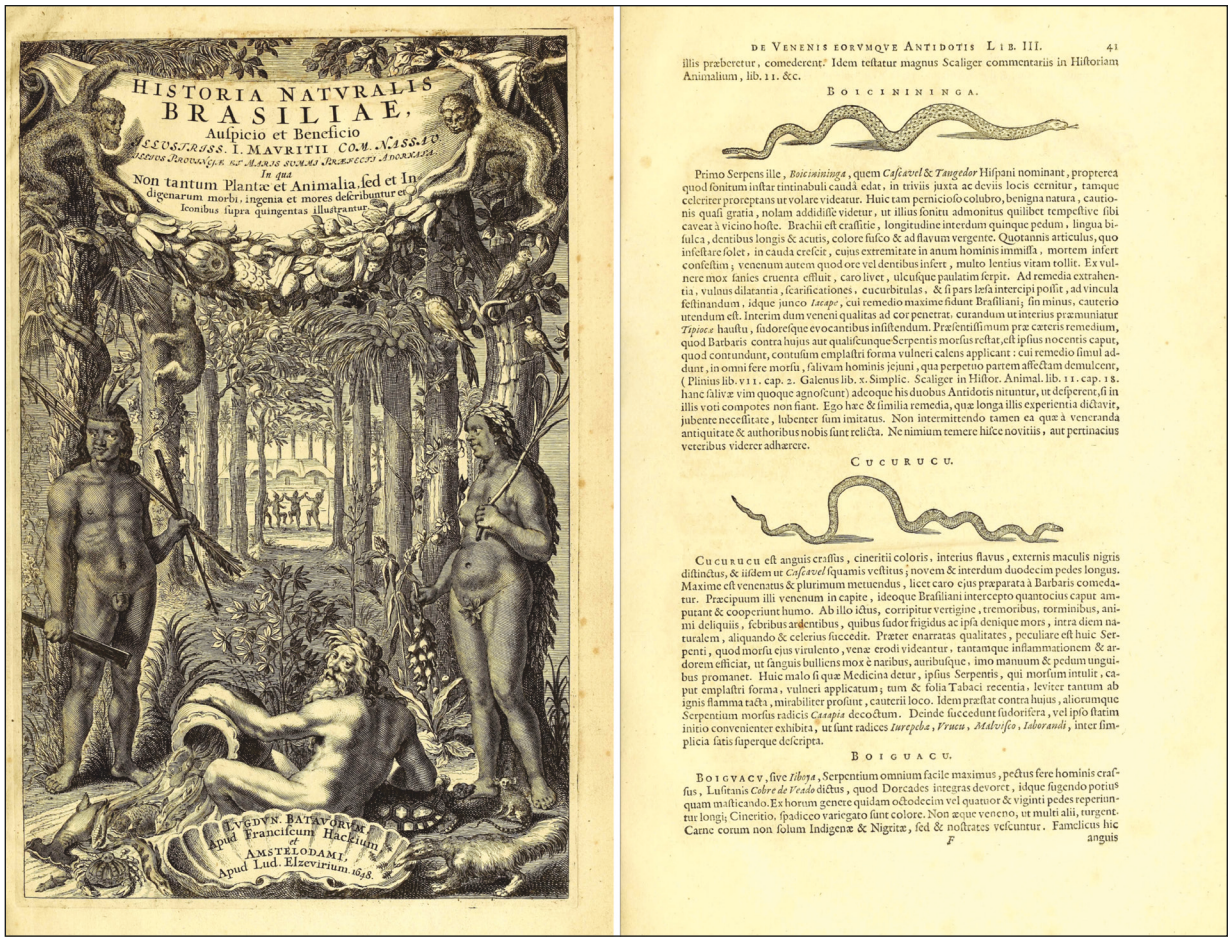


Figure 118. Title page and page 41 of *De medicina Brasiliensi libri quatuor* by Piso (1648).

Amorepinima, quorum tres novissimi sunt angues aquatici..." ["…Among the venomous animals of Brazil, serpents hold first place, of which about twenty species have so far become known—such as the *Boiguacû*, or *Iiboya*, *Arabô*, *Boibi*, *Boicininga*, *Boitrapô*, *Boycupecanga*, *Boipeba*, *Cucurucu*, *Caninana*, *Curucacutinga*, *Guinpaiiguara*, *Ibyara*, *Iacapecoaja*, *Ibiboboca*, *Iararaca*, *Manima*, *Vona*, *Tareiboya*, and *Cacaboya*, *Amorepinima*—the last three of which are aquatic snakes…"]. In page 41 describes Boicinininga, Cucurucu and Boiguacu; on p. 42, Iararaca, Boitiapo, Ibiiara and Ibiboboca; on p. 43, Boiobi, Caninana, Ibiracoa, Tareiboya & Cacaboya, Crocodilus and Bibora, and in page 46, Cururu.

Balk (1746: 20; 1749: 297): 24. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX*. (Pis. Bras. 41, 275)

Sundius (1748: 20; 1749: 497): 16. CENCHRIS *scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Boiguacu. Pis. bras. 1648. p. 41.).

Comments: The reference to page 41 in Balk (1746; 1749) corresponds to this work, which was in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896). It was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

Piso, W. [Pisonis, G.]. 1658. Historiæ Naturalis & Medicæ Indiæ Occidentalis. *In*: G. Pisonis (ed.): *De Indiæ utriusque re naturali et medica libri quatuordecim, quorum contenta pagina sequens exhibit*. Amstelædami, Ludovicum et Danielem Elzevirios: 3–327 + [v]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.136051>. (Figure 119)

Abbreviated as: Pis. bras. [b]; Pis. amer.; Pis. natural.; Piso Bras. [b]; Pison. americ.

Cited in Balk (1746; 1749, part), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1766), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: Herpetological references are included in two books, the third and the fifth. Liber Tertius, Sectio Tertia, Quae agit de Animalibus Quadrupedibus: *Iguana-Tejuguacu* (*Iguana* I; p., 103-104), *Iguana*

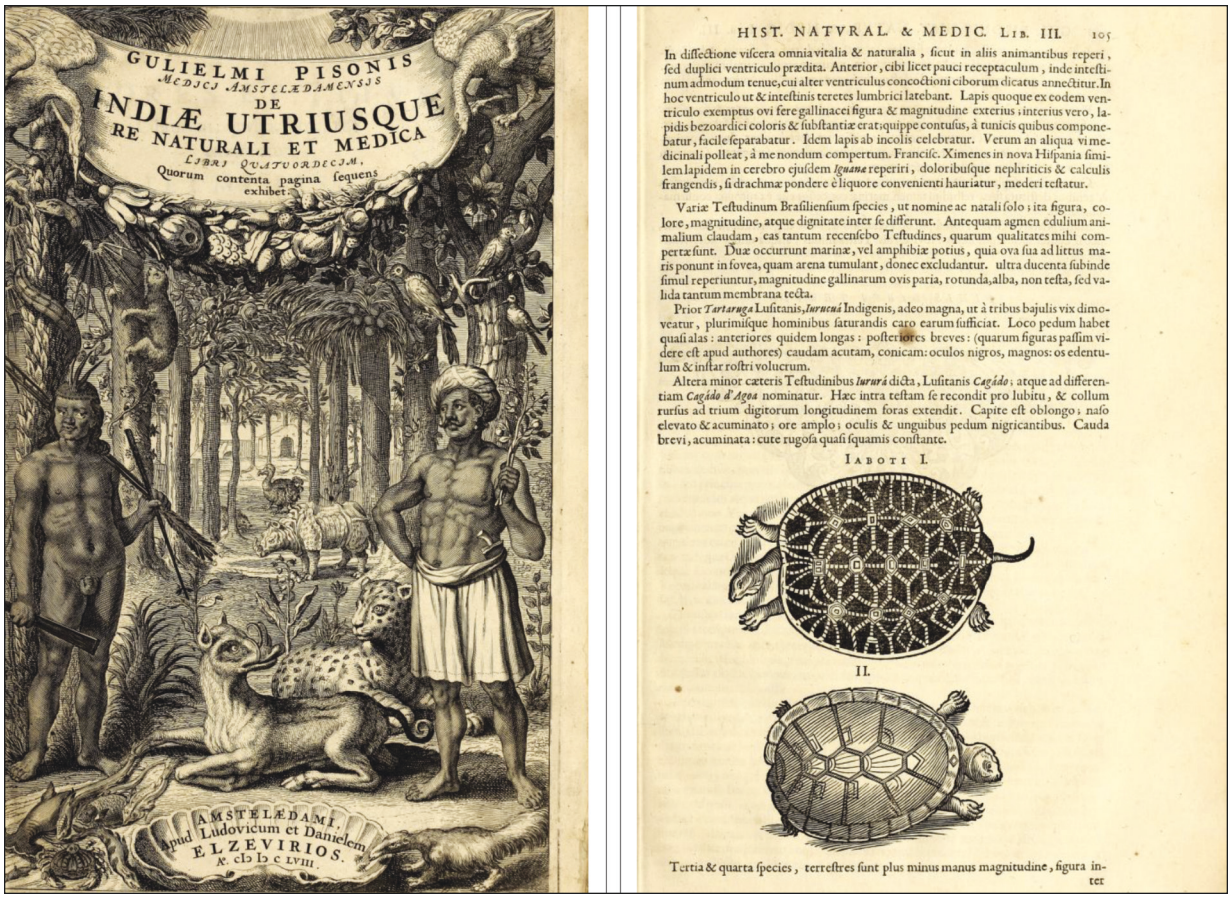


Figure 119. Description of *Testudo geometrica* in *Historiæ Naturalis & Medicæ Indiæ Occidentalis* by Piso (1658).

II (104-105), *Iurucuá* (105), *Iururá* (105) and *Iabotí* (105-106). In Liber Qvintus. De Noxiis & Venenosis Vegetabilibus ac Sensitivis, atque corum Antidotis. Quibus aliquot Metamorphoses Insectorum, tum & Vivae sectiones quorundam Animalium inferuntur: *Boiciningа, & Boiçuaíba* (274-275), *Curucúcu, Curucatínga, Ibiracoá, & Boipéba*, *Haemorrhoum species venenatissimae* (275-276), *Boiguaçu* (276-278), *Ibiboboca, Boióbi & Cacaboía* (278-279), *Caninána, Boitiapó & Guon* (279), *Vipera venenatissimae, Iararácae* (include *Iarara*, *Coapitinga*, *Iararacae-miri* and *Iararape'ba*), & *Ibiiárem, dictae* (279-281), *Quatuor Hydri, Amorepiníma. Maníma, Tareíboia, & Cucuriiú*[77] (281-282), *Iacaré sive Crocodilus vulgo Cayman, & Teií sive Lacerti* (includes *Carapopeba*, *Americima*, *Taraguira* & *Tejunhaua*) (282-284), and *Cururú sive Bufo* (...) (298-299).

Balk (1746: 20; 1749: 297): 24. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX.* (Pis. bras. 41, 275.).

Hast (1745: 16, 34; 1749: 122, 140): 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Pison. americ. p.& tab.288 .*Jacove seu Crocodilus*), 24. TESTUDO *picta vel stellata* (Pis. amer. 1658. p. 106. tab. 105. *Jaboti seu Testudo nigricantibus & flavescentibus figuris geometricis*).

Linnaeus (1758: 199, 223), Linné (1766: 353, 385): *Testudo geometrica* (*Pis. bras. t.* 105. Testudo nigricantibus & flavescentibus figuris geometricis), *Coluber ovivorus* (*Pis. bras.* 279. Guinpuaguara, sic).

Linnaeus (1759: 79): 276. Ovivorus (*Piso Bras.* 279).

Sundius (1748: 20; 1749: 497): 16. CENCHRIS *scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Pis. natural. 1658. p. 277).

Comments: The reference to page 275 in Balk (1746; 1749) corresponds to this work, a copy of which was in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896). It was available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.

77 Of this set of species, *Amorepinima* is an eel-like fish.

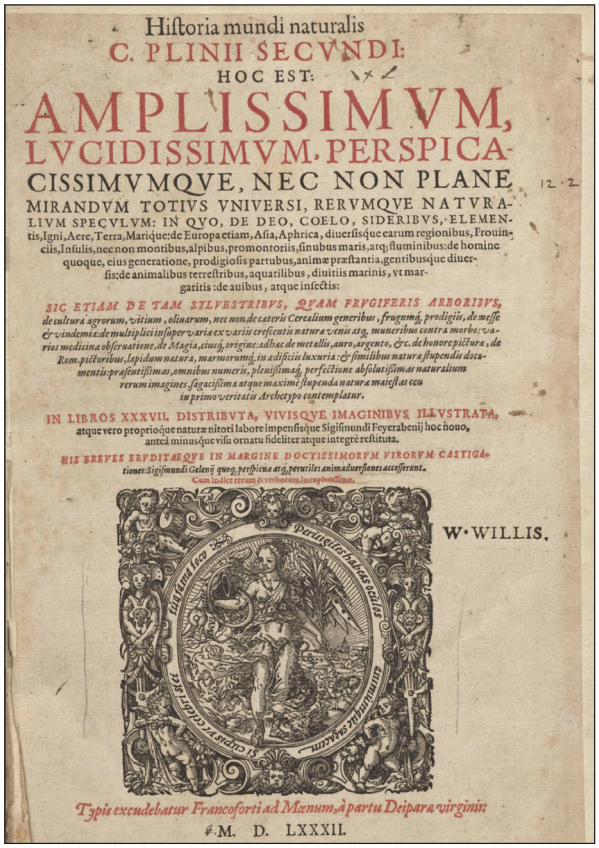

Historia mundi naturalis
C. PLINII SECVNDI:
HOC EST:
AMPLISSIMVM,
LVCIDISSIMVM, PERSPICACISSIMVMQVE, NEC NON PLANE MIRANDVM TOTIVS VNIVERSI, RERVMQVE NATVRALIVM SPECVLVM: IN QVO, DE DEO, COELO, SIDERIBVS, ELEMENTIS, Igni, Aere, Terra, Marique: de Europa etiam, Asia, Aphrica, diuersisque earum regionibus, Frouinciis, Insulis, nec non montibus, alpibus, promontoriis, sinubus maris, atq; fluminibus: de homine quoque, eius generatione, prodigiosis partubus, animæ præstantia, gentibusque diuersis: de animalibus terrestribus, aquatilibus, diuitiis marinis, vt margaritis: de auibus, atque insectis:
SIC ETIAM DE TAM SYLVESTRIBVS, QVAM FRVGIFERIS ARBORIBVS, de cultura agrorum, vitium, olinarum, nec non de cæteris Cerealium generibus, frugumq; prodigiis, de messe & vindemia: de multiplici insuper varia ex variis crescentis natura venis atq; mineribus contra morbos: varios medicina obscruatione, de Magia, cuius origine: adhæc de metallis, auro, argento, &c. de honore picturæ, de Rom. pictoribus, lapidum natura, marmorumq; in ædificiis luxuria: & similibus natura stupendis documentis: præsentissimas, omnibus numeris, plenissimaq; perfectione absolutissimæ naturalium rerum imagines sagacissimæ atque maximè stupenda natura maiestas ceu in primo veritatis Archetypo contemplatur.
IN LIBROS XXXVII. DISTRIBVTA, VIVISQVE IMAGINIBVS ILLVSTRATA, atque vero proprioque naturæ nitori labore impensisque Sigismundi Feyerabenij hoc nouo, anteà minusque visu ornatu fideliter atque integrè restituta.
HIS BREVES ERVDITAEQVE IN MARGINE DOCTISSIMORVM VIRORVM CASTIGationes: Sigismundi Galenij quoq; perspicua atq; perutiles animadversiones accesserunt.
Cum indice rerum & verborum locupletissimo.
W·WILLIS.
Typis excudebatur Francofurti ad Mænum, à partu Deiparæ virginis:
M. D. LXXXII.

Figure 120. Title page of Plinii's C. *Plinii Secundi Historiae Mundi Libri XXXVII* (1582).

Plinii, C. 1582. *C. Plinii Secundi Historiae Mundi Libri XXXVII, A Sigismundo Galenio, diligenter castigati, maioréque studio & fide, quàm hactenus unquam a vitiis quibus multiplici olim impressione contaminati fuerant, vindicati. | Accesserunt ad marginem variae lectionis ac Notae ex Fer. Pintiani, Adr. Tvrnebi, Ios. Scaligeri, Ivsti Lipsi, & aliorum doctißimorum virorum scriptis diligenter excerptae, quorum nominae sequenti pagina indicantur. Vnà cum duplici Indice totius operis copiosissimo, non poenitenda rursus accessione locupletato, locisque propemodum innumeris, quae cum autores sensu non satis congruebant, quàm accuratissimè restituto*. Lugdunum. Petrum Santandreanum. [xxxvi] + 1–679 + [ccxxx]. <https://wichita.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15942coll6/id/1624/rec/1>. (Figure 120)

Abbreviated as: Plin.; Pliny; Plinius. Hist. Nat. Schytae.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Kiernander (1749; 1751).

Contents: This work by Pliny contained the *summa* of the classical knowldege on geography, zoology, botany, minaralogy and ethnography. References to amphibians and reptiles are numerous and scattered in the whole text, although are especially analyzed in books 8 to 11: *Libro VIII. continentur animalium terrestrium naturae pedatim gradientium*; *Libro IX. continentur animalium aquaticorum historiae & naturae*; *Libro X. continentur naturae & historiae animalium volatlium* (curiosly, Salamandra is included here) and *Libro XI. continentur historia & naturae parvorum animalium, & reptilium.*

Acrell (1762: 8, 18; 1763: 205, 215, 216): In p. 8/205: "*...faciunt id Indi hodierni, & fecerunt dudum antea Schytae, de quibus testimonium sat memorabile exhibet Plinius. Hist. Nat. Schytae, ait, sagittas tingunt viperana sanie & humano sanguine, immedicabile illud scelus, mortem illico levi tactu adferentes...*" ["…This is done by the Indians of today, and long ago was also done by the Scythians, about whom Pliny *Natural History* provides a quite notable testimony. The Scythians, he says, dip their arrows in viper venom and human blood—an incurable wickedness, bringing death instantly with the slightest touch…"] (this is an almost verbatim transcription of a paragraph in Lib. XI: liii). In p. 18/215: "*...OPHIOGENES fuisse quondam Psyllos Libyae & Marsos Italiae populos excantandis Colubris & medicandis Serpentum morsibus nobiles, testantur Ovidius, Plinius aliique veterum...*" ["…That there once were ophiogenes—the Psylli of Libya and the Marsi of Italy—renowned for charming serpents and healing serpent bites, is attested by Ovid, Pliny, and other ancients…"]. Few lines below, in the same page/216, "*... Vulgus nostrum credidit ab antisquismis temporibus sputum hominis jejuni inspersum serpentem eam intra vesperam occidere, & Plinius salivam hominis serpentibus exitialem esse docuit...*" ["…Our common folk have believed since time immemorial that the spittle of a fasting person, sprinkled on a serpent, kills it by evening; and Pliny taught that human saliva is deadly to serpents…"].

Kiernander (1749: 4; 1751: 127): In page 4/127, when describing the nature of snakes, noted: "*... Nec immerito: cum in universo animalium regno ictus Serpentum omnium malorum pessimum sit*, Plin..." ["…And not without reason: since, in the entire animal kingdom, the bite of a serpent is the worst of all evils. — Pliny…"].

Figure 121. *Synopsis methodica animalium quadrupedum et serpentini generis* (1693) by John Ray (1623–1705).

Comments: According to the catalogue of books in the library of the Linnean Society in London (Anonymous 1896) and Heller (2007), Linnaeus had a copy of of the 1582 edition of Pliny's *Historiae Mundi* in his personal library. Multiple editions, but not the 1582 one, have been available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Source not discussed by Dundee (1994).

We selected the edition owned by Linnaeus as the source.

Ray, J. 1693. *Synopsis methodica animalium quadrupedum et serpentini generis. Vulgarium notas characteristicas, rariorum descriptiones integras exhibens: cum historiis & observationibus anatomicis perquam curiosis. Praemittuntur nonnulla de animalium in genere, sensu, generatione, divisione, &c.* Londini, S. Smith & B. Walford: [iv] +[viii] + [ii] + 1–336 + [viii]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.41459>. (Figure 121)

Abbreviated as: Raj. anim.; Rai. quadr.; Raj. quad.; Raj. quadr.; Raj. Quadr.; Raj. quadr.; Raj. quadrup.; Raj. Quadruped.; Raj. qvadrup.; Rajo de Quadrupedibus; Rajus de quadr.; RAJUS quadr.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Balk (1746; 1749), Darelius (1749; 1751), Hast (1745; 1749), Kiernander (1749; 1751), Linnaeus (1742; 1743a; 1746a; 1754; 1758; 1759; 1761; 1763), Linné (1766; 1772), Sidrén (1750; 1751), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: *Rana aquatica* (247-251), *Rana arborea seu Ranunculus viridis* (251-252), *Bufo seu Rubeta* (252-253[78]), *Testudo terrestris vulgaris* (253-254), *Jaboti Brasiliensibus* (254), *Testudo aquarium dulcium* & *Lutaria* (254), *Testudo marina vulgaris* (254-256), *Jurucua Brasiliensibus* (256-257), *Testudo marina Caöuanna dicta* (257), *Testudo Caretta dicta* (258), *Jurucua Brasiliensibus* (258-

78 There is an *error typographicus* in the page number, 243 instead of 253.

259), *Testudo terrestris pusilla ex India Orientali* (259), *Testudo tesellata minor* (259-260), *Testudo tesellata major* (260), *Testudo tesellata ex Surinam* (260), *Testudo tesellata Virginiana* (260), *Testudo squamosa* (260, a synonym of *Testudo Caretta*), *Lacertus omnium maximus, Crocodilus dictus* (261-262), *Jacare Brasiliensibus* (262-263), *Crocodilus Zeylanicos elegantissimus nigricantibus holosericeis maculis notatus Kimbula Zeylonensibus* (263), *Cordulus seu Caudiverbera* (263), *Tapayaxin sive Lacertus orbicularis* (263-264), *Lacertus vulgaris* (264, includes four varieties), *Lacertus viridis* (264), *Lacertus facetanus* (264-265), *Lacertus Indicus Senembi & Iguana dictus* (265), *Lacertus Brasilianus Tejuguacu & Temapara Tupinambis dictus* (265-266), *Taraguira Brasiliensibus* (266), *Ameiva Brasiliensibus* (266), *Taraguico* Aycuraba Brasiliensibus (266-267), *Americima Brasiliensibus* (267), *Carapopeba Brasiliensibus* (267), *Teiunhana Brasiliensibus* (267-268), *Anoles* (268), *Roquets* (268), *Maboujas* (268), *Gobe-mouches* (269), *Lucium terrestrem [brochet de terre]* (269-270), *Lacertus Indicus* (270-271), *Lacerti alterius peregrini* (271), *Lacerta Zeylanica maxima* (271), *Scincus seu Crocodilus terrestris* (271-272), *Seps sive Lacerta chalcidica* (272), *Stellio* (272-273), *Lacerta dorso striis albis cruciformibus insignito* (273), *Lacerta indica tota maculosa Tockay dicta* (273), *Salamandra terrestris* (273), *Salamandra aquatica* (273-274), *Lacertus peregrinus squamosus* (274-275), *Lacerta volans Indica* (275-276), *Chamaeleo* [including *Arabicum*, *Egyptium*, *Mexicanum*] (276-283), *Vipera* (285-286), *Ammodytes* (287), *Cerastes* (287), *Haemorrhous* (287), *Kokob* (287-288), *Seps & Sepedon* (288), *Aspis* (288), *Scytale* (288), *Amphisbaena* (288-289), *Caecilia* (289), *Cenchrus* (289-290), *Acontias* (290), *Dryinus* (290), *Elops seu Elaps* (290-291), *Anguis aesculapii* (291), *Vipera caudisona* (291-325), *Boiguacu Brasilianis* (325-326), *Cucurucu seu Cucurucucu* (327), *Ibiboboca Brasiliens* (327), *Boitjapo Brasil.* (327), *Boiobi Brasil.* (328), *Jararaca* (328), *Caninana* (328), *Ibiracoa Brasilien.* (328), *Tareiboya, & Cacaboya* (328-329), *Giraupiagara* (329), *Gaytiepua* (329), *Boyuna* (329), *Bom* (329), *Boycupecanga* (330), *Jararacucu* (330), *Jarara Coaypitiuga* (330), *Jarara Epeba* (330), *Serpens Indicus Coronatus* (330-331), *Quil & Qurpele* (331), *Vipera Indica tricolor major* (331), *Vipera Zeylanica minos maculis fuscis holosericeis eleganter variegata* (331), *Serpens Indicus albis & luridis floribus inscriptus* (331), *Serpens Indicus gracilis viridis* (331), *Sepens Zeylanicus elegantissimis miniatis stelulis decussatus* (331), *Serpens Putorius* (331), *Serpens Indicus bubalinus* (332), *Serpens Indicus saxatilis* (332), *Serpens Indicus caninus spadiceus* (332), *Serpens Indicus ex fusco nigricans cum maculis albicantibus* (332), *Serpens Indicus Arundinaceus* (332), *Serpens fluviatilis Surinamensis* (332), *Serpens Indicus spadiceus sagittatus* (332), *Serpens Indicus Putorius gryseo-luteus* (332), *Serpente magno Indiae Orientalis Urobubalum deglutiente* (333-334), and *Natrix torquata* (334-336).

Acrell (1762: 11, 14; 1763: 208, 210): P. 11: "*... Memorabile certe experimentum describit Rajus de quadr. p. 317...*" ["…Certainly a memorable experiment is described by Ray in *De Quadrupedibus*, p. 317…"]; and on p. 14/210: "*...atque sic eandem esse esse cum Aspide veterum, speciatim sic dicta, que Bellon Itin. p. 203. Nintipolonga Zeylanica. Raj. anim. p. 332, &in Systema Nat. 216, N:o 173. Ammodytes vocatur...*" ["…and thus to be the same as the *Aspis* of the ancients, especially so called, which Bellon mentions in his *Itinerary*, p. 203; *Nintipolonga Zeylanica*. Ray, *Animadversiones*, p. 332, and in *Systema Naturae*, p. 216, no. 173, is called *Ammodytes*…"].

Balk (1746: 9, 16, 17, 18, 20; 1749: 293, 295, 297): 11. *LACERTA cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentdactylis, crista gulae integerrima, dorso laevi.* vid. Tab. II. Fig. II. (*Lacerta volans indica,* Raj. Quadruped. 275.); 20.*LACERTA cauda verticillata, pedibus subpentadactylis, squamis quadratis.* (*Seps sive lacerta chalcidica.* Raj. Quadrup. 272.); 22. *ANGUIS annulis abdominalibus CC, anulis caudalibus XXX.* (*Amphisbaena,* Raj. Quadrup. 288.); 24. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX.* (*Vipera caudisona Amer.* Raj. Quadrup. 296.).

Darelius (1749: 6, 8; 1751: 105, 108): Serpens Indicus coronatus Diademate seu conspicillo insignitus. Raj. Quadr. 330., RAJUS quadr. 318.

Hast (1745: 6, 7, 8, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 31, 33, 34; 1749: 114, 115, 116, 122, 124, 126, 127, 131, 137, 139, 140): 1. β. *Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinaliter dentata* (Raj. quadr. pag. 285. Vipera), 2. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXII. cauda-*

libus CL (Raj. quadrup. pag. 331. *Serpens indicus gracilis viridis in arboretis & fruticetis degens, Ahaetulla ceilonensibus, i. e. oculis infestus*), 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Raj. quadrup. pag. 334. *Natrix torquata*), 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Raj. quadr. p. 261. *Lacertus omnium maximus, Crocodilus dictus*), 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Raj. quadr. p. 265. *Lacertus indicus Senembi & Iguana dictus*), 12. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, alis femore connexis, crista gulae triplici* (Raj. quadr. 275. *Lacerta volans indica*), 13. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX* (Raj.quadr. 2. 270. *Lacertus indicus*), 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (Raj. quadr. p. 273. *Salamandra terrestris*), 21. TESTUDO *major terrestris americana, mydas dicta* (Raj. quadr. 256. *Jurucua Brasiliensibus*), 23. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque quaternis* (Raj. quadr. p. 259. *Testudo terrestris pusilla ex india orientali*), 24. TESTUDO *picta vel stellata* (Raj. quadr. p. 259. *Testudo tessellata minor*).

1. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*.; 2. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXII. caudalibus CL*.; and 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV. from Hast (1745) were renamed 1. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*.; 2. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CLXII. caudalibus CL*.; and 3. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV. in Hast (1749).

Kiernander (1749: 7; 1751: 130): "… *10. DESCRIPTIONEM Animalium horum eo lubentius praetereo, quo magis in Diss. citatis sufficientissime eadem tradita est, eorumque Anatomia accurate exhibita a Tysone in Act. Londin. N. 144. posteaque recitata a Rajo de Quadrupedibus 291. & quidem mihi praeterea scopus sit, non Serpentem depingere, quin potius ideam tradere remedii contra vim illius veneni*..." ["…10. I all the more willingly omit the description of these animals, since it has been more than sufficiently given in the cited dissertations, and their anatomy accurately presented by Tyson in the *Philosophical Transactions* of London, no. 144, and later recited by Ray in *De Quadrupedibus*, p. 291. Moreover, my aim is not to depict the serpent, but rather to convey the idea of the remedy against the power of its venom…"].

Linnaeus (1742: 107; 1743a: 57-58): Rana aquatica. *Raj. Quadr. 247.*, Rana arborea s. Ranunculus viridis. *Raj. quad. 251.*, 3. Bufo s. Rubeta. *Raj. quadr. 252.*, 1. Lacertus vulgaris 1. *Raj. quadr. 264.*, 2. Lacertus viridis. *Raj. quadr. 264.,* 3. Lacertus vulgaris 2. *Raj. quadr. 264.*, 4. Salamandra aquatica. *Raj. quadr. 273.*, 1. Caecilia, Typhlinus Graecis. *Raj. quadr. 289.*, 2. Natrix torquata. *Raj. quadr. 334.*

Linnaeus (1746a: 94, 95, 96, 97, 387): 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Raj. quadr*. 247. Rana aquatica), 252. *Rana viridis* (*Raj. quadr*. 251. Rana arborea s. Ranunculus viridis), 253. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis : pollice breviore (*Raj. quadr*. 252. Bufo s. Rubeta), 254. LACERTA pedibus inermibus, manibus tetradactylis, palmis pentadactylis, corpore livido, line dorsali fusca duplici (*Raj. quadr*. 264. Lacertus vulgaris), 255. LACERTA viridis (*Raj. quadr.* 264. Lacertus vulgaris), 256. LACERTA pedibus inermibus fissis, manibus tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, cauda ancipiti (*Raj. quadr*. 273. Salamandra aquatica), 258. ANGUIS squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Raj. quadr*. 289. Caecilia, Typhlinus Graecis), 259. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII (*Raj. quadr*. 334. Natrix torquata), 260. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Raj. quadr*. 285. Vipera), 1352. LACERTA cauda tereti verticillata longitudine corporis, pedibus pentadactylis unguiculatis (*Raj. quadr.* 264. Lacertus vulgaris, ventre nigro maculato).

Linnaeus (1754: 20, 48): *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (Raj. quadr. 288), *Rana bufo* (Raj. Quadr. 252).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 210, 212, 229), Linné (1766: 351, 353, 359, 370, 362, 363, 371, 365, 366, 370, 366, 355, 357, 393): *Testudo mydas* β (*Raj. quadr.* 256), *T. caretta* (*Raj. quadr.* 258), *T. orbicularis* (*Raj. quadr.* 254), *T. geometrica* (*Raj. quadr.* 259), *T. pusilla* (*Raj. quadr.* 259), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Raj. quadr.* 261), *L. palustris* (*Raj. quadr.* 273), *L. ameiva* (*Raj. quadr.* 270), *L. agilis* (*Raj. quadr.* 264), *L. agilis* β (*Raj. quadr.* 264), *L. salamandra* (*Raj. quadr.* 173),

L. stincus (*Raj. quadr.* 271), *L. orbicularis* (*Raj. quadr.* 263), *L. vulgaris* (*Raj. quadr.* 264), *L. igvana* (*Raj. quadr.* 265), *Rana bufo* (*Raj. quadr.* 252), *R. temporaria* (*Raj. quadr.* 247), *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (*Raj. quadr.* 288).

Linnaeus (1759: 71, 73, 75): 3. T. pedibus palmatis, testa orbiculata planiuscula (*Raj. quadr.* 254), 15. L. cauda verticillata longiuscula squamis acutis, collari subtus squamis constructo, β. (Lacertus viridis *Raj. quadr.* 264), 13. R. dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Raj. quadr.* 247).

Linnaeus (1761: 101, 102, 103, 104, 105): 275. RANA *Bufo* corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque (*Raj. quadr*. 252. Bufo s. Rubeta), 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Raj. Quadr*. 247. Rana aquatica), 280. RANA *arborea* corpore laevi subtus panctis contiguis tuberculato (*Raj. quadr*. 251. Rana arborea s. Ranunculus viridis), 281. LACERTA *palustris* cauda ancipiti lanceolata (*Raj. quadr*. 273. Salamandra aquatica), 283. LACERTA *vulgaris* cauda tereti mediocri (*Raj. quadr*. 264. Lacertus vulgaris), 286. COLUBER ♂ *Berus* scutis abdominalibus CXLVI (*Raj. quadr*. 285. Vipera), 288. COLUBER *Natrix* scutis abdominalibus CLXX (*Raj. quadr*. 334. Natrix torquata), 289. ANGUIS *fragilis* squamis abdominis caudaeque CXXXV (*Raj. quadr*. 289. Caecilia, Typhlinus Graecis).

Linnaeus (1763: 12, 13): TESTUDO terrestris *Raj. quadr*. 107. Natrix torquata *Raj. quadr.* 334.

Linné (1766: 350, 352, 357, 358, 364, 370, 380, 392): *T. imbricata* (*Raj. quadr*. 258. Testudo Caretta), *T. lutaria* (*Raj. quadr.* 254. Testudo aquarum dulcium s. Lutaria), *T. graeca* (*Raj. quadr.* 243. Testudo terrestris vugaris), *Rana arborea* (*Raj. quadr.* 251. Rana arborea s. Ranunculus viridis), *Draco volans* (*Raj. quadr.* 275. Lacerta volans indica), *Lacerta chamaeleon* (*Raj. quadr.* Chamaeleo), *L. chalcides* (*Raj. quadr.* 272. Seps s. Lacerta chalcidica), *Coluber natrix* (*Raj. quadr*. 334. Natrix torquata), *Anguis fragilis* (*Raj. quadr*. 289. Caecilia typhlus).

Linné (1772: 19): NATRIX torquata. *Raj. quadr.* 334.

Sidrén (1750: 12; 1751: 319): COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 176, squamis caudalibus 60. (Natrix torquata. *Rai. quadr. 334*).

Sundius (1748: 20, 32; 1749: 497, 506): 16. CENCHRIS s*cutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Raj. quadrup. 325); CENCHRIS s*cutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Serpens indicus bubalinus, anacandia ceylonensibus. Raj. qvadrup. 332); Raj. quadrup. 332 in Sundius (1749: 497), 25. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXLII. Squamis caudalibus XXXII (Ammodytes Raj. quadrup. 287).

Comments: Balk (1749) removed the reference to Ray at *LACERTA cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentdactylis, crista gulae integerrima, dorso laevi.*

Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). It was also available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have identified this edition as the source.

Réaumur, R.A.F. de. 1939 [1736]. XVI - Mémoire sur les grenouilles. L' accopuplement des grenuilles. Pp. 247-253 in *Réaumur. Morceaux Choisis. Présentés at annotés par Jean Torlais*. Paris, Gallimard.

Abbreviated as: **Reaumurus**; **Reumurii.**

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Wahlbom (1746, 1749).

Contents: Description of an experiment on the reproduction of frogs.

Hast (1745: 28; 1749: 134): On p. 28/134, referring to the reproduction of frogs, noted: "*...At illustrissimus Reaumurus, qui summo stuio, in cognoscendis naturae mirabilus versatus est, nuptia ranarum longe alia methodo & naturae magis convenienti se detexsisse, Cel. D:no Praesidi retulit, quam brevi cum publico communicabit...*" ["…But the most illustrious Réaumur, who with the greatest diligence has pursued the study of nature's marvels, reported to the esteemed President that he had discovered the mating of frogs by a method quite different and more in accordance with nature, which he will soon share with the public…"].

Wahlbom (1746: 23; 1749: 346-347): "*...Generatio vero Ranarum adhuc non displaluit, nec dispalescere prius videtur, quam lucem ei observationis valde expetitae, Reumurii, foenerentur, quas propediem exspectamus...*" ["…The generation of frogs has not yet been fully explained, nor does it seem it will be, until the much-desired observations of Réaumur shed light upon it—observations we expect very soon…"].

Comments: The experiment would have been conducted in 1736, but it was impossible to find a contemporary edition to Hast and Wahlbom. Not

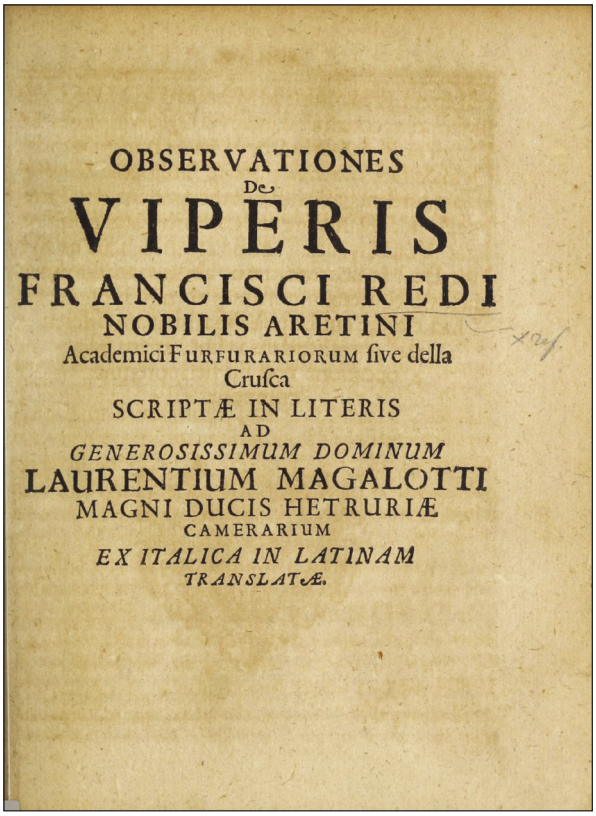

OBSERVATIONES
De
VIPERIS
FRANCISCI REDI
NOBILIS ARETINI
Academici Furfurariorum ſive della
Cruſca
SCRIPTÆ IN LITERIS
AD
GENEROSISSIMUM DOMINUM
LAURENTIUM MAGALOTTI
MAGNI DUCIS HETRURIÆ
CAMERARIUM
EX ITALICA IN LATINAM
TRANSLATÆ.

Figure 122. One of the most famous work of the "founder of experimental biology" Francesco Redi, *Observationes de Viperis* (1670).

covered by Dundee (1994). It is not cited in Heller (2007) in relation to amphibians and reptiles, and the compilation of Torlais (Réaumur, 1939) presented here marks it as unpublished. The two "independent" citations intimate that the work was published and consulted by Linnaeus and the students.

Redi, F. 1670. Observationes de Viperis Francisci Redi Nobilis Aretini Academici Furfurariorum sive della Crusca scriptae in litteris ad generosissimum dominum Laurentium Magalotti magnis ducis Hetruriae camerarium ex italica in latinam translatae. 1-40. Appendix with independent pagination after page 344 of *Miscellanea curiosa medico-physica academiae naturae curiosorum sive ephemeridum medico-physicarum germanicarum curiosarum*. Annus primus. Anni scilicet M. DC. LXX^{mi}. Lipsiae, Viti Jacobi Trescheri / Johannis Baueri. <https://archive.org/details/miscellaneacurio11670acad>. (Figure 122)

Abbreviated as redi.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766)

Contents: Scientific, historical and literary treatise on snakes.

Acrell (1762, 7, 8, 9, 12; 1763: 203, 204, 205, 208): Frequently cited in section *VIRUS,* in pages 6-12/203-209.

Hast (1745: 6; 1749: 115): At 1. *ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*

Not named explicitely; on page 6/115 referred as "the italian" in the comments in β. *Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinaliter dentatato* (6). Hast wrote: "*...Mirabile hoc phaenomenon veritate consentaneoum esse, compererunt Itali, qui relicto sub dolio murem, ubi antea viperae reconditae fuerant, in fauces viperae foeminae incurrenttem observarunt...*" ["…The Italian discovered that this marvelous phenomenon is consistent with the truth: having left a mouse under a cask where vipers had previously been kept, they observed it running straight into the jaws of a female viper…"].

1. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*. from Hast (1745) was renamed 1. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*. in Hast (1749).

Linnaeus (1758: 195), Linné (1766: 348): In the characterization of Serpentes, Linnaeus wrote: "*... sicque Catonia haec morsu virus habe habent & fatum dente minantur, pocula morte carent, prout solide Redi...*" ["…and thus these creatures of Cato carry venom in their bite and threaten death with their tooth, but their drinks are free from death, as Redi solidly [demonstrates]…"].

Comments: Linnaeus's reference was erroneously translated by Kitchell (1994: 6). This is a Latin translation of a work first published in Italian (Redi 1664) by Redi. The catalogue of the Library of the Linnean Society (Anonymous 1896) indicates that Linnaeus had a copy of this Latin edition, mentioning 1664 as the year of publication, which is erroneous, since the first volume of the *Miscellanea curiosa* was published in 1670, as shown on the title page. Heller (2007) erroneously mentions that the references to Cato are on page 31 of the Latin edition, when they are actually on p. 13.

Publication not covered by Dundee (1994) and not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b).

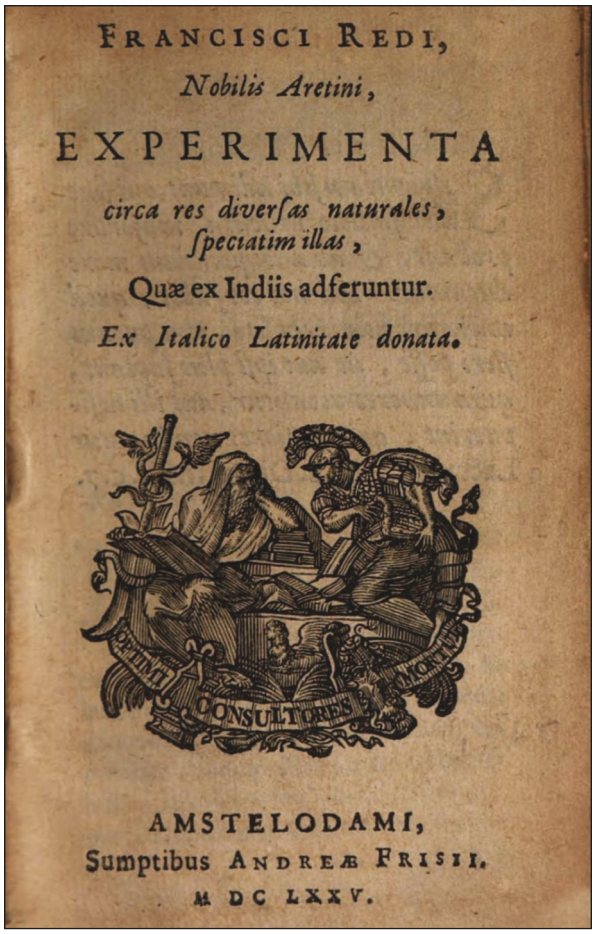

FRANCISCI REDI,
Nobilis Aretini,
EXPERIMENTA
circa res diverſas naturales, ſpeciatim illas,
Quæ ex Indiis adferuntur.
Ex Italico Latinitate donata.
CONSULTORES
AMSTELODAMI,
Sumptibus ANDREÆ FRISII.
M DC LXXV.

Figure 123. Title page of Redi's *Experimenta circa res diversas naturales, speciatim illas, quae ex Indiis adferentur* (1675).

Redi, F. 1675. *Experimenta circa res diversas naturales, speciatim illas, quae ex Indiis adferentur. Ex Italico Latinate donata.* Amstelodami, Andreae Frisii. [i] + 1–193 + [xv]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.95254>. (Figure 123)

Abbreviated as:

Redo; RHEDE; REDI; Rhedi; Rhed. exp.; Rhed. exper.; Rheed. exp.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Darelius (1749; 1751), Hast (1745, 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Redi's experiments are related to snake bites and their presumed antidotes, and with the medical properties of various elements, including teeth and stones recovered from crocodiles, snakes and lizards. The herpetological content includes: *Aspides* (5), *Caimani, Indorum Cocodrili* (100), Dentes caimanorum & dentes Crocodilorum Aegyptis (113), Iacarè (112), Iguane (101), Lapides serpentis Cobra de cabelo (5; 14; 80; 86), Lapides iguana (101), Lapides serpentis in Mombaza (102), Lapides caimanorum (110), Serpens pileatus (80), Serpens Gen-to (81) and Vipera (5; 8; 19; 50; 141).

Iguane vulgo dictum (100-101; pl. 101) is cited in relation to the [false] healing powers of its stones, the size of a hen's egg, which are produced in their stomach. The description begins on page 100, with a plate between pp. 100-101.

Acrell (1762: 18; 1763: 215): "... Lapis serpentum, *Pedra de Cobras di capello, quasi Lapis desumptus e capite Colubri Najae, famosus per totam Indiam, tanquam specificum contra Morsuram serpentum exclamatus a Garzia , Kirckero aliisque, fertur ad vulnus venenatum adplicatus, usque dum sponte inde decidat, absorbere omne venenum; sed ejus usus suspectus habetur aliis, nec Redo successit, qui plurima cum eodem instituit experimenta*..." ["…The Serpent Stone, *Pedra de Cobras di capello*, supposedly a stone taken from the head of the *Naja* snake, famous throughout all India, and proclaimed as a specific remedy against serpent bites by Garzia, Kircher, and others, is said—when applied to a venomous wound—to absorb all the poison until it spontaneously falls off. However, its use is regarded with suspicion by others, nor did Redi succeed, although he conducted many experiments with it…"].

Darelius (1749:6): "... RHEDE rem acu tetigisse videtur, docendo lethales serpentes mordere majoribus maxillae superiores dentibus..." ["…Redi seems to have hit the mark in teaching that deadly serpents bite with the larger teeth of the upper jaw…"].

Darelius (1751: 104-105): "... REDI rem acu tetigisse videtur, docendo lethales serpentes mordere majoribus maxillae superiores dentibus..."

Hast (1745: 5; 1749: 114): 1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX he wrote "... *Rhedi* in experimentis, quæ cum viperis instituit, obaervavit: quod ai fruatum panis ad dentem viperæ compressum, saniem prorsus imbibat, morsus viperæ nullum alium ac vulnus acus, producat effectum; huncque liquorem saniosum, animali cuidam propinatum, nihil noxii attulisse; acum vero hac sanie infectam, canem vel aliud animal vulnerantem, eundem quem morfus viperæ effectum habuisse..." ["…Redi, in the experiments he conducted with vipers, observed that if a piece of bread is pressed against the tooth of a viper, it completely absorbs the venom; and

HISTORIA NATVRALIS
RANARVM
NOSTRATIVM
IN QVA
OMNES EARVM PROPRIETATES,
PRAESERTIM
QVAE AD GENERATIONEM IPSARVM PERTINENT,
FVSIVS ENARRANTVR.
CVM PRAEFATIONE
ILLVSTRIS VIRI
ALBERTI v. HALLER
SOCIETATIS REGIAE SCIENTIARVM GOETTINGENSIS PRAESIDIS.
EDIDIT
ACCVRATISQVE ICONIBVS ORNAVIT,
AVGVSTVS IOHANNES ROESEL von ROSENHOF.
NORIMBERGAE, Typis IOHANNIS IOSEPHI FLEISCHMANNI.

Die
natürliche Historie
der
Frösche hiesigen Landes
worinnen
alle Eigenschaften derselben,
sonderlich
aber ihre Fortpflanzung,
umständlich beschrieben werden.
Mit einer Vorrede
Herrn Albrechts von Haller,
Präsidentens der Königlich-Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
Herausgegeben und mit zuverlässigen Abbildungen gezieret
von
August Johann Rösel von Rosenhof.
Nürnberg, gedruckt bey Johann Joseph Fleischmann. 1758.

Tab. XIII.

A. J. Rösel fec. et exc.

Figure 124. *Historia naturalis ranarum nostratium* (1758) by Roesel.

that the bite of the viper then produces no other effect than the wound of a needle. Furthermore, when this venomous liquid was administered to an animal, it caused no harm; but when a needle infected with this venom was used to wound a dog or another animal, it produced the same effect as the bite of a viper.…"].

1. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*. from Hast (1745) was renamed 1. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX*. in Hast (1749).

Linnaeus (1754: 43): *Lacerta iguana* (Rheed. exp. 100. t. 101).

Linnaeus (1758: 207), Linné (1766: 366): *Lacerta igvana* (*Rhed. exper.* 100. *t.* 101. Igvane).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The work was not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have identified this edition as the source.

Reference to the specimen of *Coluber crotalinus* located in the Royal collection.

Abbreviated as Museo Regio.

Cited in Linné (1771).

Linné (1771: 528): *Habitat _ _ _ _ e Museo Regio.*

Comment: Description of the snake species in the Regni animalis appendix of *Mantissa Plantarum Altera* a continuation of *Mantissa Plantarum* published in 1767, aimed to be an appendix to *Systema Naturae* ed. 12. Linnaeus probably studied the specimen after the publication of the descriptions of the Royal collections (Linnaeus 1754, Linné 1764a, b).

Roesel, A. J. 1758. *Historia naturalis ranarum nostratium in qua omnes earum proprietates, praesertim quae ad generationem ipsarum pertinent, fusius enarrantur, cum praefatione illystris viri Alberti v. Haller.-Die natürliche Historie der Frösche hiesigen Landes, worinnen alle Eigenschaften derselben, sonderlich aber*

***ihre Fortpflanzung, umständlich beschrieben werden. Mit einer Vorrede Herrn Albrechts von Haller. Herausgegeben und mit zuverlässigen Abbildungen gezieret*. Nürnberg, Johann Joseph Fleischmann: [vi] + [i] + [ii] +v–viii + 1–115, Pl. I–XXV. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.149946>.** (Figure 124)

Abbreviated as Roes. ran.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: Considered as one of the most beautifully illustrated books on amphibians, the Rösel's Natural History describes *Rana fusca terrestris* (1-35), *Rana arborea* (38-52), *Ranae viridis aquatica* (53-68), *Bufo aquaticus, allium redolans, maculis fuscis* (69-84), *Bufo terrestris, dorso tuberculis exasperato, oculis rubris* (85-96), *Bufo vulgo igneus dictus, sive Bufo aquaticus minor, rutilis maculis in inferiore corporis superficie insignis* (97-106), and *Bufo terrestris foetidus* (107-115).

Linnaeus (1758: 212), Linné (1766: 357): *Rana esculenta* (*Roes. ran.* 51. *t.* 13. Rana viridis aquatica).

Linnaeus (1759: 75): 14. R. corpore angulato, dorso transverse gibbo, abdomine marginato (*Roes. ran.* 51. *t.* 13).

Linnaeus (1761: 102): 279. RANA *esculenta* corpore angulato, dorso transverse gibbo, abdomine marginato (*Roes. ran*. 51. t. 13. Rana viridis aquatica).

Comments: Rösel's book is usually cited as published in 1758 but was released in installments. It has two prefaces, one by Rösel, dated in Norimbergae on February 14, 1753, and another by Albertus von Haller in Bernae, on June 26, 1758. According to Adler (1989), it was published between 1753 and 1758, and the section on *Rana viridis aquatica* appeared in 1754 (*fide* Bauer 2012, citing Niekisch 2007). Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius, 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) have identified this edition as the source. Linnaeus was well aware of Rösel's works as the various letters accessible on the ALVIN platform for digital collections and digitized cultural heritage show, therefore we can reasonably assume that Linnaeus had a copy from of the work, but this was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith.

Rolander (pers. comm. Daniel Rolander) **Not located.**

Abbreviated as Rolander.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Daniel Rolander (1723- 1793), the Swedish biologist and Linnaeus's apostle who in 1755–1756 collected specimens in the Dutch colony of Suriname, or Dutch Guiana (Adler 2012).

Linnaeus (1758: 204, 211), Linné (1766: 364, 356): *Lacerta angulata* (Habitat in America. Rolander. ["…Lives in America. Rolander...."]); *Rana typhonia* (Habitat in America, clamitans nocte sono cornicis tetro lucente. Rolander ["…Lives in america, calling by night with the foul sound of the crow as it grows light. Rolander..."]).

Comments: References to Rolander were recorded by Dundee (1944) and Heller (2007).

Rondelet, G. 1554. *Libri de piscibus marinis, in quibus verae piscium effigies expressae sunt. Quae in tota piscium historia contineantur, indicat elenchus pagina nona & decima*. Lugduni. Matthiam Bonhomme. [xv] + 1–583 + [xxiii]. <https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012651341>. (Figure 125)

Abbreviated as: Rond. pisc. [a]; Rondel. Pisc.; Rondeletius.

Cited in Linnaeus (1763), Linné (1766), Österdam (1766; 1769).

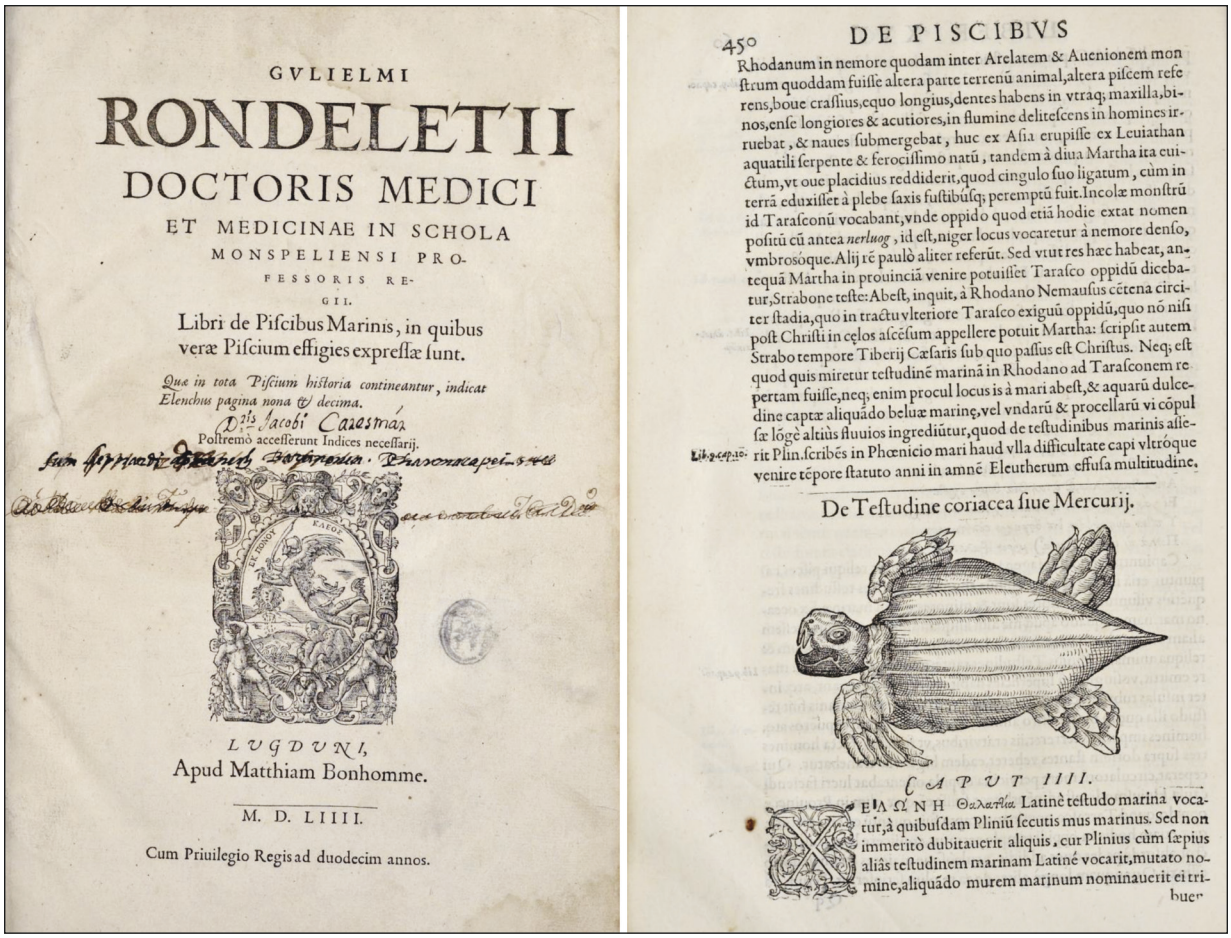
Contents: In Liber XVI. De Testudinibus (443), Rondelet describes three turtles, *De Testudine corticata* (445), *De Testudine coriacea sive Mercurii* (450), and *De Testudine cornigera sive troglodytica & alba* (452). Además, on pages 492-494 describe *De pisce Monachi habitu* and *De pisce Episcopi habitu*.

Linnaeus (1763: 12): *Testudo marina Rondel. Pisc. 443.*

Linné (1766: 350): *Testudo coriacea* (Testudo coriacea s. mercurii. *Rond. pisc.* 450).

Österdam (1766: 3; 1769: 313): In p. 3/313 notes «... adcurati satis auctores Bellonius & Rondeletius, *Bonarum marinarum* seu *Episcopum piscem* non prorsus impossibilem judicarunt..." ["... the sufficiently careful authorities Bellon and Rondelet judged *Bonarum marinarum,* the Bishop-fish, not to be altogether impossible..."].

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). Publication not covered by Dundee (1994) and not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source.



GVLIELMI
RONDELETII
DOCTORIS MEDICI
ET MEDICINAE IN SCHOLA
MONSPELIENSI PROFESSORIS REGII.
Libri de Piſcibus Marinis, in quibus veræ Piſcium effigies expreſſæ ſunt.
Quæ in tota Piſcium hiſtoria contineantur, indicat Elenchus pagina nona & decima.
Poſtremò acceſſerunt Indices neceſſarij.
LVGDVNI,
Apud Matthiam Bonhomme.
M. D. LIIII.
Cum Priuilegio Regis ad duodecim annos.

450 DE PISCIBVS
Rhodanum in nemore quodam inter Arelatem & Auenionem monſtrum quoddam fuiſſe altera parte terrenũ animal, altera piſcem referens, boue craſſius, equo longius, dentes habens in vtraq; maxilla, binos, enſe longiores & acutiores, in flumine delitescens in homines irruebat, & naues ſubmergebat, huc ex Aſia erupiſſe ex Leuiathan aquatili ſerpente & ferociſſimo natũ, tandem à diua Martha ita euictum, vt oue placidius reddiderit, quod cingulo ſuo ligatum, cùm in terrã eduxiſſet à plebe ſaxis fuſtibúſq; peremptũ fuit. Incolæ monſtrũ id Taraſconũ vocabant, vnde oppido quod etiã hodie extat nomen poſitũ cũ antea *nerluog*, id eſt, niger locus vocaretur à nemore denſo, vmbroſoque. Alij rẽ paulò aliter referũt. Sed vtut res hæc habeat, antequã Martha in prouinciã venire potuiſſet Taraſco oppidũ dicebatur, Strabone teſte: Abeſt, inquit, à Rhodano Nemauſus cẽtena circiter ſtadia, quo in tractu vlteriore Taraſco exiguũ oppidũ, quo nõ niſi poſt Chriſti in cęlos aſcẽſum appellere potuit Martha: ſcripſit autem Strabo tempore Tiberij Cæſaris ſub quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus. Neq; eſt quod quis miretur teſtudiné marinã in Rhodano ad Taraſconem repertam fuiſſe, neq; enim procul locus is à mari abeſt, & aquarũ dulcedine captæ aliquãdo beluæ marinę, vel vndarũ & procellarũ vi cõpulſæ lõgè altiùs fluuios ingrediũtur, quod de teſtudinibus marinis aſſerit Plin. ſcribẽs in Phœnicio mari haud vlla difficultate capi vltróque venire tẽpore ſtatuto anni in amnẽ Eleutherum effuſa multitudine.
Lib. 9. cap. 10.

De Teſtudine coriacea ſiue Mercurij.

CAPVT IIII.
ΕΛΑΩΝΗ Θαλαττία Latinè teſtudo marina vocatur, à quibuſdam Pliniũ ſecutis mus marinus. Sed non immeritò dubitauerit aliquis, cur Plinius cùm ſæpius aliâs teſtudinem marinam Latinè vocarit, mutato nomine, aliquãdo murem marinum nominauerit ei tribuer

Figure 125. Title page and description of *Testudo coriacea* in *Libri de piscibus marinis* (1554) by Rondelet.

Rondelet, G. 1555. *Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera, cum veris ipsorum imaginibus.* Lugduni. Matthiam Bonhomme. [xii] + 1–242 + [ix]. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10140050>. (Figure 126)

Abbreviated as: Rond. pisc. [b]; Rond. pisc. 2.; Rondel. Pisc. 2; Rond. aquat. 2.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1761; 1763), Linné (1772), Sidrén (1750; 1751).

Contents: *De palustribus liber. De Ranis* (*215*). *De ranis fluvirum & rivorum* (*217*). *De Rana palustri & venenata* (*221*). *De Rubeta sive Phryno* (*222*). *De Calamite* (*224*). *De Rana caelitus demissa* (*224*). *De Rana dryopete* (*225*). *De Serpente* (*225*). *De Amphibiis liber. De Testudine lutaria* (*229*). *De Salamandra aquatili* (*230*). *De Scinco* (*231*). *De Crocodilo* (*232*). *De Crocodilo terrestri* (*234*). *De Cordylo* (*235*).

Hast (1745: 16; 1749: 122): 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Rondel. pisc. p. 232. *Crocodilus*).

Linnaeus (1746a: 95): 253. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Rond. aquat*. 2. p, 221. Bufo).

Linnaeus (1761: 101): 275. RANA *Bufo* corpore ventricoso verrucoso lurido fuscoque (*Rond. aquat*. 2. p, 221. Bufo).

Linnaeus (1763): *Testudo lutaria Rondel. Pisc. 229*., Bufo *Rond. Aquat 2. p. 221*., Stincus *Rond. pisc.* 2. p. 231.

Linné (1772: 19): Stincus. Rond. Pisc. 2. p. 231.

Sidrén (1750: 11; 1751: 318): RANA manibus tetradactylis fissis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis, pollice breviore (Bufo. *Rond. aquat. 2. p. 221*); LACERTA cauda tereti, collo crassitie capitis; pedibus pentadactylis marginatis (Stincus. *Rond. pisc. 2. p. 231*).

Comments: Not in Linnaeus's private library (Anonymous 1896). A copy of this work was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Publication not discussed by Dundee (1994). Edition identified by Heller (2007) as the source. The accuracy of the citation suggest that Linnaeus owned a copy which was used as source, but this book was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith.

GVLIELMI
RONDELETII
DOCTORIS MEDICI,
ET MEDICINAE IN SCHOLA
MONSPELIENSI PRO-
FESSORIS RE-
GII
Vniuersæ aquatilium Historiæ pars altera,
cum veris ipsorum Imaginibus.

His acceßerunt Indices neceßarij.

LVGDVNI,
Apud Matthiam Bonhomme.

M. D. LV.

Cum Priuilegio Regis ad duodecim annos.

LIBER. 221

rurgo rectè compositum, quod & emplastrum de Ranis nominatur, quo fœlici successu in tumoribus & doloribus morbi Hispanici vtimur. Ranæ tres in olla vstę & cum melle appositæ alopecias replent, si Plinio credimus, vel cum pice liquida illitæ, vt Dioscoridi & Paulo Ægi. visum fuit, quod ego experientia verum esse comprobaui. Illitus earum cinis profluentis sanguinis impetus sistit autore Dioscoride, quod & Paulus confirmat. Crematarum Ranarum cinis maximè siccans redditus, sanguinis eruptiones sistit, & alopeciis cum pice liquida medetur. Plinius. Ad sanguinem sistendum Ranarum illinunt cinerem, vel sanguinem inarefactum. Eadem exsiccandi vi equorum scabiem decoctæ in aqua extenuant, donec illini possit, aiunt ita curatos non repeti postea. Eædem decoctæ in aqua marina psoras tollunt, donec sit crassitudo mellis. Multò plura ex Ranis petita remedia aduersus varios morbos leges apud veteres autores.

De Rana palustri & venenata.

CAPVT III.

INTER Ranas sunt quæ in palustribus locis & putri fœtidóque limo oppletis & nascuntur & viuunt, quæ palustres rectè dici possunt, sed quia quæ fluuiatiles sunt, in paludibus etiam & in aquis stagnantibus reperiuntur, ad huius discrimen illam venenatam cognominauimus, quæ Buso aquatilis vocatur, à

E 3

Figure 126. Title page and page 221 of Rondelet's *Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera* (1555).

Scheuchzer, J.J. 1735a. *Physica Sacra. Iconibus Æneis illustrata, procuranta & sumtus suppenditante Johanne Andrea Pfeffel, Augustano, Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Chalcographo Aulico. Tomus IV.* A Tab. DXCIV. ad DCCL. Augustæ Vindelicorvm & Vlmæ: 1051–1536 + [xcv], Pl. DXCIII–DCCL. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.111065> (Figure 127)

Abbreviated as Scheuch. sacr.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Information on Amphibia is abundant. Contains a mixture of fiction, reality and truth of faith scattered in the text concerning *Aspidium, Basiliscus, Cayman, Cerastes, Chamaeleon, Crocodilus, Dipsas, Dracones, Haemorrhous, Hydrus, Lacerta, Prester, Ranarum, Reptilia, Scincus, Serpens, Testudo, Venenum* and *Vipera*.

Physica Sacra is at the same time, an unofficial catalog of amphisbaenians and snakes housed in the collection of Johannes Heinrich Linck in Leipzig (the "official" catalog would appear almost 50 years later, see Linck, 1783; Bauer & Wahlgren, 2013). The following list contains the plate number (Roman numerals), the identification number of the specimen in the Museum Linckianum (ML), the chapter / verse in the Bible and the Scheuchzer page: DCVI. ML 65-67. Isaiah XI: 8. p. 1087. DCXXVIII and DCXXIX. ML 10-11-15-37-56-30-55. Jeremiah LI: 34. p. 1178-1180. DCXXX. LM 40-50. Jeremiah LI: 37. p. 1180. DCXLVII. ML 29-39-59. Amos V: 19. p. 1283. DCXLVIII. ML 24-58. Amos IX: 3. p. 1286. DCLII. ML 34-63. Micah I: 8. p. 1295. DCLIII-DCLV. ML 18-20-21-27-54-7-13-22. Micah VII: 17. p. 1296-1297. DCLVII. ML 15-25. Malachias I: 3. p. 1302. DCLX-DCLXII. ML 1-2-3-4-5-6-9-14-17-36-45. Matthew III: 7. p. 1311-1312. DCLXXVIII. ML 8-49-60. Matthew X: 16. P. 1346-1347. DCCXV. ML 19-53. Lucas X: 19. p. 1429-1430. DCCXVII. ML 28-41. Lucas XI: 11. p. 1431. DCCXXXVII-DCCXXXIX. ML 12-35-61-43-37-57-26-48. Acta Apostolorum xxxviii: 3-5. P. 1493-1494. DCCXLVI-DCCXLIX. ML 44-46-23-

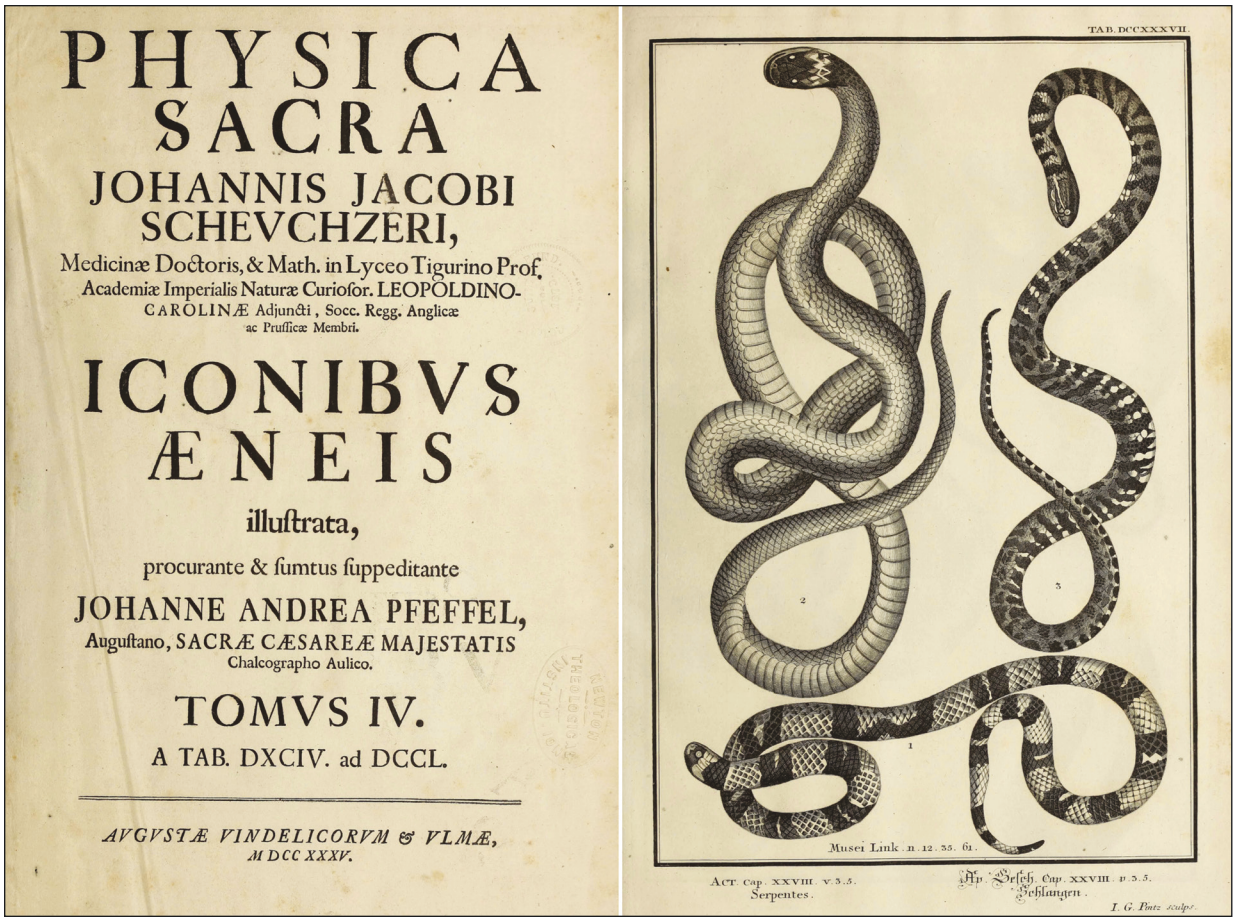

PHYSICA SACRA
JOHANNIS JACOBI SCHEVCHZERI,
Medicinæ Doctoris, & Math. in Lyceo Tigurino Prof. Academiæ Imperialis Naturæ Curiosor. LEOPOLDINO-CAROLINÆ Adjuncti, Socc. Regg. Anglicæ ac Prussicæ Membri.
ICONIBVS ÆNEIS
illustrata,
procurante & sumtus suppeditante
JOHANNE ANDREA PFEFFEL,
Augustano, SACRÆ CÆSAREÆ MAJESTATIS Chalcographo Aulico.
TOMVS IV.
A TAB. DXCIV. ad DCCL.
AVGVSTÆ VINDELICORVM & VLMÆ, MDCCXXXV.

Figure 127. Title page and plate 737 of *Physica Sacra* (Scheuchzer 1735a).

33-64-31-38-52-42-51-62. Apocalypse XII: 7-9. p. 1532-1533.

Linnaeus (1758: 214, 228) Linné (1766: 374, 391): *Boa scytale* (Scheuch. sacr. t. 737. f. 1), *Anguis reticulata*. (Scheuch. sacr. t. 747. f. 4).

Comments: *Physica Sacra* had two editions in the same year, one in Latin (Scheuchzer 1735a) and the other in German (Scheuchzer 1735b). The two Linnaean references are coincident with the Latin edition (in the German, *Serpens surinamensis* is on p. 1371 and *Amphisbaena dorso ex albo & nigro* on p. 1419). The book was neither in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillus 1814b), although a copy of the German edition, also known as *Kupfer-Bibel*, was in the latter. Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the German edition (Scheuchzer 1735b) as the source. We can presume that Linnaeus owned a copy of the Latin edition which he used as source, but this book was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith.

Schonevelde, S.A. 1624. *Ichthyologia et nomenclaturae animalium marinarum, fluviatilium, lacustrium: quae in Florentissimis ducatibus Slesuici et Holsatiae & celeberrimo Emporio Hamburgo occurrunt triviales: ac plerorumq; hactenus desideratorum imagines, breves descriptiones, & explicationes*. Hamburgi, Ex Bibliopolio Heringiano: 1–87, Pl. I–VII. <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/PPN723998477>. (Figure 128)

Abbreviated as Schonef. ichth.

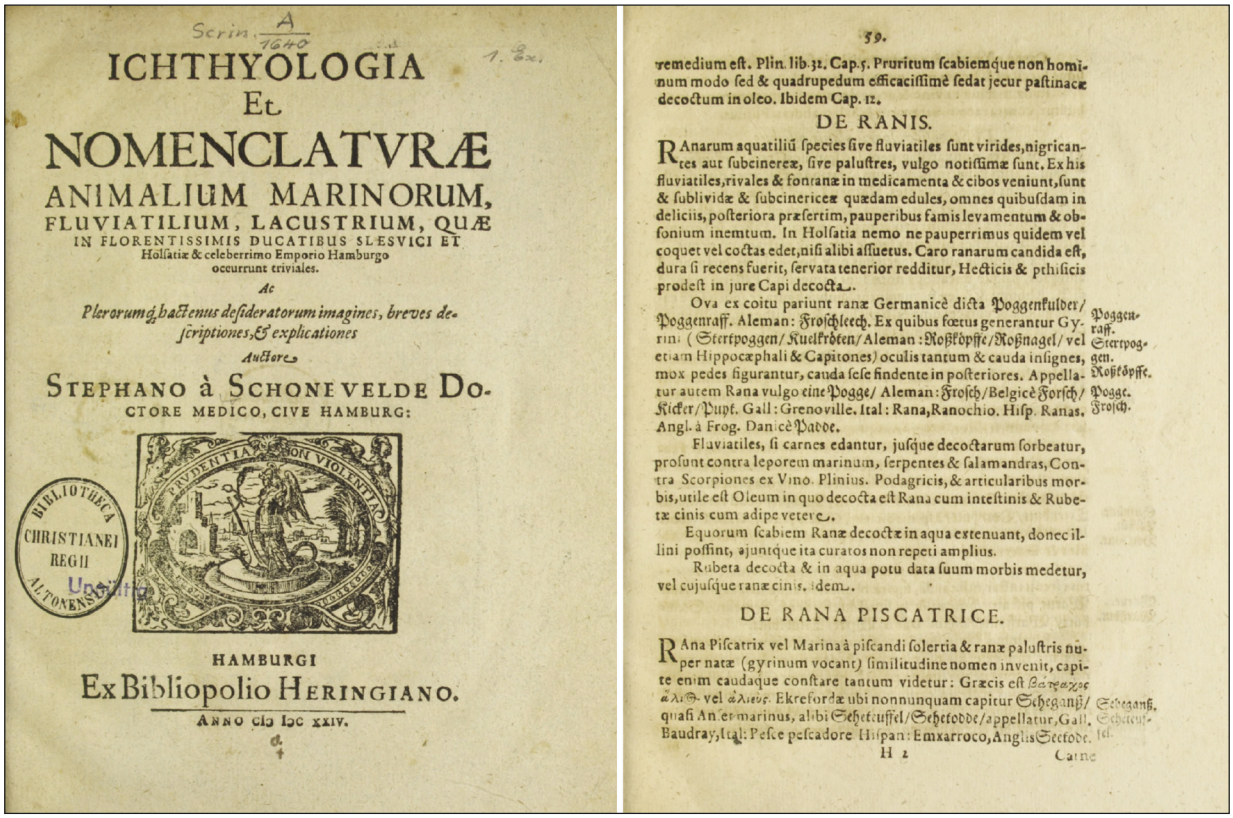
Cited in Linnaeus (1746a; 1761).

Contents: *De Ranis* (59), *De Testudine* (74).

Linnaeus (1746a: 94): 250. Rana manibus tetradactylis fissis (*Schonef. ichth*. 59. Rana).

Linnaeus (1761: 102): 278. RANA *temporaria* dorso planiusculo subangulato (*Schonef. ichth*. 59. Rana).

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was also available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillus 1814b). Publication not



Scrin. A 1640 1. Ex.

ICHTHYOLOGIA
Et
NOMENCLATVRÆ
ANIMALIUM MARINORUM,
FLUVIATILIUM, LACUSTRIUM, QUÆ
IN FLORENTISSIMIS DUCATIBUS SLESVICI ET
Holsatiæ & celeberrimo Emporio Hamburgo
occurrunt triviales.
Ac
Plerorumq; hactenus desideratorum imagines, breves descriptiones, & explicationes
Auctore
STEPHANO à SCHONEVELDE DOCTORE MEDICO, CIVE HAMBURG:

BIBLIOTHECA CHRISTIANEI REGII ALTONENSIS

HAMBURGI
Ex Bibliopolio HERINGIANO.
ANNO CIↃ IↃC XXIV.

59.

remedium est. Plin. lib. 32. Cap. 5. Pruritum scabiemque non hominum modo sed & quadrupedum efficacissimè sedat jecur pastinacæ decoctum in oleo. Ibidem Cap. 12.

DE RANIS.

RAnarum aquatiliũ species sive fluviatiles sunt virides, nigricantes aut subcinereæ, sive palustres, vulgo notissimæ sunt. Ex his fluviatiles, rivales & fontanæ in medicamenta & cibos veniunt, sunt & sublividæ & subcinericeæ quædam edules, omnes quibusdam in deliciis, posteriora præsertim, pauperibus famis levamentum & obsonium inemtum. In Holsatia nemo ne pauperrimus quidem vel coquet vel coctas edet, nisi alibi assuetus. Caro ranarum candida est, dura si recens fuerit, servata tenerior redditur, Hecticis & pthisicis prodest in jure Capi decocta.

Ova ex coitu pariunt ranæ Germanicè dicta Poggenkulder/ Poggenraff. Aleman: Froschleech. Ex quibus fœtus generantur Gyrini (Stertpoggen/ Kuelkröten/ Aleman: Roßköpffe/ Roßnagel/ vel etiam Hippocæphali & Capitones) oculis tantum & cauda insignes, mox pedes figurantur, cauda sese findente in posteriores. Appellatur autem Rana vulgo eine Pogge/ Aleman: Frosch/ Belgicè Forsch/ Kicker/ Pupt. Gall: Grenoville. Ital: Rana, Ranochio. Hisp. Ranas. Angl. à Frog. Danicè Padde. Poggenraff. Stertpoggen. Roßköpffe. Pogge. Frosch.

Flaviatiles, si carnes edantur, jusque decoctarum sorbeatur, prosunt contra leporem marinum, serpentes & salamandras, Contra Scorpiones ex Vino. Plinius. Podagricis, & articularibus morbis, utile est Oleum in quo decocta est Rana cum intestinis & Rubetæ cinis cum adipe vetere.

Equorum scabiem Ranæ decoctæ in aqua extenuant, donec illini possint, ajuntque ita curatos non repeti amplius.

Rubeta decocta & in aqua potu data suum morbis medetur, vel cujusque ranæ cinis. idem.

DE RANA PISCATRICE.

RAna Piscatrix vel Marina à piscandi solertia & ranæ palustris nuper natæ (gyrinum vocant) similitudine nomen invenit, capite enim caudaque constare tantum videtur: Græcis est βάτραχος ἁλιεύς vel ἁλιεύς. Ekreforderæ ubi nonnunquam capitur Scheganß/ quasi Anser marinus, alibi Schetcuffel/ Schetodde/ appellatur, Gall. Baudray, Ital: Pesce pescadore Hispan: Emxarroco, Anglis Seetode. Schegansß. Schetcuffel.

H 2 Carne

Figure 128. Description of *Rana temporaria* in Schonevelde's *Ichthyologia et nomenclaturae animalium marinarum, fluviatilium, lacustrium* (1624).

discussed by Dundee (1994). Edition identified by Heller (2007) as the source (author listed as Schonefeld).

Schwenkfeld, C. 1603. *Theriotropheum Silesiæ, In quo Animalium, hoc est, Quadrupedum, Reptilium, Avium, Piscium, Insectorum natura, vis & usus sex libris perstringuntur: concinnatum & elaboratum á*. Lignicii, Davidis Alberti: [ix] + [ii] + [x] + [i] + 1–563 + [iv]. <https://archive.org/details/ita-bnc-mag-00000981-001>. (Figure 129)

Abbreviated as: Schwenck. rept.; Schwenck. reptil.

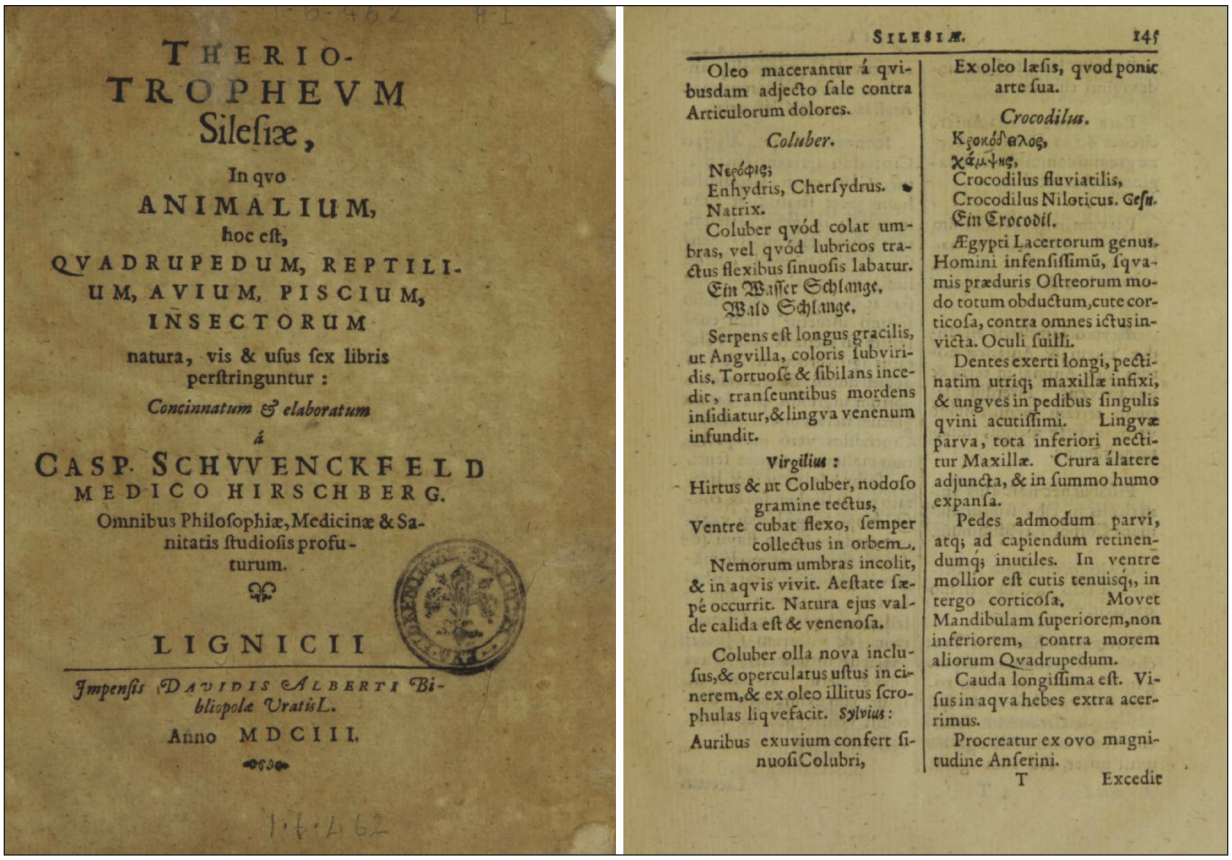
Cited in Hast (1745; 1749)

Contents: Among the amphibians and reptiles, or their products, mentions *Boa* (p. 141), *Cecilia* (sic) (p. 141), *Coluber* (p. 145), *Crocodilus* (p. 145), *Lacertus* (p. 147), *Lacertus stellatus* (p. 148), *Lacertus viridis* (p. 148), *Lacertus cinereus* (p. 149), *Lacertus aquaticus* (p. 149), *Ova ranina* (p. 151), *Aqua spermatis ranarum* (p. 152), *Ranae temporariae* (p. 152), *Rana arborea* (p. 153), *Rana calamites* (p. 154), *Rana aquatica* (p. 155), *Rana aquatica citrina* (p. 157), *Rana aquatica viridis* (p. 158), *Rana lutaria* (p. 158), *Rana hortensis* (p. 158), *Bufo terrestris major* (p. 159), *Venenum bufonis* (p. 160), *Bufonites* (p. 161), *Rubeta minor* (p. 162), *Bufo palustris major* (p. 162), *Bufo palustris miniatus* (p. 163), *Salamandra* (p. 163), *Testudo* (p. 164), *Vipera* (p. 166), *Vipera domestica* (p. 167), *Vipera nigra* (p. 167), *Vipera purpurea* (p. 167), *Vipera cinerea* (p. 167), *Vipera candida* (p. 167) and *Vipera senecta* (p. 168).

Hast (1745: 8, 16, 25; 1749: 116, 122, 131): 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV (Schwenck. rept. pag. 157), 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Schwenck. rept. p. 145. *Crocodilus*), 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato* (Schwenck. reptil. p. 163. *Salamandra*).

3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV. from Hast (1745) was renamed 3. 3. ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXVII, caudalibus LXXXV. in Hast (1749).

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Publication not discussed by Dundee (1994). Edition identified by Heller (2007) as the source (author listed as



THERIO-
TROPHEVM
Silesiæ,
In qvo
ANIMALIUM,
hoc est,
QVADRUPEDUM, REPTILIUM, AVIUM, PISCIUM,
INSECTORUM
natura, vis & usus sex libris perstringuntur:
Concinnatum & elaboratum
á
CASP. SCHVVENCKFELD
MEDICO HIRSCHBERG.
Omnibus Philosophiæ, Medicinæ & Sanitatis studiosis profuturum.
LIGNICII
Impensis DAVIDIS ALBERTI *Bibliopolæ Vratislaviensis.*
Anno MDCIII.

SILESIÆ. 145

Oleo macerantur á qvibusdam adjecto sale contra Articulorum dolores.

Coluber.

Νεροφις;
Enhydris, Chersydrus.
Natrix.
Coluber qvód colat umbras, vel qvód lubricos tractus flexibus sinuosis labatur.
Ein Wasser Schlange,
Wald Schlange.

Serpens est longus gracilis, ut Angvilla, coloris subviridis. Tortuose & sibilans incedit, transeuntibus mordens insidiatur, & lingva venenum infundit.

Virgilius:

Hirtus & ut Coluber, nodoso gramine tectus,
Ventre cubat flexo, semper collectus in orbem.

Nemorum umbras incolit, & in aqvis vivit. Aestate sæpé occurrit. Natura ejus valde calida est & venenosa.

Coluber olla nova inclusus, & operculatus ustus in cinerem, & ex oleo illitus scrophulas liqvefacit. *Sylvius:*

Auribus exuvium confert sinuosi Colubri,

Ex oleo læsis, qvod ponit arte sua.

Crocodilus.

Κροκόδειλος,
Χάμψης,
Crocodilus fluviatilis,
Crocodilus Niloticus. *Gesn.*
Ein Crocodil.

Ægypti Lacertorum genus. Homini infensissimũ, sqvamis præduris Ostreorum modo totum obductum, cute corticosa, contra omnes ictus invicta. Oculi suilli.

Dentes exerti longi, pectinatim utriq; maxillæ infixi, & ungvés in pedibus singulis qvini acutissimi. Lingvæ parva, tota inferiori nectitur Maxillæ. Crura álatere adjuncta, & in summo humo expansa.

Pedes admodum parvi, atq; ad capiendum retinendumq; inutiles. In ventre mollior est cutis tenuisq;, in tergo corticosa. Movet Mandibulam superiorem, non inferiorem, contra morem aliorum Qvadrupedum.

Cauda longissima est. Visus in aqva hebes extra acerrimus.

Procreatur ex ovo magnitudine Anserini.

T Excedit

Figure 129. Title page and page 145 of *Theriotropheum Silesiæ* (1603) by Schwenkfeld.

Schonefeld). The accuracy and number of citations suggest that Hast and Linnaeus consulted the publication when the dissertation was written.

Seba, A. 1734. *Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri accurata descriptio, et iconibus artificiosissimis expressio, per universam physices historiam. Opus, cui, in hoc rerum genere, nullum par exstitit. Ex toto terrarum orbe collegit, digessit, descripsit, et depingendum curavit Albertus Seba, Etzela Oostfrisius, Academiæ Caesareæ Leopoldino Carolinæ Naturæ Curiosorum Collega Xenocrates dictus; Societatis Regiæ Anglicanæ, et Instituti Bononiensis, sodalis, Tomus 1.* Amstelaedami, J. Wetstenium & Gul. Smith & Janssonio-Waesbergios: [xxxiii] + 1–178, Pl. I–CXI. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.62760>. (Figure 130)

Abbreviated as: ***Seb.***; ***Seb. mus. 1.***; ***Seb. thes. 1.***; ***Seb. Thes. 1.***

Cited in Balk (1746, 1749), Dahlberg (1755, 1759), Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1746a; 1754; 1758; 1759; 1761), Linné (1766), Österdam (1766¸1769), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: The first volume of Seba's Thesaurus contains the descriptions and illustrations of a little less than 200 amphibians and reptiles: two *Serpentulas, pulcherrime pictas, ex Insula Ceilon* (Table 10: Figure 2), two *Serpentulae, Ceilanicae, pulcherrime circulatae, & tenuibus squamulis obsitae sunt, modo quaevis singulare* (11: 2), *Serpens, Africana, Crocea* (12: 4), *Lacertus, Africanus, dorso pectinato, Amphibios, mas* (14: 2), *Lacerta, Africana, prioris foemina* (14: 3), *Serpens, Africana, ab Hottentottis Sibon dicta* (14: 4), *Serpens, Americana, Corallina* (15: 2), *Serpens Africana* (15: 3), *Vipera, Africana, de Nepa dicta, mas* (19: 7), *Serpens, Japonica, ex regione Kokura* (28: 2), *Vipera, Ceilonica, Ahaetulla, id est, oculis infesta; mas* (28: 5), *Serpens, Ceilonica, putida, lutei coloris, Hotamboeia dicta* (28: 6), *Serpens Rotange Ceilonensis, rarior & elegantissima* (35: 4), *Serpens, Americana, maximo in honore habita* (36: 5), *Serpens India Orientali, Nitipolonga dicta, elegantissima, marmorei coloris, capite flosculis ornato* (37: 1), *Serpens, Lusitanis Cobra de Capello dicta, seu Vipera Naja, Ceilonica, foemina* (43: 4), *Serpentula, Ceilonica; seu naja altera* (43: 5),

Figure 130. First volume (1734) of Albertus Seba's thesaurus.

Cobra de Capello, ex India orientali; seu Serpens, diademate, vel perspicillo, faciem Hominis repraesentante, insignita (44: 1), *Serpens, minor, Americana, corallina, maculata* (52: 4), *Serpens, Americana, Arborea, singulari artificio picta, magni aestimata* (53: 1), *Serpens Amphisbaena, Orientalis* (53: 7), *Serpens, minos, Orientali, cauda acuminata* (53: 8), *Lacertus, Americanus, lemniscatus* (53: 9), *Vipera, Africana, convoluta* (54: 2), *Serpens, Africana, ex insula Madera, cursu velocissima, ruffula* (54: 3), *Serpens, Africana, Petola dicta* (54: 4), *Anguis, Americanus, elegans, Leucophaeus* (55: 5), *Serpens, Ternatana, eximie maculata, & oculata* (56: 4), *Serpens Bali-Slan-Boekit, Ternatana* (57: 5), *Serpens, Phyticus, Africanus, prodigiosus, ab indigenis Divino honore cultus* (62: 1), *Serpens, Phyticus, Orientalis, alter, Gerende dictus, tortuosus, itidem Divinis honoribus cultus* (62: 2), *Vipera, Indica, ex Java, seu Coluber de Jararaka* (70: 12), *Rana, Americana, vesicaria* (71: 1), *Rana, Americana, similis habens utriculos; mas prioris* (71: 2), *Rana, Surinamensis* (71: 3), *Rana, Surinamensis, marmorata* (71: 4; 5), *Bufo, Brasiliensis, Margaritis velutis conspersus, Aquaqua dictus* (71: 6; 7), *Bufo, Brasiliensis, granis veluti conspersus* (71: 8), *Bufo, cornutus, & spinosus, Virginianus; mas* (72: 1), *Bufo, cornutus, & spinosus, Virginianus; foemina* (72: 2), *Rana, Virginiana, exquisitissima* (72: 3), *Rana, Virginiana, altera* (72: 4), *Lacerta, Virginiana, lepida* (72: 5), *Serpens, Virginiana, maculis notata* (72: 6), *Bufo, Brasiliensis, de Aguaquaquan dictus, orbiculatus* (73: 1; 2), *Rana, Brasiliensis, gracilis* (73: 3), *Rana, Brasiliensis, orbicularis, Pipae species* (74: 1), *Rana, maxima, Virginiana, eximia, rara, foemina* (75: 1), *Lacerta, Virginiana, maculis & flammis adornata* (75: 2), *Serpens, Virginiana, Ranis vescens* (75: 3), *Rana, Virginiana, maculis & lineis notata* (75: 4), *Rana, Marina, Americana, rara; mas* (76: 1), *Lacerta, Virginiana, de Tuletec dicta* (76: 2), *Bufo, sive Pipa, Americana, ova quamplurima in dorso habens; foemina* (77: 1), *Pipa, Americana; foemina* (77: 2; 3), *Pipal, Americanus, maximus; mas* (77: 4), *Generatio &*

Transmutatio Ranarum nostratium, sive Europaerum (78: 1-8), *Generatio & Transmutatio Ranarum Africanum* (78: 9-14), *Transmutatio Ranarum Americanum in Pisces* (78: 15-22), *Testudo, terrestris, Amboinensis, minoir* (79: 1; 2), *Testudo, terrestris, Ceilonica, elegans, minor* (79: 3), *Testudinis, marina, Americana, Pullos* (79: 4-6), *Ovum testudinis, cum foetu* (79: 7), *Ovum Testudinis, speciei mediocris, ex America* (79: 8), *Testudo, major, Terrestris, Americana, Mydas dicta* (80: 1), *Testudo Terrestris, Brasiliensis* (80: 2; 3; 6), *Testudo Terrestris, Ceilonica, minor* (80: 4), *Testudo ex Nova Hispania* (80: 5), *Testudo Terrestris, Amboinensis* (80: 7), *Testudo, minor, Amboinensis* (80: 8), *Testudo Marina, Americana* (80: 9), *Serpens, lemniscata, venusiissima, Americana* (81: 9), *Chamaeleo, Mexicanus, seu Cuapapalcatl* (82: 1), *Chamaeleo, Orientalis, ex Amboina* (82: 2), *Chamaeleo, Ceilonicus, subcrocei coloris* (82: 3), *Chamaeleontes, pulli, Amboinensis, mas & foemina* (82: 4; 5), *Sceleton Chamaeleontis* (82: 6), *Lacertus, orbicularis, spinosus, sive Tapayaxin, ex Nova Hispania* (83: 1: 2), *Serpens, Guineensis, rarissima, supra fusci, infra albi coloris, Millio dicta* (83: 3), *Chamaeleo, ex Africa, colore nigricante, at pectine albo supra dorsum decoratus* (83: 4), *Chamaeleo, Promontorii Bona Spei, caeruleo alboque colore, marmoris instar, variegatus* (83: 5), *Serpens, Americana, Amphisbaena* (84: 1), *Serpens, Drynius dictus, Americanus* (84: 2), *Lacertus, Africanus, cauda spinosa* (84: 3), *Lacertus, Africanus, cauda spinosa; foemella* (84: 4), *Serpens Porphyrius, Brasiliensis* (85: 1), *Lacerta, Americana, maculata* (85: 2), *Lacerta, Americana, minor, caerulea, Argus dicta* (85: 3), *Lacerta, Americana, major* (85: 4), *Serpens, ex Maritania, singulari taeniarum apparatu decora* (86: 1), *Serpens Caecilia, ex Mauritania* (86: 2), *Serpens pusilla, elegans, Mauritania* (86: 3), *Lacerta stellatus, Mauritanus; mas* (86: 4), *Lacerta, mauritana, priors foemella* (86: 5), *Lacerta, marmoris in modum variegata, Mauritania* (86: 6), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, Ibiracoa* (87: 1; 2; 3), *Lacerta, eximia, ex Insula S Eustachii* (87: 4; 5), *Salamandra, rara, ex Insula S Eustachii* (87: 6), *Lacerta, Surinamensis, dorso dilute caeruleo, cauda tenui, longiore* (88: 1), *Lacerta, Surinamensis, major, Ameira dicta* (88: 2), *Serpens, Americana, grossa, versicolor* (88: 3), *Lacerta Americana, cum cauda longissima, Temapara dicta* (88: 4), *Lacerta, Mexicana, Strumosa, postica capitis parte parvum pectinen gerens* (89: 1), *Lacerta, Mexicana, strumosa, altera, saxicola, Tecoixin dicta* (89: 2), *Lacerta, Americana* (89: 3), *Salamandra aquatica, Americana* (89: 4; 5), *Lacerta, Tigrina, Ceilonica, cauda bifida* (90: 7), *Lacertus, Americanus, ex Rio de Janeyro, insignibus venusius; mas & foemina* (91: 1; 2), *Lacerta, Brasiliensis, de Bahia, Taraguira incolis vocata* (91: 3), *Lacerta, Tecunhana dicta, Brasiliensis* (91: 4), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, Laphiati dicta, elegantissime picta* (91: 5), *Lacerta, Brasiliensis, Tejuguacu dicta* (92: 1), *Lacerta, Orientalis, stellata* (92: 2), *Lacerta peregrina, Brasiliensis, cauda bifurcata* (92: 3), *Lacerta, Africana, Guineensis* (92: 4), *Lacerta, Americana, venustissima* (92: 5), *Lacerta, Arabica, versicolor, Galeotes dicta* (93: 1), *Lacerta, Ceilonica, lemniscata, & pectinata, caerulea, Kolotes, & Askalabotes Graecis dicta; aliis Ophiomachus seu Pugnatrix caerulea* (93: 2), *Salamandra, lacerta aemula, Americana, cauda crassa, nodosa* (93: 3), *Lacertus Ophiomachus, pectinatus, & aculeatus, species Draconis, Brasiliensis* (93: 4), *Lacerta, Amboinensis, elegantissima; foemina + mas + foemina* (94: 1; 2; 3), *Lacerta, Ceilonica, cristata, & pectinata* (94: 4), *Lacerta, Ceilonica, hiante ore, supina* (94: 5), *Lacerta, Americanae, Sceleton* (94: 6), *Serpens, Ceilonica, elegantissima* (94: 7), *Serpens, Ceilonica, minor, amoena* (94: 8), *Ovum Serpentes Ceilonica, cum pullo* (94: 9), *Lacertus, Americanus, pectintus, & strumosus; seu Leguana* (95: 1), *Lacerta, seu Leguana, Surinamensis, pectinata, & strumosa, caerulea; foemina* (95: 2), *Lacertus, Ceilonicus, Amphibius, seu Leguana, Soa Ajer dicta; mas + foemina* (95: 3; 4), *Serpens, Ceilonica, Javara Epeba dicta* (95; 5), *Lacerta Tecuixin, minor, seu Teiuguacu, Nova Hispania* (96: 1; 2), *Lacerta Teiuguacu, seu Texixincoyotl, seu Tecuixim simpliciter dicta, maxima* (96: 3), *Liguana, pectinata & strumosa, Asiatica* (96: 4), *Liguana, strumosa, & dentata, minor, ex insula Formosa* (96: 5), *Lacerta, saxatilis, capite crasso, & brevi, terrestris, Salamandrae aemulo, lingua crassa* (96: 6), *Lacerta de Taletec, minor, innocua, in N Hispania Tamacolin dicta* (97: 1), *Lacerta, major, Tilcuetzpallin in Nova Hispania dicta, juxta Hernand*: (97: 2), *Liguana Semembi, in N Hispania, Tamacolin dicta, pectinata, & strumosa* (97: 3), *Lacerta, Brasiliensis, Quetzpaleo, cauda annulata*

& spinosa (97: 4), *Lacerta, Mexicana, Cuetzpallin dicta, innocua, elegantissima* (97: 5), *Lacertus, Amboinensis, pectinatus, & strumosus, Maximus, Senembi & Iguana dictus, amphibius* (98: 1), *Lacerta, Ameira dicta, ex Nova Hispania, spadicea, lineas nigricantibus ornata, cauda bifida* (98: 2), *Lacerta, Brasiliensis, Taraguico Aycuraba dicta* (98: 3), *Lacerta Tejuguacu, americana, maxima, Sauvegarde dicta, marmores coloris, Amphibia* (99: 1), *Lacerta Tejuguacu, Ceilonica; alia species* (99: 2), *Serpens, Africana, ex Madera, macilenta, Levipes dicta* (99: 3), *Draco arboreus, volans, Americanus, amphibius; sive Basiliscus* (100: 1), *Lacerta, Tigrina, pectinata, Americana, Ascalabos dicta* (100: 2), *Lacerta Ceilonica, visu jucunda* (100: 3), *Serpens Ceilonica, maculata, ob peractam vernationem valde glabra* (100: 4), *Serpens ex regno Siam, Sibylla dicta* (100: 5), *Lacerta, Americana, maxima, Cordylus & Caudiverbera, dicta* (101: 1), *Lacerta, Americana, volans; seu Draco volans* (102: 2), *Crocodili ceilonici, Foetus ex ovo prodiens* (103: 1), *Crocodilus, Africanus, recens natus* (103: 2), *Crocodili, Africanus, recens nati, altera species* (103: 3), *Crocodilus, Americanus, ex Curassoa* (103: 4), *Crocodili, Africani, ovum* (103: 3), *Development of Crocodili Curassavici* (104: 1 *to* 9), *Crocodilus Ceilonicus, junior* (104: 10 *to* 12), *Lacerta ceilonica, major, mas, Cessator dictus* (105: 1), *Lacerta alia Ceilonica, foemella, ovula sua monstrans* (105: 2), *Crocodilus, Aquaticus, Ceilonicus; mas + foemina* (105: 3; 4), *Crocodilus, Americanus, amphibius* (106: 1), *Lacerta Heliaca, Americana, pectinata* (106: 2), *Salamandra Americana, posteriore parte Lacertam referens, amphibia; mas + foemina* (107: 1; 2), *Salamandra, Americana, Lacertae aemula, altera* (107: 3), *Salamandra vera; seu Gekko Ceilonicus, maximus, brevi cauda, amphibius (108: 1), Gekko Ceilonicus, cauda circinata (108: 2), Gekko Ceilonicus, tertius (108: 3), Gekko Ceilonicus, quartus, supinus* (*108: 4*), *Gekko Ceilonicus, quintus* (*108: 5*), *Gekko Ceilonicus, sextus, annulatus* (*108: 6*), *Gekko septimus, cauda circinata* (*108: 7*), *Gekko, pullus* (*108: 8*), *Gekko, pullis alter, prioris, Num 3 aemulus* (*108: 9*), *Ova salamandra, seu Gekko* (*108: 10*), *Serpens Ceilonica, longissima, tenuissima, vulgo Gliricapa* (109: 1), *Lacerta parva, lepida, Ceilonica* (109: 2), *Salamandra prodigiosa, Amboinensis, scutata* (109: 3), *Salamandra scutata, altera, Amboinensis* (109: 4), *Salamandra, Americana, cauda bifida; Lacerta species spuria* (109: 5), *Bufo Americanus, spinosus, Tapayaxin; sive Salamandra orbicularis* (109: 6), *Anguiculus, Americanus, ex fusco griseus, maculis albis notatus* (109: 7), *Serpens minor, Africana, lineis nigris & albis in dorso distincta* (109: 8), *Serpens taeniolis & catenulis ornata* (110: 1), *Serpens, Americana, eleganter marmoris in modum versicolor* (110: 2), *Serpens Serpens ex Guinea, Leucophaea, ex fusco maculata per supernam corporis faciem* (110: 3), *and Lacertus, Americanus, singularis; mas + foemella* (110: 4; 5).

Balk (1746: 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 26, 27; 1749: 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 292, 297, 304, 305): 7. *TESTUDO unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque solotariis* (*Testudo marina americana*, Seb. Thes. 1. p. 127. t. 79. f. 4. 5. 6.), 8. *RANA palmis tetradactylis fissis, plantis pentadactylis palmatis, apicibus digitorum subrotundus* (*Rana surinamensis,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 114. t. 71. f. 3. 4.), 9. *BANA* (sic) *pedibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis; geniculus subtus tuberosus* (These tubers below each joint of the fingers are consistent with those of *Rana maxima, virginiana, eximia, rara,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 119. t. 75. f. 1.), 14. *LACERTA cauda tereti longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice denticulato, collo capiteque pone aculiato.* (*Salamandra Americ. Lacertae aemula altera* Seb. thes. 1. p. 170. t. 107. f. 3. *Salamandra amer. amphibia.* Seb. thes. p. 169. t. 107. f. 1. 2.), 15. *LACERTA cauda longa, pedibus pentadactylis, dorso antice dentato, capite pone denticulato* (*Lacerta ceilonica coerulea,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 150. t. 35. f. 4. *Lacertus ceilonicus amphibius seu Leguana soa ajer dicta.* Seb. thes. 1. p. 149. t. 95. f. 3. *Lacerta ceilonica lemniscata & pectinata coerulea, Kalotes & Askalotes Graecis dicta, aliis Ophiomanchus s. pugnatrix coerulea,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 146. t. 93. f. 2.), 16. *LACERTA cauda tereti brevi, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis* (*Chamaeleo oriental. ex amboina.* Seb. thes. 1. p. 133. t. 82. *Chamaeleo ceilonicus, subcrocei coloris.* Seb. thes. 1. p. 134. t. 82. f. 3. *Chamaeleo pullus amboinensis*, Seb. thes. 1. p. 134. t. 72. f. 4. 5. *Chamaeleo promontorii bonae spei, coeruleo alboque colore, marmoris instar variegatus,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 135. t. 83. f. 5.), 18. *LACERTA cauda verticillata squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis,*

(*Lacertus african, cauda spinosa, mas & foemina,* seb. thes. 1. p. 136. t. 84. f. 3. 4. *Cordylo vulgo*.); 23. *ANGUIS squamis abdominalibus CCXL, caudalibus XIII.* (*Serpens amphisbaena orientalis,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 27. t. 53. f. 7.), 32. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXX, squamis caudalibus LXXXV.* (*Serpens Africana ab hottentottis Sibon dicta,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 22. t. 14. f. 4.), 33. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXXXIV, caudalibus L.* (This beauty is drawn in Sebae thes. 1. p. 20. t. 11. f. 3.), 35. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CXCVI, squamis caudalibus LXVII.* (*Serpentula ceilonica seu Naja altera,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 71. t. 43. f. 5.).

9. *BANA* (sic) *pedibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis; geniculus subtus tuberosus*. in Balk (1746) corrected to 9. *RANA pedibus fissis, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis; geniculus subtus tuberosus*. in Balk (1749).

Dahlberg (1755: 6; 1759: 369): "... *Rana piscis, Surinamensis incola, de quo Vincent, Meriana, Seba & alii demonstrare conate sunt, rana in piscen transmutari, contrario plane modo ac in ranis fieri assolet...*" ["…The frog-fish, an inhabitant of Suriname, about which Vincent, Merian, Seba, and others have attempted to demonstrate that the frog is transformed into a fish—by a process entirely contrary to what usually happens in frogs…"].

Hast (1745: 11, 13, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 34, 19; 1949: 118, 119, 122, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 137, 138, 139): 6. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV*. (Seb. thesaur. 1. pag. 19. tab. 10. fig. ult. *Serpentula ex ins. Ceilon*), 8. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCVII, caudalibus LXXXV.* (Seb. thes. 1. pag. 89. tab. 54. fig. 4. *Serpens americana Petola dicta*), 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Seb. thesaur. tom. I. p. 160. tab. 103, 104. fig. omnes), 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata*. (Seb. thes. 1. p. 151. tab. 96. fig. 4. *Leguana pectinata & strumosa asiatica*; Seb. thes. 1. p. 152. tab. 97. fig. 3. *Liguana senembi in nova hispania, Tamacolin dicta, pectinata & strumosa*; Seb. thes. 1. p. 153. tab. 98. fig. 1. *Lacertus amboinensis pectinatus & strumosus maximus, Senembi & Iguana, dictus, amphibius*; Seb. thesaur. tom. 1. p. 149. tab. 95. fig. 1. *Lacertus americanus pectinatus & strumosus seu Leguana*; Seb. thesaur. tom. 1. p. 149. tab. 95. fig. 2. *Lacerta seu Leguana surinamensis pectinata & strumosa coerulea foemina*), 13. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, scutis abdominalibus XXX*. (Seb. thesaur. 1. p. 140. tab. 88. fig. 2.*Lacerta Surinamensis major, ameira dicta*; Seb. thesaur. 1. pag. 136. tab. 85. fig. 2. *Lacerta americana maculata*; Seb. thesaur. 1. pag. 136. tab. 85. fig. 3. *Lacerta americana minor coerulea, Argus dicta*), 14. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis*. (Seb. thesaur. 1. p. 150. tab. 96. fig. 1. *Lacerta teguixin seu Tejuguacu altera*), 15. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore triplo longiore, pedibus pentadctilis, gula subcristata*. (Seb. thesaur. I. p. 140. tab. 88. fig. 4. *Lacerta americana , cum cauda longissima, Temapara dicta*), 16. LACERTA *cauda tereti corpore sesqui longiore, pedibus pendactytis, dorso lineis longitudinalibus striato*. (Seb. thesaur. 1. p. 145. tab. 92. fig. 4. *Lacerta africana guineensis*; Seb. thesaur. 1. p. 88. tab. 53. fig. 9. *Lacertus americanus lemniscatus*), 18. LACERTA *cauda verticillata, squamis denticulatis, pedibus pentadactylis*. (Seb. thesaur. 1. p. 136. tab. 84. fig. 3.4. *Lacertus africanus, cauda spinosa, mas & foemina*), 19. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis utrinque cristatis subtus lunulato - imbricatis, corpore verrucoso*. (Seb. Thesaur. 1. p. 170. & 171. tab. 168. fig. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Salamandra vera seu Gecko Ceilonicus maximus), 20. RANA *pedibus fissis, unguibus subrotundis, corpore laevi, pone angustato*. (Seb. thesaur. I. p. 177. tab. 73. fig. 3. *Rana brasiliensis gracilis*), 21. TESTUDO *major terrestris americana, mydas dicta*. (Seb. Thesaur. 1. p. 127 tab. 80. fig. 1), 22. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum duobus, plantarum unico.* (Seb. Thesaur. 1. p. 130. tab. 80. fig. 9. *Testudo marina americana*), 24. TESTUDO *picta vel stellata*. (Seb Thesaur. 1. p. 130, tab. 80. fig. 8. *Testudo minor amboinensis*).

Also, in p. 19, referring to 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata*, mention "... *Animal hocce tam orientales quam Occidentales Indi, sicut & Christiani quidam eo accedentes, cibi loco habent, quin & ova ejus commedunt*. Seb. Lactant. Marcgr. Bochart...". ["…This animal is eaten as food by both the East and West Indians, as well

as by certain Christians who come into contact with it; indeed, they even eat its eggs. — Seba, Lactantius, Marcgraf, Bochart…"]."

6. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV*.; 8. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCVII, caudalibus LXXXV.* from Hast (1745) were renamed 6. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV*.; 8. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CCVII, caudalibus LXXXV.* in Hast (1749).

Linnaeus (1746a: 96): 256. LACERTA pedibus inermibus fissis (*Seb. thes*. 1. p. 141. t. 89. f. 4. 5. Lacerta americana).

Linnaeus (1754: 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50): *Lacerta crocodilus* (Seb. Thes. 1. p. 160. t. 103. 104), *L. tigrina* (Seb. Thes. 1. p. 147. t. 94. f. 1. 2), *L. superciliosa* (Seb. Thes. 1. p. 173. t. 109. f. 4), *L. cordylus* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 136. t. 84. f. 3. 4), *L. iguana* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 149. t. 95. f. 1. 2. & t. 97. f. 3. & t. 98. f. 1), *L. marmorata* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 140. t. 88. f. 4), *L. calotes* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 150. t. 34. f. 4 & p. 146. t. 93. f. 2), *L. amphibia* (Seb. thes. 1. 169. t. 107. f. 1. 2 & p. 170. t. 107. f. 3), *L. hispida* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 134. t. 83. f. 1. 2 & p. 173. t. 109. f. 9), *L. ameira* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 136. t. 85. f. 2. 3. & 140. t. 88. f. 2), *L. teguixin* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 150. t. 96. f. 1), *L. chamaeleo* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 133. t. 82. & p. 134. t. 82. f. 3. & t. 74. f. 5. 4. & t. 83. f. 5), *L. gecko* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 170. t. 168. f. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8), *Rana lactea* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 114. t. 71. f. 3. 4), *R. arborea* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 177. t. 73. f. 3), *R. cornuta* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 115. t. 72. f. 1. 2), *R. pipa* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 121. t. 77. f. 1. 2. 3. 4), *R. paradoxa* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 78), *Testudo amboinensis* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 126. t. 79. f. 1. 2), *T. atra* (Seb. thes. 1. p. 127. t. 79. f. 4. 5. 6).

Linnaeus (1758: 206): *Lacerta hispida* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 109. *f.* 6. & *t.* 83. *f.* 1. 2.), *L. orbicularis* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *p.* 184. *t.* 83. *f.* 1. 2. Lacertus orbicularis spinosus), *Coluber petola* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 54. *f.* 4.), *Anguis bipes* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 53. *f.* 88. || *t.* 86. *f.* 3.).

Linnaeus (1758: 197, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 217, 220, 221, 222, 224, 228, 229, 199), Linné (1766: 351, 353, 359, 360, 370, 361, 362, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 354, 356, 357, 374, 376, 381, 382, 383, 386, 391, 393,358): *Testudo mydas* β (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 80 *f.* 9. Testudo marina americana Mydas dicta), *T. mydas* γ (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 79. *f.* 4. 5. 6), *T. geometrica* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 80. *f.* 8. Testudo minor amboinensis), *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 103. 104), *L. superciliosa* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 109. *f.* 4.), *L. scutata* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *p.* 173. *t.* 109. *f.* 3. Salamandra prodigiosa amboinensis scutata), *L. monitor* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 94. *f.* 1. 2), *L. palustris* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 89. *f.* 4, 5. Lacerta americana), *L. cordylus* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 84. *f.* 3. 4.), *L. ameiva* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 85. *f.* 2, 3. || *t.* 88. *f.* 1, 2.), *L. chamaeleon* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 82. *f.* 3. 4. 5. & *t.* 83. *f.* 5.), *L. gecko* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 168 *f.* 2-8), *L. basiliscus* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 100. *f.* 1.), *L. igvana* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 95. *f.* 1. 2. || *t.* 96. *f.* 4. || *t.* 97. *f.* 3. || *t.* 98. *f.* 1.), *L. calotes* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 95. *f.* 3, 4. || *t.* 93. *f.* 2.), *L. agama* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 107. *f.* 1. 2. 3.), *L. teguixin* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 96. *f.* 1.), *L. aurata* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 89. *f.* 3.), *L. lemniscata* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 92. *f.* 4.), *Rana pipa* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *p.* 121. *t.* 77. *f.* 1-4.), *R. marina* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 76. *f.* 1), *R. cornuta* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 72. *f.* 1, 2. Bufo cornutus s. spinosus virginianus), *R. paradoxa* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 78 *f.* omnes), *R. arborea* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 73. *f.* 3. Rana brasiliensis gracilis), *R. boans* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 71. *f.* 3. 4. Rana surinamensis), *Boa constrictor* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 53. *f.* 1. || *t.* 36. *f.* 5. || *t.* 62. *f.* 2, 1.), *Coluber plicatilis* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 57. *f.* 5.), *C. aulicus* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 91. *f.* 5), *C. naja* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 44. *f.* 1), *C. atrox* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 43. *f.* 5.), *C. sibon* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 14. *f.* 4.), *C. lemniscatus* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 10. *f.* ult.), *Anguis maculata* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 53. *f.* 7.), *A. lumbricalis* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *p.* 137. *t.* 86. *f.* 2), *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 88. *f.* 3.).

Footenote on pp. 199 "Dracones omnes reliqui authorum fabulosi sunt, ut HYDRA, Seb. mus. I. t. 102 f. 1. Hamburgi a nobis visa, non naturæ, sed artis opus eximium." ["…All the other dragons of the authors are fabulous, such as the Hydra (Seb. Mus. I, plate 102, fig. 1), which we saw in Hamburg — not a work of nature, but an exquisite work of art…"].

Linnaeus (1759: 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81): 1. T. pedibus pinniformibus, unguibus palmarum binis, plantarum solitariis, testa ovata: *β* (*Seb. mus*. 1. *t.* 80. *f.* 9; *Seb. mus.* I. *t.* 79. *f.* 4. 5. 6), 9. T. pedibus posticis palmatis, testae scutellis elevatis truncatis (*Seb. mus.* I. *t.* 10. *f.* 8), 4. L. cauda subcompressa mediocri, sutura dorsali dentata, occipite bimucronato (*Seb. mus.* I. *t.* 109. *f.* 3); *HYDRA* (*Seb. mus.* 1 . *t.* 102), 23. L. cauda tereti mediocri, vertice trimuricato (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 109. *f.* 6. *t.* 83. *f.* 1. 2), 24. L cauda tereti brevi, trunco subgloboso supra muricato (*Seb. mus.* 1. *p.* 134.

t. 83. *f.* 1. 2), 27. L. cauda tereti longa, pinna dorsali radiata, occipite cristato (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* I00. *f.* 1), 36. L. cauda tereti longa, sutura laterali plicata (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 96. *f.* 1), 39. L. cauda tereti longa, dorso lineis octo striatis (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 92. *f.* 4), 7. R. scapulis gibbosis, clunibus nodosis (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 76. *f.* 1), 10. R. palpebris conicis (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 72. *f.* 1, 2), 12. R. femoribus postice oblique striatis (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 78. *f.* omnes), 17. R. corpore laevi: subtus punctis contiguis, pedibus palmatis: plantis pentadactylis, palmis tetradactylis, unguibus orbiculato-dilatatis (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 71. *f.* 3, 4), 177. Plicatilis (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 57. *f.* 5), 244. Aulicus (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 91. *f.* 5), 263. Atrox (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 43. *f.* 5), 264. Sibon (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 14. *f.* 4), 285. Lemniscatus (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 10. *f.* ult. 2. *t.* 76. *f.* 3), 160. Bipes (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 53. *f.* 8. *t.* 86. *f.* 3).

Linnaeus (1761: 103): 281. LACERTA *palustris* cauda ancipiti lanceolata (Seb. thes. 1. p. 141. t. 89. f. 4. Lacerta americana).

Linné (1766: 351, 353, 356, 358, 360, 365, 366, 387, 390): *Testudo scabra* (Seb. mus. 1. t. 69. f. 1, 2). *T. carolina* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 80. *f.* 1. Testudo terrestris major americana), *Rana ocellata* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 76. *f.* 1), *Draco praepos* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *p.* 160. *t.* 102. *f.* 2. Draco volans americanus), *Lacerta dracaena* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 101. *f.* 1. Lacerta maxima Cordylus s. Caudiverbera), *L. orbicularis* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 109. *f.* 6. & *t.* 83. *f.* 1. 2.), *L. orbicularis* β (*Seb. mus.* 1. *p.* 184. *t.* 83. *f.* 1. 2. Lacertus orbicularis spinosus), *Coluber pethola* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 54. *f.* 4.), *Anguis bpes* (*Seb. mus.* 1. *t.* 53. *f.* 88. || *t.* 86. *f.* 3.).

Österdam (1766: 3, 6; 1769: 313, 316): On p. 3/313, «... Ausus fuit Seba HYDRAM proponere seu Draconem septem capitibus deformen..." ["…Seba dared to present a *Hydra*, or a dragon deformed with seven heads…"]. Also, in p. 6/316 "... Has metamorphoses in gradationibus naturae observandis adcurate sequi decet, atque in catena antrorsum procedere, non retrorsum ut Meriana & Seba, qui transmutatione retrograda Ranam paradoxam in Piscem abire putabant..." ["…These metamorphoses should be carefully followed when observing the gradations of nature, and one ought to proceed forward along the chain, not backward like Merian and Seba, who believed—by a retrograde transformation—that the *Rana paradoxa* changes into a fish…"].

Sundius (1748: 21; 1749: 498): 16. CENCHRIS *scutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Serpens americana arborea, singulari artificio picta, magni aestimata, Seb. thes. 1. p. 85. t. 53. f. 1).

Comments: *Lacerta americana* is the figure 89: 3, not fig. 89: 4. 5, as noted by Linnaeus (1746a: 96). Not in Linnaeus's private library (Anonymous 1896). A copy of the French/Latin edition of the book was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the edition as the source.

Seba, A. 1735. *Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri accurata descriptio, et iconibus artificiosissimis expressio, per universam physices historiam. Opus, cui, in hoc rerum genere, nullum par exstitit. Ex toto terrarum orbe collegit, digessit, descripsit, et depingendum curavit Albertus Seba, Etzela Oostfrisius, Academiæ Caesareæ Leopoldino Carolinæ Naturæ Curiosorum Collega Xenocrates dictus; Societatis Regiæ Anglicanæ, et Instituti Bononiensis, sodalis. Tomus 2.* Amstelaedami: J. Wetstenium & Gul. Smith & Janssonio-Waesbergios: [xxx] + 1–154, Pl. I–CXIV. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.62760>. (Figure 131)

Abbreviated as: Seb. mus. 2.; Seb. thes. 2.; Seb. Thes. 2.

Cited in Balk (1746, 1749), Darelius (1749; 1751), Hast (1745, 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758; 1759); Linné (1764a, 1766), Sundius (1748; 1749).

Contents: Include the description and illustration of a loittle less of 350 amphibians and reptiles (mostly snakes): *Scytale Africanae* (1: 1; 2), *Serpens, Corallina, Zeylanica* (1: 3), *Serpens, Corallina, Amboinensis* (1: 4), *Scytala, Surinamensis* (1: 5), *Hydra, Zeylanica,* Duberria *dicta Cingulensibus* (1: 6), *Amphisbaena, Zeylanica* (1: 7), *Serpens, Corallina, Sinensis* (1: 8), *Serpens Americana, lemniscata, Xequipiles dicta* (1: 9), *Scytalae binis, Americanae, Amphisbaenae etiam & Caeciliae vocatae* (2: 1; 2), *Scytalae ex Nova Hispania* (2: 3; 4), *Serpentes,* Cobellas *dictae, Americana* (2: 5; 6), *Serpentula gracilis, longa Guineensis* (2: 7), *Anguiculus, Americanus, eleganter variegatus* (2: 8), *Lacertula binae, Zeylanica; mas & foemina* (2: 9), *Serpens, Americana, coerulea, Dipsas dicta* (3: 2), *Serpens, indigena, communis* (4: 1), *Ophis, indigena, tuberosus; masculus & foemella* (4: 2; 3), *Lacertulae, indigenae, virides* (4:

LOCUPLETISSIMI
RERUM
NATURALIUM
THESAURI
ACCURATA DESCRIPTIO,
ET
ICONIBUS ARTIFICIOSISSIMIS
EXPRESSIO,
PER
UNIVERSAM PHYSICES HISTORIAM.
OPUS,
CUI, IN HOC RERUM GENERE, NULLUM PAR EXSTITIT.
EX TOTO TERRARUM ORBE COLLEGIT,
DIGESSIT, DESCRIPSIT, ET DEPINGENDUM CURAVIT
ALBERTUS SEBA,
ETZELA OOSTFRISIUS,
ACADEMIÆ CÆSAREÆ LEOPOLDINO CAROLINÆ NATURÆ CURIOSORUM
COLLEGA XENOCRATES DICTUS, SOCIETATIS REGIÆ ANGLICANÆ,
ET INSTITUTI BONONIENSIS, SODALIS.
TOMUS II.
AMSTELAEDAMI,
Apud J. WETSTENIUM, & GUL. SMITH,
& JANSSONIO-WAESBERGIOS.
MDCCXXXV.

Figure 131. Second volume (1735) of Albertus Seba's thesaurus.

4; 5), *Serpens, Sicula,* Serena *dicta, maculata; mas + foemina* (5: 1; 2), *Serpens, Sega, Africana; mas + foemina* (5: 3; 4), *Serpens, Ibiboboca; seu Serpens, perelegans, Brasiliensis* (6: 1), *Anguis, ex Regno Zenegae* (6: 2), *Serpens, variegata, Americana* (6: 3), *Serpens, Biceps, Americana, rubra* (6: 4), *Serpens Jaculus, Amboinensis, perelegans* (7: 1), *Amphisbaena, Amboinensis; Corio quasi reticulato conspicua* (7: 3), *Amphisbaena, Amboinensis, squamis rubicundis obducta* (7: 4), *Serpens, Ceilonicus, perelegans, Myophagus* (8: 1; 2), *Vipera, vera, India Orientalis; Mas* (8: 4), *Vipera, squamosa, Surinamensis* (8: 5), *lacerta, Aculeata, Promontorii Bonae Spei* (8: 6), *Tapayaxin, sive Lacerta, orbicularis, minor, Promontorii Bonae Spei* (8: 7), *Serpens, lemniscatus, Lusitanis Chayquarona dictus; mas + foemina* (9: 1; 2), *Serpens, Africanus, Erucarum insidiator* (9: 3), *Lacerta, Amboinensis, taeniolis fimbriata* (9: 5), *Aspis, AEgyptiaca, atris maculis notata* (10: 1), *Aspis, Americana; mas + foemella* (10: 2; 3), *Scincus, Marinus, Americanus, longa cauda* (10: 4), *Scinculus, Marinus, Americanus* (10: 5), *Serpens, Brasiliensis* (11:1), *Serpentes, Americanae* (11: 2; 3), *Serpens, Americana, Lemniscata* (11: 4), *Serpens, Americana, Viperae aemula* (12: 1), *Serpens, Ceilonica, Crucifera* (12: 2), *Serpens, Ceilonica, lineis subfuscis* (12: 3), *Serpens, Americana, dormitans* (12: 4), *Salamandra, maculata, nostras* (12: 5), *Lacerta, Africana* (12:6), *Salamandra, Ceilonica, minor, prona, Aquatica* (12: 7), *Serpens, lemnia, Laphiati dicta, elegantissima* (13: 1), *Rana, Lemnia* (13: 2), *Serpens, Americana* (13: 3), *Anguiculus, Africanus, coeruleus* (13: 4), *Serpens, Americana* (14: 1), *Serpens, Surinamensis, Dipsas dicta* (14: 2), *Serpens, Dipsas, Amboinensis* (14: 3), *Lacerta, Ceilonica* (14: 4), *Serpens, ex Libya* (15: 1), *Serpens, Amboinensis, Tigrina* (15: 2), *Serpens, Americana* (15: 3), *Anguis de Cencoatl, Americanus, venustissimus* (16: 1), *Vipera, Coyuta dicta, Brasiliensis; seu species Bitin* (16: 2), *Anguis de Cencoatl, Americani, supra exhibiti, foemella*

(16: 3), *Serpens, Corallina, Amboinensis* (17: 1), *Lacerta, a Serpente pene deglutita* (17: 2), *Serpens, Africana, ex Delmina* (17: 3), *Serpens, Americana, maculata* (17: 4), *Serpens, Amboinensis, caerulea* (18: 1), *Serpens, Ceilonica, Caecilia dicta* (18: 2), *Serpens, marina, coronata* (18: 3), *Serpentis AEsculapii species* (18: 4), *Serpens, Cerastes, Siamensis.* (19: 1), *Serpens, elegantissima, ex Guinea* (19: 3; 4), *Serpens, Amboinensis, nigra & alba, Apachykoatl dicta* (20: 1), *Serpens, Ibiboboca, Brasiliensis.* (20: 2), *Serpens, Amphisbaena* (20: 3), *Salamandra, mexicana, rarior, strumosa.* (20: 4), *Serpens, Peruviana, elegantissima & rara* (21: 1), *Cobra, Americana.* (21: 3), *Serpens, Caecilia, seu Scytale* (21: 4), *Serpens, Americana, elegantissima, maculis nigris & albis notata* (22: 1), *Serpens, Americana, minor, pulcherrima, maculis nigris & albis notata* (22: 2), *Serpens, Americana, Caecilia dicta* (22: 3), *Serpens, Guineënsis, rarissima, Argus dicta* (23: 1), *Serpens, Murina, Guineënsis, minor, gracilis* (23: 2), *Serpens, Caecilia, Guineënsis* (23: 3), *Serpens, Caecilia, Americana* (24: 1), *Serpens, Americana, maculis fuscis & albis interstincta* (24: 2), *Serpens, Surinamensis, coerulea* (24: 3), *Serpens, Corallina, Amboinensis, cauda Amphisbaenae, Brasiliensibus Ibyrra dicta, deglutiens Millipedam* (25: 1), *Serpens, caecilia, Ceilonica* (25: 2), *Vipera ex Nova Hispania, Cencoatl dicta; foemella* (26: 1), *Aspidis species, vulgo Vipera minor vocata; foemella + mas* (26: 2; 3), *Vipera ex kairo* (27: 1), *Serpens annulatus, e Promontorio Bonae Spei* (27: 2), *Serpens, Africana, minuscula, flava.* (27: 3), *Serpens Corallina, Americana* (27: 4), *Serpens, Amboinensis, venustissima* (27: 5), *Lacertula, Africana, junior* (27: 6), *Vipera Brasiliensis, Jakana an Incolis vocata* (28: 1), *Vipera Brasiliensis, altera, Tamachia dicta* (28: 2), *Binae Serpentes, Brasilienses inter se pugnantes, aut ludentes* (28: 3; 4), *Binae Serpentes, Peruvianae, inter se ludentes; mas & foemina* (28: 5; 6), *Serpens, testudinea, Americana; murium insidiator* (29: 1), *Serpens, Americana. versicolor.* (29: 3), *Serpens, Corallina, Amboinensis* (30: 1), *Lacerta, Mexicana* (30: 2), *Serpens, Americana, tenuis, Amphisbaena.* (30: 3), (), *Serpens, Surinamensis, Elegans* (31: 1), *Serpens, Ammodytes, Americana, flamifera* (31: 2), *Serpens, versicolor, Tigrina, Promontori Bonae Spei* (31: 3), (), *Serpens, Surinamensis, coerulei coloris; Dipsadis species* (32: 1), *Serpens, ceilonica, excellentissima, elegantissime picta* (32: 2), *lacerta, ceilonica, maculis albis & nigris notata* (32: 3), *Serpens, Arabica, fusca, maculis, nigricantibus, flammatis, notata.* (33: 1), *Serpens, Arabica, formosa, oculea* (33: 2), *Serpens, Arabica, viridis, maculis fuscis, aliisque nigricantibus, ab utroque latere, variegata* (33: 3), *Serpens, sive Vipera, Siamensis, perelegans, species Cerates, mas* (34: 1), *Serpens, Vipera, Siamensis, foemina* (34: 2), *Serpens, Corallina, Surinamensis, rarissima, lemniscata* (34: 3), *Serpens, Siamensis, eleganter lemniscata* (34: 4), *Vipera, Americana, eleganter maculata* (35: 1), *Serpens, Americana, annulata, Myrus dicta* (35: 2), *Serpens, Africana, fusca, Promontorii Bonae Spei* (35: 3), *Serpens, Africana. coerulea* (35: 4), *Echis, Americanus, nitidissime pictus* (36: 1), *Echidna, ex Insula S. Eustachii* (36: 2), *Vipera, viridis, Americana, foemina, St. Esutachii* (36: 3), *Vipera, coerulea, Americana, foemina, ex Ins. S. Eustachii* (36: 4), *Serpens, Saxatilis, Africanus; mas + foemina* (37: 1; 2), *Ranae, Rubetae, Africanae* (37: 3), *Rana, maculosa, Africana, Amphibia* (37: 4), *Serpens, Americana, catenata* (38: 1), *Serpens, Americana, annulata* (38: 2), *Serpens, AEgytiaca, Bochir dicta* (38: 3), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, Guacu dicta incolis, venustissime picta* (38: 4), *Serpens, Arabica, Scolopax dicta; mas + foemina* (39: 1; 2), *Serpens Ceilanica, Boyuna dicta* (39: 3), *Serpens Ceilanica, Malpalon dictaRajo in Synops. p.* 331 (39: 4), *Anguis, Testudineus; seu Chelydrus, Americanus, lubricus, in spiram se colligens* (40: 2), *Serpens, Bojobi, Coronata; seu Cobra Verde* (41: 1), *Vipera, Brasiliensis, Ibirakoa* (41: 3), *Serpens, Moluros, Americana* (41: 4), *Serpens altera* (41: 5), *Lacerta, ceilonica, minor, lemniscata* (41: 6), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, versicolor, species AEsculapii* (42: 1), *Serpens, Cenchrus, vel Serenus, Brasiliensis* (42: 2), *Serpens, Lyrica, Americana.* (42: 3), *Anguis, Scytale, parvus, Americanus* (42: 4), *Anguis, lemniscatus, catulus, Americanus* (42: 5), *Serpens, Americana, vulgare, ore hiulco* (42: 6), *Serpens, Americana, cineritia, vulgaris* (43: 1), *Anguiculus, Surinamensis, Cyanneus* (43: 2), *Anguis, lubricus, Africanus, ex promontorio Bonae Spei; taeniis albis & nigris annulatus* (43: 3), *Anguis, lubricus, Africanus, taeniis albis & rubris annulatus* (43: 4), *Serpens, Acontias, seu Jaculus Amboinensis* (44: 1), *Serpens, Dipsas, lentiginosa, Amboinensis* (44: 2),

Serpens, de carowala, Murina, Ceilonica, maculis flammeis notata (45: 1), *Serpens, Ceilonica, tenuissima, lineis nigris & albis notata* (45: 2), *Serpens, Ceilonica, scintillams, eximie maculata* (45: 3), *Vipera, Ceilonica, nasuta* (45: 4), *Serpens, Ceilonica, sibilans, perpulchre lemniscata* (45: 5), *Serpens, rubra, Amboinensis, Petola dicta* (46: 1), *Cobra, seu Vipera de Neustria, coronata, Ceilonica; foemina* (46: 2), *Serpens, Tigrina, ex insula Bali, versus Orientem Java sita* (46: 3), *Serpens, Africana, annulata; ex promontorio Bonae Spei* (46: 4), *Serpens, vulgaris, e Germania* (47: 1), *Serpens, Italica, ex montibus Patavinia* (48: 1), *Vipera, ceilonica, forma praestans* (48: 2), *Serpens, e regione Medok Guineensi, eximia* (49: 1), *Lacerta, eximia, Ceilonica; Tigridis instar maculata* (49: 2), *Lacertae juvenculae, cum ovulis* (49: 3), *Vipera, Ammodytes, Africana, amoenissima* (50: 1), *Serpens, Armenia, mire versicolor* (51: 1), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, Apoa dicta* (51: 2), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, Guacu dicta* (51: 3), *Serpens, Ranivora, ex madera* (51: 4), *Serpens, aurea, catenata, ex Barbaria* (52: 1), *Serpens Regia, veste purpurascente ornata* (52: 2), *Serpens, babylonica, Cenchrus dicta* (52: 3), *Serpens exquisitissima, Zeylanica, Malpolon dicta* (52: 4), *Serpens, mire picta, AEhetulla dicta, ex Java* (53: 1), *Serpens, lemniscata, Lurus dicta, ex Martinica* (53: 2), *Vipera, Americana, ex insula Cuba, Mangonizo dicta* (53: 3), *Serpens, viridis, ore acuminato, ex Java; Aspidis species* (53: 4), (), *Anguis, bicolor, elegantissimus, Malabaricus* (54: 1), *Anguis, AEsculapii, Americanus, ex Panama* (54: 2), *Vipera, pulcherrima, Anticyris delata* (54: 3), *Vipera, Japanica, literas inscripta* (54: 4), *Serpens, Colubra, oculea, Malaccensis; foemina + `mas* (55: 1; 4), *Vipera, Arabica, marassus dicta* (55: 2), *Vipera cornuta, Illyrica, e mari Adriatico, species Cerastae* (55: 3), *Serpens, amoena, Heliconia* (56: 1), *Serpens Hispalensis, frontem prae se ferens venustissimam* (56: 2), *Serpens, Americana, ex jamaica, species Jaculi* (56: 3), *Serpens Africana, Hippo dicta* (56: 4), *Serpens, maculata, Maderaspatana* (57: 1), *Serpens ex Nova Hispania, a I. Fabro Lynceo p.* 774 *delineata & descripta sub nomine Hispanico Itzag* (57: 2), *Serpens, bucculenta, Boetica* (57: 3), *Serpens, Asiatica, Haemachates dicta* (58: 1), *Serpens, venustissime annulata, ex Guadelupia, insula Americae Meridionalis* (58: 2), *Serpens, elegans, Japanica, Haemachatae species* (58: 3), *Colubra, Tlehua, aut Colubro Igneo a Lusitanis vocata; ex insula Celebes* (59: 1), *Anguis, Surinamensis, sonum edens* (59: 2), *Serpens, Catenata, ex Nova Hispania* (60: 1), *Coluber, de Terragona; mas + foemella* (60: 2; 3), *Coluber, Stellatus, ex Rio de la Plata Novae Hispaniae* (60: 4), *Serpens, Americana, Chiametla dicta* (61: 1), *Serpens, Ceilanica, pomposa veste ornata* (61: 2), *Serpens, Indica, Jaculi species, tenuis & longa, ex albo & nigro supra dorsum maculata* (62: 1), *Serpens, Africana, Promontorii Bonae Spei, eleganter ex albo & nigro lemniscata, visu jucunda* (62: 3), *Serpens, Africana, Promontorii Bonae Spei, Leucophaeae, elegantissima* (62: 4), *Lacerta nigra, Africana* (62: 5), *Lacerta, Africana, elegantissima* (62: 6), *Serpens, Mexicana, Petlacoatl dicta, elegantissima* (63: 1), *Serpens, Xaxalhua, ex Nova Hispania* (63: 2), *Serpens, Africana, ex Cyaneo dilute coerulea* (63: 3), *Lacerta, Africana, subruffa* (63: 4), *Serpens Acontius, sive Jaculus, Americanus, ex insula S. Cruez, squamis praegrandibus vestitus* (64: 1), *Serpoens, Americana, Anthracina* (64: 2), *Serpens, Erucaria, Surinamensis* (64: 3), *Aspis, minor, Surinamensis* (64: 4), *Serpentulae, Americana, vulgares* (64: 5; 6), *Serpens, Orientalis, Saltatrix, longissima, varios in gyros atque flexus sese crispans* (65: 1), *Srpens, cinereo|lutea, Amboinensis, in spiram se colligens* (65: 2), *Serpens, Americana, tenuissima, Leucophaea, taeniis rubris distincta* (65: 3), *Serpens, Argoli, Americana, species AEsculapii* (66: 1), *Serpens, Argoli, Americana, altera* (66: 2), *Serpens AEsculapii, Brasiliensis, verus, mas + foemina* (66: 3; 4), *Serpens, Surinamensis, Flosculus dictus; mas + foemina* (67: 1; 2), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, Textilis* (67: 3), *Aspis, Cobra, Brasiliensis; maxima* (68: 1), *Lacerta, Americana, jucunde maculata, seu Oculata* (68: 2), *Serpens, Caracara, Brasiliensis; singularis* (68: 3), *Serpens, Americana, species Aspidis Viridis* (68: 4), *Ranula, Americana, rubra* (68: 5), *Serpens, Americana, Excetra dicta* (68: 6), *Vermis Serpentiformis species singularis, ex Africa* (68: 7; 8), *Rana, Surinamensis, maculis aspersa* (70: 4), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, major, Ibiboboca dicta; seu Cobra de Corais* (71: 1), *Serpens, Americana, ferruginea, & lentiginosa* (71: 2), *Vipera, Virginiana, maculis purpureis* (71: 3), *Serpens, Cenchrias, seu Acontias, item Jaculus, Amboinensis* (72: 1), *Serpens, Drynus; seu Chelydrus Amboinensis* (72:

2), *Serpens, vel Spedon, Americanus* (73: 1), *Serpens, Coralloides, Brasiliensis, rubra, Amphisbaena; Petola dicta* (73: 2), *Amphisbaena, Ceilonica; foemina* (73: 3), *Amphisbaena, Americana, ex fusco & albo variegata* (73: 4), *Vipera, Paraguajana, formosa* (74: 1), *Serpens, Americana, Promontorii* (*seu Cabo de Fiburon*) (75: 1), *Serpens, Hikkanella, Americanus* (75: 2), *Serpens de Moculo, Americana* (75: 3), *Serpens, Duberria, Americana, Terrestris* (75: 4), *Serpens, Cora Coras, Americana* (75: 5), *Coluber, Ceilonicus, longissimus, perniciosus, torvus, Ammodites dictus* (76: 1), *Serpens, Ceilanica, elegantissima, maculosa* (76: 2), *Serpens, Ceilanica, lemniscis, latis* (76: 3), *Lacerta, Chalcitica, marmorata, ex Gallaecia* (76: 4), *Lacerta, fusca, nigris maculis, ex Gallaecia* (76: 5), *Nixboa Quanquecholla, seu Serpens, rara, Mexicama, cauda lata* (77: 1), *Vipera, Brasiliensis, rara, Tetzauhcoatl dicta; mas + foemina* (77: 2; 3), *Xaxalhua, seu Coluber, Mexicanus; mas + foemina* (77: 4; 5), *Ataligato, Anguis, rarus, Mexicanus* (77: 6), *Vipera, Orientalis, Hebraeis Zeboa, Graecis Hyaena dicta* (78: 1), *Coluber, Ammobates, Africanus, ex Guinea* (78: 2), *Serpens, Acontias, ex Nova Hispania Insulid ad Ventum* (78: 3), *Serpens, Indica, Boiquitrara dicta* (78: 4), *Serpens, Ammodites, Surineamnesis* (78: 5), *Serpens, Japanicus, incomparabilis, Asmodaeus Princeps dictus* (79: 1), *Serpens, Americana, Tigrina* (79: 2), *Serpens, seu Anguis cervinus, Macacoatl dictus, Americanus* (79: 3), *Tecoixin, seu Lacerta, saxatilis, spinosa, cauda crassula* (79: 4), *Lacerta, minor, maculata, indigena* (79: 5), *Tetzauhcoatl; sive Serpens rarissima, ex Nova Hispania* (80: 1), *Serpens amoena, ex Nova Hispania* (80: 2), *Serpens, Bojobi, Ceilanica, bucculenta* (81: 1), *Serpens, ornatissima, Amboinensis, Boiguatrara dicta* (82: 1), *Serpens Bayhapua, Africana* (82: 2), *Serpens canora, canora, Caecuba* (82: 3), *Serpens, Indica, Bubalina, Ana Candaja Ceilonensibus, id est, Bubalorum membra conterens* (83: 1), *Serpens, Ceilonica, Boyuna, id est, Anguis, niger, Conspicillo seu Diademate quodam album super caput insignitus* (83: 2), *Coluber, Tlehua, seu Igneus, perpulcher, ex Nova Hispania* (84: 1), *Serpens, Petzcoatl, seu Anguis Lubricus, Mexicanus* (84: 2), *Serpens, Americana, Pela dicta; Pediculosa* (84: 3), *Serpens, ex Regno Peru, conspicillo insignita* (85: 1), *Serpens, minor, Peruviana, sine conspicillo* (85: 2), *Serpens, AEsculapius, Orientalis, maximus* (86: 1), *Lacertus, Americanus, Amphibius, Tupinambis dictus* (86: 2), *Lacerta, Africana, volans, seu Draco volans* (86: 3), *Anguis, Scytale, minor & elegans, ex Chio insula* (86: 4), *Serpens, eximia, Africana, crocea, fronte alba* (86: 5), *Serpens, Boitiapo; seu Cobra de Sipo, Brasiliensis, spinosa* (87: 1), *Aspis, AEgyptiaca, permagna* (88: 1), *Aspis, Ceilonica, rubra* (88: 2), *Serpens, Noja* (*sic*) *Siamensis, cum Conspicillo, seu Cobra de Capello vel Cabelo dictus* (89: 1), *Serpens, cum Conspicillo, minor* (89: 2), *Serpens, Indicus, cum Conspicillo, lepide circulatus* (89: 3), *Serpens, Brasiliensis, cum Conspicillo, Cordis oculatis formam habente* (89: 4), *Serpens, Indicus, coronatus diademate, seu conspicillo insignitus, Lusitanis Cobras de Capello dictus* (90: 1), *Cobra de Capello, foemella, sine perpicillo; seu Tripudia* (90: 2), *Serpens, Ceilonica, maxima, Pimberah dicta* (91: 1), *Coluber, Depone, maximus, Mexicanus, maculis discoloribus* (92: 1), *Vipera, Bitin, Colubri de genre, major, Ceilonica, elegantissima* (93: 1), *Serpens, Malabarica, Diademate coronata, sive conspicillo insignita, & Cobra de Capello dicta* (94: 1), *Vipera, major, Ceilonica, Bitin dicta; foemina* (94: 2), *Serpens, Crotalophora; seu Vipera, Caudisona, Americana* (95: 1), *Vipera, Caudisona, Americana, seu Teutlacotzouphi; foemina* (95: 2), *Vipera, caudisona, Ceilanica* (95: 3), (96: 1 |*Vipera, Orientalis, maxima, Caudisona; foemina*), *Serpens, Bojobi, Brasiliensis, Tetrauchoatl Tleoa; Lusitanis Cobra Verde* (96: 2), *Serpens, Indica, Noja; seu Lusitanis Cobra de Capello dictus, maximus, conspicillo notatus; mas + foemina* (*sine perspicillo* (97: 1; 2), *Serpens, Ceilonica, Conspicillo notata; seu Cobra de Capello* (97: 3), *Serpens, Conspicillo ornata, ex Nova Hispania* (97: 4), *Tamacuilla Huilia; seu Serpens, Oculea, Mexicana, foemina* (98: 1), *Serpens, Ceilonica, spadicea, Manballa dicta, caput habens haud absimile canis venatici* (99: 1), *Serpens, excellens ac speciosa, Brasiliensis, e regione Guaira; Regina Serpentum habita* (99: 2), *Imperator de Quadalajara, Mexicanus; mas* (100: 1), *Tucuman, sive Miguel de Tucuman dicta Serpens, ex Paraguaja* (100: 2), *Serpens Apamea, Syriaca, Biceps* (100: 3), *Serpens Corallina, elegantissima, Amboinensis* (100: 4), *Serpens, blanda, Ceilonica, Polonga dictas; prodigiosis maculis insignis* (101: 1), *Serpens Brasiliensis, Jacua, Acanga dicta* (102: 1), *Serpens Arabica, Brasiliensibus*

Ibiboboca,Boiguacu dicta; alias Argus (103: 1), *Salamandra aquatica, ex Arabia; seu Salamandra Cordylus, AEgyptiaca* (103: 2), *lacerta strumosa, Americana; mas + foemella* (103: 3; 4), *Rex Serpentum, Orientalis, lamanda dictus, ex Java missus, rarissimus* (104: 1), *Lacertus Tejuguacu, oculeus, seu Saurus dictus, Ceilonicus; mas* (105: 1), *Lacerta caerulea, ex albo maculata; ex Java* (105: 2), *Lacerta, maritima, maxima, sive Crocodilus; ex Arabia* (105: 3), *Serpens Tojuqua, coronata; ex Nova Hispania* (105: 4), and *Serpens Americana, rarior, lemniscis rubris et albis, longitudinalibus notata* (107: 4).

Balk (1746: 11, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28; 1749: 288, 295, 296, 297, 300, 302, 303, 306): 13. *LACERTA cauda tereti, corpore longo, pedibus pentadactylis, gula suncristata antice dentata, dorso laevi* (*Lacerta chalcidica marmorata ex gallaecica,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 79. 7. 76. f. 4.), 22. *ANGUIS annulis abdominalibus CC, anulis caudalibus XXX.* (*Amphisbaena ceilanica,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 2. t. 1. f. 7. *Serpens ceilanica, Caecilia dicta,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 19. t. 18. f. 2. *serpens amer. Caecilia dicta* Seb. thes. 2. p. 24. t. 22. f. 3. *Serpens caecilia amer.* Seb. thes. 2. p. 25. t. 24. f. 1. x *Amphisbaena americ. ex fusco & albo variegata* Seb. thes. 2. p. 77. t. 73. f. 4. x. *Serpens Apamea cyriaca biceps,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 106. t. 100. f. 3. *serpens Amer. grossa versicolor,* Seb. thes. 1. p. 140. t. 88. f. 3.), 23. *ANGUIS squamis abdominalibus CCXL, caudalibus XIII.* (Scythale amer. Amphisbaena & Caecilia vocata, Seb. thes. 2. p. 3. t. 2. f. 1. 2. *Scythale es nova hispania,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 4. t. 2. f. 3. 4. *Amphisbaena amboinensis, corio quasi rticulato conspicua, squamis rubicundis obducta.* Seb. thes. 2. p. 9. t. 7. f. 4. *Serpens amphisbaena,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 3. t. 2. f. 1.), 24. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, caudalibus XXX.* (*Vipera orientalis, maxima caudisona,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 101. T. 96. f. 1. *Serpens crotalophora seu Vipera caudisona Amer.* Seb. thes. 2. p. 99. t. 95. f. 1. 2.), 25. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CCXVII, squamis caudalibus CVIII.* (*Serpens amboinensis niger & albus, Apachykoatl dicta* Seb. thes. 2. p. 21. t. 20. f. 1.), 30. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLX, squamis caudalibus C.* (*Serpens Ibiboboca brasiliensibus* Seb. thes. 2. p. 21. t. 20. f. 2. (an). Serpens ceilonica sibilans, pulchre lemniscata, Seb. thes. 2. p. 47. t. 45. f. 5. *Serpens exquisitissima Zeilanica, Malpolon dicta,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 52. t. 52. f. 4. *Serpens african. Hippo dicta,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 57. t. 56. f. 4. *Serpens Amer. rarior, lemniscis rubris & albis longitudinalibus notata,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 115. t. 197. f. 4.), 31. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CLXV, squamis caudalibus XXIV.* (*Angviculus Africa. coeruleus,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 16. t. 13. f. 3.), 36. *ANGUIS scutis abdominalibus CCXX, squamis caudalibus CXXIV.* (*ANGUIS de cencoatel amer. venustissimus,* Seb. thes. 2. p. 18. t. 16. f. 2. 3.).

Darelius (1749: 6, 7; 1751: 104, 105): Serpens Indicus coronatus diademate seu conspicillo insignitus, lusitanis Cobras de Capello dictus. Seb thes. 2 t. 90. f. 1.; Serpens malabarica diademate coronata sive conspicillo insignita, Cobra de Capello dida. Seb. thes. 2. t. 85. f. 1.; Serpens ex Regno peru conspicillo insignita. Seb.thes. 2. t. 85. f. 1.; Serpens Naja siamensis cum conspicillo seu Cobra de Capello, vel Cabelo dictus. Seb. thes. 2. t. 89 f. 1.; Serpens cum conspicillo minor. Seb. thes. 2. t. 89. f. 2.; Serpens indicus cum conspiciilo lepide circulatus. Seb. thes. 2. t. 89. f. 3.; Serpens brastiliensis cum conspicilio cordis oculati formam habente. Seb. thes. 2. t. 89. f. 4.; Serpens indicus Naja seu lusitanis Cobra de capello dictus maximus conspicillo notatus, mas. Seb. thes. 2. t. 97. f. 1.; Serpens indicus seu Cobra de Capello femina sine perspicillo. Seb. thes. 2 t. 97. f. 2.; Serpens Ceilonica conspicillo notata seu Cobra de Capello. Seb thes. 2t. 97. f. 3.; Serpens conspicillo ornata ex nova hispania. Seb. thes. 2. t. 97. f. 4.; Cobra de Capello femina sine perspicillo. Seb. thes. 2. t. 90. f. 2.

Hast (1745: 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20, 23, 24, 25, 29, 4; 1749: 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 126, 129, 130, 131, 135, 112): 1. β. *Anguis cinerea, macula dorsi fusca longitudinaliter dentata* (Seb. thesaur, t. II. p. 9. tab. 8. Vipera vera indiae orientalis.), 2. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXII. caudalibus CL.* (Seb. thesaur. tom. II. pag. 14. tab. 12. fig. 3.), 4. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibiis CL, caudalibus LIV*. (Seb. thesaur. Tom. 2. pag. 4. tab. 2. fig. 6. *Serpens Cobella dicta americana*.), 5. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CXVIII, caudalibus LXI*. (Seb. thes. 2. pag. & tab. 54. fig. 1. *Anguis bicolor elegantissimus malabaricus*.), 6. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV*. (Seb. th. T. 2. pag. 76. tab. 76. fig. 3. *Serpens Ceilonica lemniscis latis*.), 7. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CXXIV, caudalibus LX*. (Seb. Thes. T. 2, p. 15. tab. 12. fig. 3.

Serpens americana viperae aemula.), 9. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXXXVI, caudalibus LXIV.* (Seb. thesaur. T. II. p. 38. tab. 38. fig. 2. *Serpens americana annulata.*), 12. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, alis femore connexis, crista gulae triplici*. (Seb. thesaur. 2. p. 92. tab. 86. fig. 3. *Lacerta africana volans seu Draco volans.*), 15. LACERTA *cauda tereti, corpore triplo longiore, pedibus pentadctilis, gula subcristata*. (Seb. thesaur. 2. p. 79. tab. 76. fig. 4. Lacerta Chalcitica marmorata ex gallaecia), 16. LACERTA *cauda tereti corpore sesqui longiore, pedibus pendactytis, dorso lineis longitudinalibus striato*. (Seb. thesaur. 2. p. 11. tab. 9. fig. 5.6. *Lacerta amboinensis taeniolis fimbriatis.*), 17. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus inermibus, palmis tetradactylis, plantis pentadactylis, corpore nudo punctis perforato.* (Seb. thesaur. 2. p. 15. tab. 12. fig. 5. *Salamandra maculosa nostras.*),20. RANA *pedibus fissis, unguibus subrotundis, corpore laevi, pone angustato*. (Seb. thesaur. 2. p. 76. tab. 68. fig. 5. *Ranula americana rubra.*).

Additionally on page 4/112 he states: "Hinc SEBA in thesauro suo coloribus deceptus, tredeciesunam eandemque specuiem Cobram de Capello, seu Anguem conspicillo insignitam, delineavit. Vid. ejusdem thesaur. tom. II. tab. 85. fig.1. tab. 89.fig, 1. 2. 3. 4. tab. 90. fig. 1. 2. tab. 94. fig, 1, tab. 97. fig. 1. 2. 3. 4." ["…Hence Seba, deceived by colors in his Thesaurus, drew thirteen times one and the same species — the cobra de capello, or spectacled snake — in his Thesaurus. See in the same work, vol. II, plate 85, fig. 1; plate 89, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4; plate 90, figs. 1, 2; plate 94, fig. 1; plate 97, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4…"].

1. ANGVIS scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX.; 2. ANGVIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXII. caudalibus CL.*; 4. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibiis CL, caudalibus LIV.*; 5. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CXVIII, caudalibus LXI.*; 6. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV.*; 7. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CXXIV, caudalibus LX.*; 9. ANGUIS *scutis abdominalibus CLXXXVI, caudalibus LXIV.* from HAst (1745) renamed 1. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXLIV, caudalibus XXXIX.; 2. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CLXII. caudalibus CL.*; 4. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibiis CL, caudalibus LIV.*; 5. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CXVIII, caudalibus LXI.*; 6. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CCL, caudalibus XXXV.*; 7. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CXXIV, caudalibus LX.*; 9. COLUBER *scutis abdominalibus CLXXXVI, caudalibus LXIV.* in HAst (1749).

Linnaeus (1754: 20, 21, 26, 28, 30, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47): *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (Seb. Thes. 2. t. 1. f. 7. & l. 18. f. 2. & t. 22. f. 3. & t. 73. f. 4. & t. 100. f. 3), *Amphisbaena alba* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 25. t. 24. f. 1), *Anguis scytale* (Seb. Thes. 2. t. 2. f. 1. 2. & t. 2. f. 3. 4. & t. 7. f. 4. & t. 20. f. 3), *Coluber stolatus* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 10. t. 9. f. 1), *Coluber mycterizans* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 24. t. 23. f. 2), *Coluber lineatus* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 14. t. 12. f. 3), *Coluber najas* (Seb. Thes. 2. t. 90. f. 1. & t. 85. & t. 89. f. 1.2.4. & t. 97. f. 1.2.3.4. & t. 90. f. 2), *Coluber corallinus* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 18. t. 17. f. 1), *Coluber hortulanus* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 89. t. 84. f. 1; Seb. Thes. 2. p. 77. t. 74), *Boas constrictor* (Seb. Thes. 2. t. 91. f. 1. & t. 98. f. 1. & t. 99. f. 2. 1. & t. 53. f. 1), *Boas caninus* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 101. t. 96. f. 2; Seb. thes. 2. p. 36. t. 81), *Draco volans* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 98. t. 86. f. 3), *Lacerta tigrina* (Seb. Thes. 2. p. 49. t. 49. f. 2; Seb. Thes. 2. p. 111. t. 105. f. 1; Seb. Thes. 2. p. 911. t. 86. f. 2), *Lacerta azurea* (Seb. thes. 2. t. 62. f. 6), *Lacerta marmorata* (Seb. thes. 2. p. 79. t. 76. f. 4), *Lacerta salamandra* (Seb. thes. 2. p. 15. t. 12. f. 5), *Lacerta lineata* (Seb. thes. 2. p. 43. t. 41. f. 6), *Rana arborea* (Seb. thes. 2. p. 76. t. 78. f. 5).

Linnaeus (1758: 209, 227): *Lacerta lineata* (not in Linnaeus, 1766; *Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 41. *f.* 6) Lacerta zeilonica minor lemnisscata), *Coluber arges* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 103. *f.* 1).

Linnaeus (1758: 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229), Linné (1766: 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 371, 365, 370, 368, 369, 371, 357, 372, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393): *Draco volans* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 86. *f.* 3. Lacerta africana volans s. Draco volans), *Lacerta caudiverbera* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 62. *f.* 9), *L. monitor* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 86. *f.* 2 | *t.* 105. *f.* 1), *L. cordylus* (not in Linnaeus, 1766; *Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 62. *f.* 5), *L. stellio* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 8. *f.* 7), *L. azurea* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 63. *f.* 6), *L. agilis* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 79. *f.* 4. Lacerta minor maculata indigena), *L. agilis* β (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 4. *f.* 4. 5. Lacerta viridis), *L. salamandra* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 12. *f.* 5), *L. stincus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 105. *f.* 3), *L. aquatica* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *p.* 15. *t.* 12. *f.* 7. Salamandra

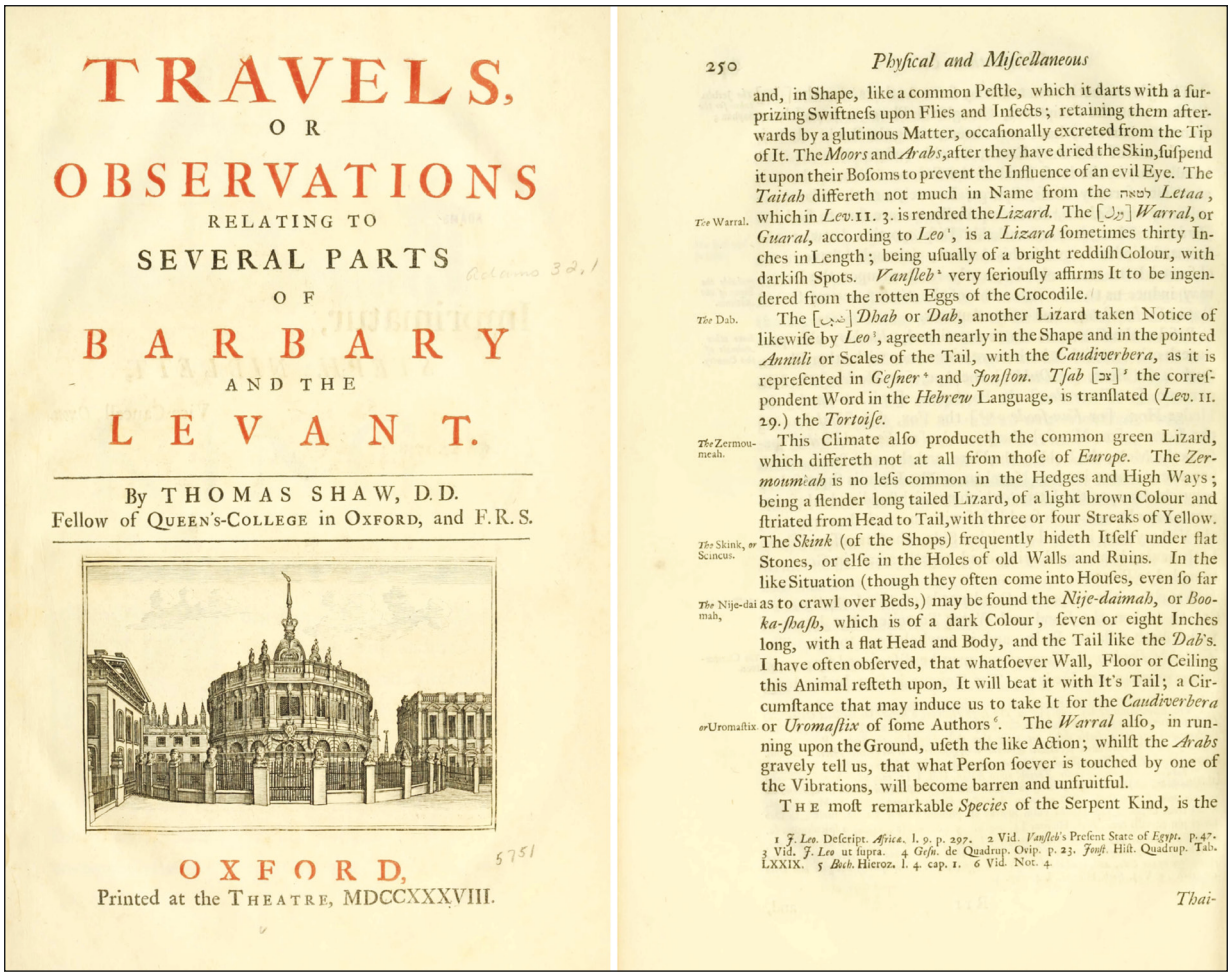
ceylanica), *L. marmorata* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 76. *f.* 4), *L. strumosa* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 20. *f.* 4. Salamandra mexicana strumnosa), *L. punctata* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 2. *f.* 9), *L. angvina* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 68. *f.* 7. 8. Vermios serpentiformes ex africa), *Rana arborea* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 78. *f.* 5. Rana americana rubra), *Crotalus horridus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 95. *f.* 1), *Boa canina* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 96. *f.* 2 | *t.* 81. *f.* 1), *Boa hipnale* (*Seb. mus.* 2. t. 34. f. 2.), *B. constrictor* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 98. *f.* 1 | *t.* 99. *f.* 1, 2. | *t.* 100. *f.* 1 | *t.* 101. *f.* 1 | *t.* 104. *f.* 1), *B. murina* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 29. *f.* 1), *B. hortulana* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 84. *f.* 1 | *t.* 74. *f.* 1), *Coluber domicella* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 54. *f.* 1), *C. angulatus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 12. *f.* 3), *C. caeruleus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 13. *f.* 3), *C. cobella* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 2. *f.* 6), *C. severus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 54. *f.* 4), *C. aurora* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 78. *f.* 3), *C. stolatus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 9. *f.* 1), *C. vittatus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 45. *f.* 5 | *t.* 60. *f.* 2, 3), *C. cyaneus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 43. *f.* 2), *C. aesculapii* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 18. *f.* 4), *C. lineatus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 12. *f.* 3), *C. naja* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 90. *f.* 1, 2 | *t.* 85. *f.* 1 | *t.* 89. *f.* 1, 2, 3, 4 | *t.* 97. *f.* 1, 2, 3, 4 | *t.* 94. *f.* 1), *C. sibilans* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 52. *f.* 4 | *t.* 56. *f.* 4 | *t.* 107. *f.* 4), *C. fuscus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 54. *f.* 2 | *t.* 71. *f.* 1 | *t.* 72. *f.* 1 | *t.* 87. *f.* 1 | *t.* 91. *f.* 1), *C. niveus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 15. *f.* 1), *C. corallinus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 17. *f.* 1), *C. lemniscatus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 76. *f.* 3), *C. annulatus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 38. *f.* 2), *C. dipsas* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 24. *f.* 3), *C. ahaetulla* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 82. *f.* 1 | *t.* 12. *f.* 3), *C. pullatus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 20. *f.* 1), *C. cenchoa* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 16. *f.* 2, 3), *C. mycterizans* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 23. *f.* 2). *Anguis meleagris* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 21. *f.* 4), *A. maculata* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 100. *f.* 2), *A. scytale* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 2. *f.* 1, 2, 3, 4 | *t.* 7. *f.* 4 | *t.* 20. *f.* 3), *Amphisbaena fuliginosa* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 1. *f.* 7 | *t.* 18. *f.* 2 | *t.* 22. *f.* 3 | *t.* 73. *f.* 4 | *t.* 100. *f.* 3), *A. alba* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 24. *f.* 1 | 6. *f.* 4),

Linné (1766: 362, 367, 369, 372, 379, 389, 393): *Lacerta ameiva* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 103. *f.* 4.; *Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 63. *f.* 4.), *L. calotes* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 76. *f.* 5.), *L. lemniscata* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 9. *f.* 5.), *Crotalus dryinas* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 95. *f.* 3.; *Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 96. *f.* 1.), *C. durissus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 95. *f.* 2.), *Coluber ordinatus* (Seb. Mus. 2. t. 20. f. 2.), *C. argus* (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 103. *f.* 1), *Caecilia tentaculata* (*Seb*. Mus. 2. p. 26. t. 25. f. 2.).

Linnaeus (1759: 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81): 2. L. cauda depresso-plana pinnatifida, pedibus palmatis (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 62. *f.* 9), 3. L. cauda carinata, dorso superciliisque squamis ciliatis (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 109. *f.* 4), 5. L. cauda carinata, corpore mutico (*Seb. m.* 2. *t.* 86. *f.* 2: *t.* 105. *f.* 1), 10. L. cauda verticillata mediocri: squamis denticulatis, capite corporeque muricato (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 8. *f.* 7), 12. L. cauda verticillata brevi: squamis mucronatis (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 62. *f.* 6), 15. L. cauda verticillata longiuscula squamis acutis, collari subtus squamis constructo, β (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 4. *f.* 4. 5), 20. L. cauda tereti brevi, digitis muticis, corpore poroso nudo (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 12. *f.* 5), 33. L. cauda tereti longa, gula subcristata antice dentata, dorso laevi (*Seb. mus.* 2. t 76. *f.* 4), 35. L. cauda tereti longa, pectore gibbo protenso (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 20), 38. L. cauda tereti longa, dorso lineis duabus flavis: punctis nigris interspersis (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 2. *f.* 9), 41. L. cauda tereti longa, palmis tetradactylis, corpore lineis quatuor flavis (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 41. *f.* 6), 43. L. cauda extremo rigidula, corpore striato, pedibus pinniformibus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 68. *f.* 7. 8), 192. Horridus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 95. *f.* 1), 275. Corallinus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 17. *f.* 1), 280. Canina (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 96. *f.* 2. t. 81. *f.* 1), 299. Hipnale (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 34. *f.* 2), 319. Murina (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 29. *f.* 1), 418. Hortulana (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 84. *f.* 1. & *t.* 74. *f.* 1), 178. Domicella (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 54. *f.* 1), 181. Angulatus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 12. *f.* 3), 189. Caeruleus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 13. *f.* 3), 212. Severus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 54. *f.* 4), 216. Aurora (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 78. *f.* 3), 219. Stolatus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 9. *f.* 1), 229. Cyaneus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 43. *f.* 2), 251. Lineatus. (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 12. *f.* 3), 253. Naja (*Seb.* 2. *t.* 90. *f.* 1, 2), 266. Fuscus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 54. *f.* 2), 271. Niveus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 15. *f.* 1), 286. Annulatus (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 38. *f.* 2), 344. Cenchoa.(*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 16. *f.* 2, 3), --- Arges (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 103. *f.* 1), 197. Meleagris (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 21. *f.* 4), 239. Alba (*Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 24. *f.* 1. & t. 6. *f.* 4).

Linné (1764a: 41, 42): Boa Hipnale. *Seb. thes*. 2. *p*. *t*. 34. *f.* 2. Serpens vipera siamensis femina., Boa murina. *Seb. thes*. 2. *p*. 30 *t*. 29. *f*. I. Serpens testudinaria americana murium infidiator.

Sundius (1748: 15, 16, 19, 21; 1749: 493, 494, 497, 498): 10. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CXIX, squamis caudalibus CX. (*Angviculus Surinamensis cyaneus*. *Seb. thes.* 2. *p.* 44. t. 43. f. 2), 11. COLUBER scutis abdominalibus CLV, sqvamis caudalibus XCIV. (Serpens americana lemniscata. Seb. 2. p. 12. t.11. f. 4. An?), 15. COLUBER scutis abdomi-



TRAVELS,
OR
OBSERVATIONS
RELATING TO
SEVERAL PARTS
OF
BARBARY
AND THE
LEVANT.

By THOMAS SHAW, D.D.
Fellow of Queen's-College in Oxford, and F.R.S.

OXFORD,
Printed at the Theatre, MDCCXXXVIII.

250 *Physical and Miscellaneous*

and, in Shape, like a common Pestle, which it darts with a surprizing Swiftness upon Flies and Insects; retaining them afterwards by a glutinous Matter, occasionally excreted from the Tip of It. The *Moors* and *Arabs*, after they have dried the Skin, suspend it upon their Bosoms to prevent the Influence of an evil Eye. The *Taitah* differeth not much in Name from the לטאה *Letaa*, which in *Lev.* 11. 3. is rendred the *Lizard*. The [ورل] *Warral*, or *Guaral*, according to *Leo*[1], is a *Lizard* sometimes thirty Inches in Length; being usually of a bright reddish Colour, with darkish Spots. *Vansleb*[2] very seriously affirms It to be ingendered from the rotten Eggs of the Crocodile.

The Warral.

The Dab.

The [ضب] *Dhab* or *Dab*, another Lizard taken Notice of likewise by *Leo*[3], agreeth nearly in the Shape and in the pointed *Annuli* or Scales of the Tail, with the *Caudiverbera*, as it is represented in *Gesner*[4] and *Jonston*. *Tsab* [צב][5] the correspondent Word in the *Hebrew* Language, is translated (*Lev.* 11. 29.) the *Tortoise*.

The Zermoumeah.

This Climate also produceth the common green Lizard, which differeth not at all from those of *Europe*. The *Zermoumeah* is no less common in the Hedges and High Ways; being a slender long tailed Lizard, of a light brown Colour and striated from Head to Tail, with three or four Streaks of Yellow.

The Skink, or Scincus.

The Nije-daimah,

or Uromastix

The Skink (of the Shops) frequently hideth Itself under flat Stones, or else in the Holes of old Walls and Ruins. In the like Situation (though they often come into Houses, even so far as to crawl over Beds,) may be found the *Nije-daimah*, or *Booka-shash*, which is of a dark Colour, seven or eight Inches long, with a flat Head and Body, and the Tail like the *Dab*'s. I have often observed, that whatsoever Wall, Floor or Ceiling this Animal resteth upon, It will beat it with It's Tail; a Circumstance that may induce us to take It for the *Caudiverbera* or *Uromastix* of some Authors[6]. The *Warral* also, in running upon the Ground, useth the like Action; whilst the *Arabs* gravely tell us, that what Person soever is touched by one of the Vibrations, will become barren and unfruitful.

The most remarkable *Species* of the Serpent Kind, is the

1 *J. Leo.* Descript. *Africa.* l. 9. p. 297. 2 Vid. *Vansleb's* Present State of *Egypt.* p. 47. 3 Vid. *J. Leo* ut supra. 4 *Gesn.* de Quadrup. Ovip. p. 23. *Jons.* Hist. Quadrup. Tab. LXXIX. 5 *Bech.* Hieroz. l. 4. cap. 1. 6 Vid. Not. 4.

Thai-

nalibus CXC, *squamis caudalibus* XLII (*Serpentis AEsculapii* species, Seb. thes. 2. p. 19. t. 18. f. 4), 16. CENCHRIS s*cutis abdominalibus* CCXL, *scutis caudalibus* LXIV (Serpens ceylonica maxima, pimberah dicta, Seb. thes. 2. p. 97, t. 91. f. 1. An?)16. CENCHRIS scutis abdominalibus CCXL, scutis caudalibus LXIV (Serpens oculea mexicana foemina. Seb. thes. 2.p. 104. t. 98. f. 1. An?), 16. CENCHRIS scutis abdominalibus CCXL, scutis caudalibus LXIV (Serpens excellens ac speciosa brasiliensis e regione gvaira, regina serpentum habita. Seb. thes. 2. p. 105. t. 99. f 2).

Comments: The second volume of the *Thesaurus* is almost a treatise on snakes. Four Linnaean references show inconsistencies:

(1) *Serpens, Ceilonica, lineis subfuscis* (12: 3) is included in the synonymies of *Coluber ahaetulla* and *C. angulatus*.

(2) The reference *Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 63. *f.* 6, in the synonymy of *Lacerta azurea*, corresponds to a plant.

(3) *Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 62. *f.* 9, in the synonymy of *Lacerta caudiverbera,* is erroneous; the lizard is illustrated in plate 103, fig. 2.

(4) *Seb. mus.* 2. *t.* 78. *f.* 5, in the synonymy of *Rana arborea*, is erroneous; *Ranula, Americana, rubra* is illustrated in plate 68, fig. 5.

Not in Linnaeus's private library (Anonymous 1896). A copy of this book was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the edition as the source.

Shaw, T. 1738. *Travels, or observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant.* Oxford, Printed at the Theatre: [iii] + [i]–xv + [i] + [1–3]–442 + [i] + [i] + [1]–60 + [viii], 20 Pl., 12 maps. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.26044>. (Figure 132)

Abbreviated as Sauw.; Shaw.

Cited in Linnaeus (1748a; 1748b; 1756).

Contents: The analysis of reptiles starts on page 249 (Chapter II, *Of the Quadrupeds, Birds, Insects,*

Fishes &c.). Includes aquatic and terrestrial turtles (p. 249), several lizards, as *Taitah, Bouiah* or Chamaeleon (p. 249-250), Warral or Guaral (p. 250), Dhab, Dab or Caudiverbera (p. 250), the common green lizard (p. 250), Zermoumêah (p. 250), the skink or Scincus (p. 250) and Nijedaimah, or Booka-shash or Uromastix (p. 250). Among snakes, Thaibanne o Thebanus Ophites (p. 251), Zurreike (probably the Jaculus of ancient writers) (p. 251), and Leffah (probably Dipsas) (p. 251). In addition, scattered in the text are Aspis (p. 159), crocodiles (p. 427), diverse snakes (pp. 392; 429), and the frog (p. 396)

Linnaeus (1748a: 36; 1748b: 36): 7. *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus tridactylis*. Sauw.

Linnaeus (1756: 36): *Lacerta cauda tereti, pedibus tridactylis*. Shaw.

Comments: History of the citation discussed by Krecsák (2025a).

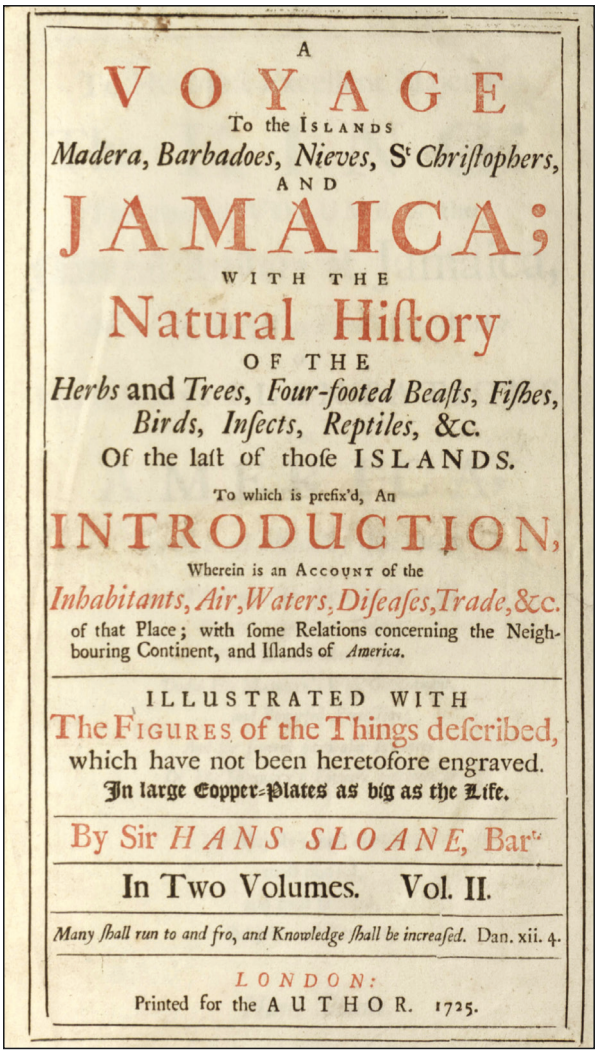
Not in Linnaeus's private library (Anonymous 1896). A copy of this book was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) referred to the book as one of the Linnaean sources.

Sloane, H. 1725. *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica; with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. Of the last of those Islands. To which is prefix'd, An Introduction, Wherein is an Account of the Inhabitants, Air, Waters, Diseases, Trade, &c. of that Place; with some Relations concerning the Neighbouring Continent, and islands of America. Illustrated with The Figures of the Things described, which have not been heretofore engraved. In large copper-plates as big as the Life. In Two Volumes. Vol. II*. London (B.M.): [1] + i–xviii + 1–499, pl. 157–274, pl. 5–11. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.642>. (Figure 133)

Abbreviated as: Sloan. hist. II.; Sloan. jam. 2.; Sloane.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758; 1763), Linné (1766; 1772), Sidrén (1750; 1751).

Contents: Book VII, part II, of the Natural History of Jamaica is devoted to quadrupeds and snakes, including *Rana arborea maxima* (p. 331), *Jaboti Brasiliensibus* (p. 331), *Testudo marina vulgaris* (p. 331), *Testudo marina Caouanna dicta, tortue*



A
VOYAGE
To the Islands
Madera, Barbadoes, Nieves, St Christophers,
AND
JAMAICA;
WITH THE
Natural History
OF THE
Herbs and *Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles,* &c.
Of the last of those ISLANDS.
To which is prefix'd, An
INTRODUCTION,
Wherein is an Account of the
Inhabitants, Air, Waters, Diseases, Trade, &c.
of that Place; with some Relations concerning the Neighbouring Continent, and Islands of *America*.
ILLUSTRATED WITH
The Figures of the Things described,
which have not been heretofore engraved.
In large Copper-Plates as big as the Life.
By Sir *HANS SLOANE*, Bart.
In Two Volumes. Vol. II.
Many shall run to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased. Dan. xii. 4.
LONDON:
Printed for the AUTHOR. 1725.

Figure 133. Sloane's *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica* (1725)

caouanne (p. 331-332), *Testudo Caretta dicta* (p. 332), *Lacertus omnium maximus, Crocodilus dictus* (p. 332), *Lacertus Indicus senembi & Iguana dictus* (p. 333), *Lacertus major e viridi cinereus, dorso crista breviori donato* (p. 333), *Lacertus major cinereas maculatus* (p. 333), *Lacertus cinereus minor* (p. 333), *Lacertus minor laevis* (p. 333), *Salamandra minima, fusca, maculis albis notata* (p. 334), *Scincus maximus fuscus* (p. 334-335), *Serpens major subflavus* (p. 335-336), *Serpens major nigricans* (p. 336), and *Serpens major cinereus* (p. 336).

Hast (1745: 16, 18; 1749: 122, 124): 10. LACERTA *cauda ancipiti, pedibus triungulatis, palmis pentadactylis, plantis palmatis tetradactylis* (Sloan. hist. II. p. 332. *Crocodilus*), 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata*. (Sloan. hist. II. p.

333. *Lacertus indicus Senembi & Iguana dictus*).

Linnaeus (1754: 40): *Lacerta crocodilus* (Sloan. jam. 2. p. 332).

Linnaeus (1758: 200, 203, 207), Linné (1766: 359, 362, 366): *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Sloan. jam.* 2. *p.* 332), *L. ameiva* (*Sloan. jam.* 2. *p.* 333. *t.* 273. *f.* 3), *L. igvana* (*Sloan. jam.* 2. *p.* 333).

Linnaeus (1763: 13); Sidrén (1750: 11; 1751: 319): In COLUBER scutis abdominalibus 145, squamis caudalibus 36 notes *Ungu.*de Tutia D. Sloane.

Linné (1772: 19): In COLUBER *Vipera* scutis abdominalibus CXVIII. squamis subcaudalibus XXII, notes *Ungu.*de Tutia D. Sloane.

Comments: Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). Not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the edition as the source.

Strøm, H. 1762. *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør, beliggende i Bergens Stift i Norge. Oplyst med Landkort og Kobberstykker. Første part*. Sorøe: [i] + [i–xiii] + [i] + [1]–570 +[i], 5 maps, Pl. I–IV. <https://www.nb.no/items/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2009082812001>. (Figure 134)

Abbreviated as Ström. sondm.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: The third chapter, devoted to quadrupeds, worms and insects, is based on Linnaeus's *Fauna Suecica*. Includes two amphibians, Groe eller Lappe-Groe, item padde, *Bufo* (p. 173), and Froe eller Frosk, *Rana* (p. 187), one lizard, Orle, Øgle eller Firbeeb, *Lacertus vulgaris* (p. 192), and some snakes (*Natrix torquata*, *Aspis*, *Caecilia*, Bue Ormen and Huid Orm) (pp. 192-193).

Linné (1766: 378): *Coluber aspis* (*Ström. sondm. Col.* 146-34).

Comments: Strøm noted that the number of abdominal scales in *Aspis* varies from 146 to 148 (*Scuta abdominalia ere paa mit ene Exemplar 146, men paa det andet 148*), but this variation was not recorded by Linnaeus. Krecsák (2024) and Krecsák *et al.* (2025b) discussed the history of this record and identified it as *Vipera berus.* A copy of this book was in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896). Not available in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the edition as the Linnaean source.

Physisk og Oeconomisk
Beskrivelse
over
Fogderiet
Søndmør,
beliggende
i Bergens Stift i Norge.
Oplyst med
Landkort og Kobberstykker.
Første Part.
Trykt i Soroe, 1762.
Sælges i Kiøbenhavn i den Rothe,ske Boglade i No. 11, 12 og 13 paa Børsen.

Figure 134. Title page of the first volume of *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Søndmør* (1762) by Hans Strøm.

Sundius, P. 1748. *B. C. D. Surinamensia Grilliana cum consensu ampliss. facult. med. in Regia Academia Upsaliensi, praeside viro celeberrimo et experientissimo, D:n Doct. Carolo Linnæo, S:ae R:ae M:tis Archiatro, Med. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ord. Acad. imperial. Regg. Monspel. Berolin. Stockholm. et Upsal. Socio. specimenis academici loco curiosis examinanda sistit alumnus oxenstiernianus Petrus Sundius nic. fil. Stockholmiensis. in Audit. Carol Maj. d. XViii. Junii, Anni MDCCXLIIX*. Holmiæ, Laurentii Salvii: [v] + 1–34, 1. Pl. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-016.pdf>. (Figure 135)

Abbreviated as: S.G.; Sur. grill.; Sur. Grill.; Surin. Grill.; Surinam. grillian.; Surinamens. Grill.

Cited in Kiernander (1749; 1751), Linnaeus (1748a; b; 1756; 1759).

Contents: *Caecilia rugis CXXXV* (p. 11, fig. 1), *Amphisbaena annulis abdominalibus CC, caudalibus XXX* (p. 13), *Anguis squamis abdominalibus*

B. C. D.

SURINAMENSIA GRILLIANA

CUM CONSENSU AMPLISS. FACULT. MED. IN REGIA ACADEMIA UPSALIENSI,

PRÆSIDE

VIRO CELEBERRIMO ET EXPERIENTISSIMO,

D:N. DOCT. CAROLO LINNÆO,

S:Æ R:Æ M:TIS ARCHIATRO, MED. ET BOTAN. PROFESS. REG. ET ORD. ACAD. IMPERIAL. REGG. MONSPEL. BEROLIN. STOCKHOLM. ET UPSAL. SOCIO,

SPECIMINIS ACADEMICI LOCO CURIOSIS EXAMINANDA SISTIT

ALUMNUS OXENSTIERNIANUS

PETRUS SUNDIUS NIC. FIL.

STOCKHOLMIENSIS.

IN AUDIT. CAROL. MAJ. D. XVIII. JUNII. ANNI MDCCXLIIX.

H. A. M. C.

HOLMIÆ, Typis LAURENTII SALVII.

Figure 135. *Surinamensia Grilliana* (1749) dissertation of Linnaeus's student Peter Sundius (1725–1786).

CCXXX, caudalibus XIII (p. 13), *Anguis* s*cutis abdominalibus* CCL, s*qvamis caudalibus* XXXV (p. 14), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus CXIX, squamis caudalibus CX* (p. 15), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus CLV, sqvamis caudalibus XCIV* (p. 16), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus CLXIV, sqvamis caudalibus CL* (p. 17), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus CCVIII.* squamis caudalibus XC (p. 18), *Coluber scutis abdominalibus CL, squamis caudalibus L* (p. 18), *Coluber* scutis abdominalibus *CXC,* squamis caudalibus *XLII* (p. 19), *Cenchris* scutis abdominalibus *CCXL,* scutis caudalibus *LXIV* (p. 20), *Crotalophorus scutis abdominalibus CLXXII, scutis caudalibus XXI, paribusque sqvamarum III* (p. 23), *Lacerta cauda tereti, corpore duplo longiore, pedibus pentadactylis, crista nulla, hypochondriis plicatis* (p. 25), *Lacerta cauda tereti brevi, pedibus pentadactylis, digitis duobus tribusque coadunatis* (p. 25), and *Coluber scutis abdominalibus CXLII. Squamis caudalibus XXXII* (p. 32).

Kiernander (1749: 6): "... I. CROTALOPHORUS Scut. Abdom. 172. Scut. Caud. 81. (*sic*) Squamisque 3. *Surinamens. Grill.* 17...".

Kiernander (1751: 129): "... I. CROTALOPHORUS Scut. Abdom. 172. Scut. Caud. 21. Squamisque 3. *Surinamens. Grill.* 17 *Amoen. acad.* I *p*. 500. ...".

Linnaeus (1748a: 34; 1748b: 34; 1756: 34): *Caecilia rugis* 135. *Surinam. grillian. t.* 1., 2. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 219, *squam caud.* 110. *Sur. grill.,* 9. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 190, *squam caud.* 42. S.G.15., 16. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 155, *squam caud.* 94. *Sur. grill.* 11, 22.*Coluber scut. abdom.* 142, *squam caud.* 32. *S.G.* 25., 25. *Coluber scut. abdom.* 119, *squam caud.* 110. *S.G.* 10.

Linnaeus (1759: 76, 77, 78, 80, 81): 196. Durissus (*Sur. Grill. n.* 17), 200. Constrictor (*Sur. Grill. n.* 16. *f.* 3), 174. Ammodytes (*Surin. Grill. n.* 25. *f.* 2), 204. Cobella (*Surin. Grill. n.* 14), 229. Cyaneus (*Surin. Grill. n.* 10), 233. Aesculapii (*Surin. Grill. n.* 15), 251. Pallidus (*Surin. Grill. n.* 11), 285. Lemniscatus (*Surin. Grill. n.* 9), 299. Petola (*Surin. Grill. n.* 13), 313. Ahaetulla (*Surin. Grill. n.* 12), 135. Tentaculata (*Surin. Grill. n.* 3. *f.* 1).

Comments: Sundius thesis was re-edited in the first volume of *Amoenitates Academicae* (*vide supra*) and cited as *Amoen. Acad. 1* in Linnaeus (1758;

1761) and Linné (1766). History of the thesis discussed by Krecsák *et al.* (2024).
Linnaeus's own copy is now in the collection of the Linnaean Society in London (Anonymous 1896). Not listed in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified the publication as the source.

Swammerdam, J. 1693. *Historia Insectorum Generalis, in qua Verissimæ Mutationem, seu lentæ in membra Epigenescos rationes, duce Experientia, redduntut, recepta vulgo Insectorum Metamorphosis solide refutatur: plurimi Errores Auctorum circa hoc argumentum deteguntur ac corriguntur: & tandem omnes Insectorum Mutationes ad Quatuor Ordines distinctos summa industria descriptos revocantur, subjecto singulis Ordinibus Indice Insectorum eo spectantium: adjicitur Dilucidatio, qua Specialia cujusvis Ordinit Exempla figuris accuratissime, tam naturali magnitudine, quam ope microscopii aucta illustrantur; summa in singulis harmonia, quae & Sanguineis Animantibus, nec non Plantis conspirare, itidem figurarum ope, specialibus exemplis, docetur. Obiter in toto Opera hinc inde Varia Insecta, Auctoribus Physicis aut neglecta, aut male descripta, additi figuri, æri tam naturali, quam aucta microscopia magnitude, nitidissime incisis, accuratius discribuntur. Cum Indicis necessariis. Ex Belgica Latinam fecit Henricus Christianus Henninius. Editio secunda.* Ultrajecti, Otthonis de Vries: [iv] + [vi] + [iii] + [iii] + 1–212 + [xi] + [iii] + [ii] + [i], Pl. I–XIII. <https://books.google.at/books?id=M4xoAAAAcAAJ>. (Figure 136)

Abbreviated as Swammerdam.

Cited in Gråberg (1762; 1763).

Contents: Mostly devoted to insects; references to *Rana* scattered throughout the text.

Gråberg (1762: 7; 1763: 286): Section V, on page 7, indicates "…*SWAMMERDAM olim Metamorphosin Insectorum illustraturus*…" ["…Swammerdam, in former times, when intending to illustrate the metamorphosis of insects…"], and described the ontogenetic changes of *Rana* tadpoles on page 8.

Comments: Dundee (1994) did not cover the publication. Heller (2007) considered as the Linnaean source the Dutch edition from 1669. Besides this

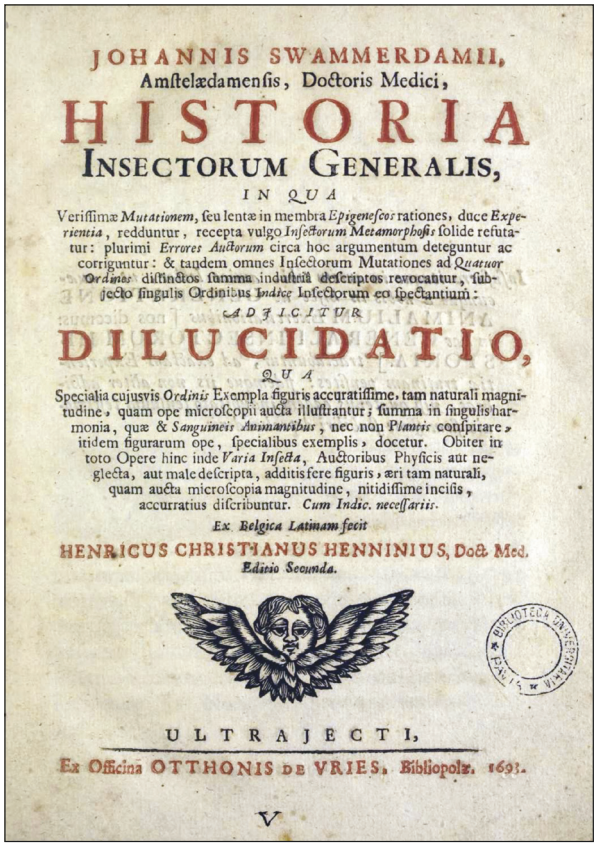
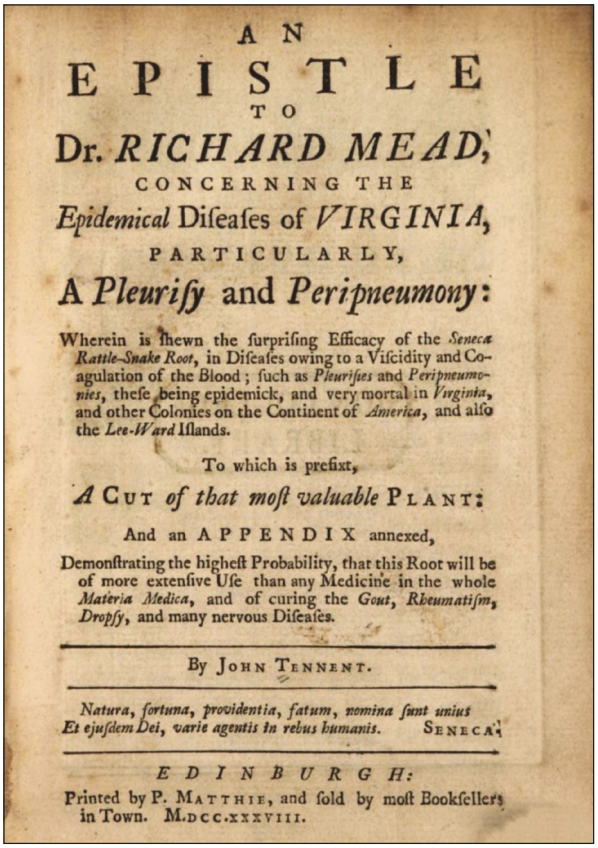

JOHANNIS SWAMMERDAMII,
Amstelædamensis, Doctoris Medici,
HISTORIA
INSECTORUM GENERALIS,
IN QUA
Verissimæ Mutationem, seu lentæ in membra Epigenescos rationes, duce Experientia, redduntur, recepta vulgo Insectorum Metamorphosis solide refutatur: plurimi Errores Auctorum circa hoc argumentum deteguntur ac corriguntur: & tandem omnes Insectorum Mutationes ad Quatuor Ordines distinctos summa industria descriptos revocantur, subjecto singulis Ordinibus Indice Insectorum eo spectantium:
ADJICITUR
DILUCIDATIO,
QUA
Specialia cujusvis Ordinis Exempla figuris accuratissime, tam naturali magnitudine, quam ope microscopii aucta illustrantur; summa in singulis harmonia, quæ & Sanguineis Animantibus, nec non Plantis conspirare, itidem figurarum ope, specialibus exemplis, docetur. Obiter in toto Opere hinc inde Varia Insecta, Auctoribus Physicis aut neglecta, aut male descripta, additis fere figuris, æri tam naturali, quam aucta microscopia magnitudine, nitidissime incisis, accuratius discribuntur. Cum Indic. necessariis.
Ex Belgica Latinam fecit
HENRICUS CHRISTIANUS HENNINIUS, Doct. Med.
Editio Secunda.
ULTRAJECTI,
Ex Officina OTTHONIS DE VRIES, Bibliopolæ. 1693.
V

Figure 136. Title page of Swammerdam's *Historia Insectorum Generalis* (1693).

edition, there were at least two Latin editions, one published by Jordanum Luchtmans in Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden] in 1685, and another published in Ultrajecti [Utrecht] in 1693 by Ottho de Vries. The library of the Academy of Uppsala held the Utrecht edition (Aurivillius 1814a). Given that Linnaeus had a copy of the second Utrecht Latin edition (Swammerdam 1693, fide Anonymous 1896), we consider it as the consulted source.

Tennent, J. 1738. *An epistle to Dr. Richard Mead, concerning the epidemical diseases of Virginia, particularly a pleurisy and peripneumony: Wherein is shewn the surprising efficacy of the Seneca Rattle-Snake Root, in diseases owing to a viscidity and coagulation of the blood; such as pleurisies and peripneumonies, these being epidemick, and very mortal in Virginia, and other colonies on the continent of America, and also the Lea-Ward Islands. To which is prefixt, a cut of the most valuable plant: and an appendix annexed, demonstrating the highest probability, that this root will be of more extensive use than any medicine in the whole Materia Medica, and



A N
EPISTLE
TO
Dr. RICHARD MEAD,
CONCERNING THE
Epidemical Diſeaſes of VIRGINIA,
PARTICULARLY,
A Pleuriſy and Peripneumony:

Wherein is ſhewn the ſurpriſing Efficacy of the Senecæ Rattle-Snake Root, in Diſeaſes owing to a Viſcidity and Coagulation of the Blood; ſuch as Pleuriſies and Peripneumonies, theſe being epidemick, and very mortal in Virginia, and other Colonies on the Continent of America, and alſo the Lee-Ward Iſlands.

To which is prefixt,
A CUT of that moſt valuable PLANT:
And an APPENDIX annexed,
Demonſtrating the higheſt Probability, that this Root will be of more extenſive Uſe than any Medicine in the whole Materia Medica, and of curing the Gout, Rheumatiſm, Dropſy, and many nervous Diſeaſes.

By JOHN TENNENT.

Natura, fortuna, providentia, fatum, nomina ſunt unius
Et ejuſdem Dei, varie agentis in rebus humanis. SENECA.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by P. MATTHIE, and ſold by moſt Bookſellers in Town. M.DCC.XXXVIII.

Figure 137. Title page of the medical work by John Tennent (1710-1748).

***of curing the Gout, Rheumatism, Dropsy, and many nervous diseases*. Edinburgh, P. Matthie: 3–102. <https://books.google.at/books?id=up-k3AAAAMAAJ>.** (Figure 137)

Abbreviated as: Tennent; Tennentius.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Balk (1746; 1749), Hasselquist (1747 1749), Kiernander (1749; 1751), Nauclér (1745, 1749).

Contents: Rattle-snake or *Vipera caudisona. Senega* or rattle-snake root.

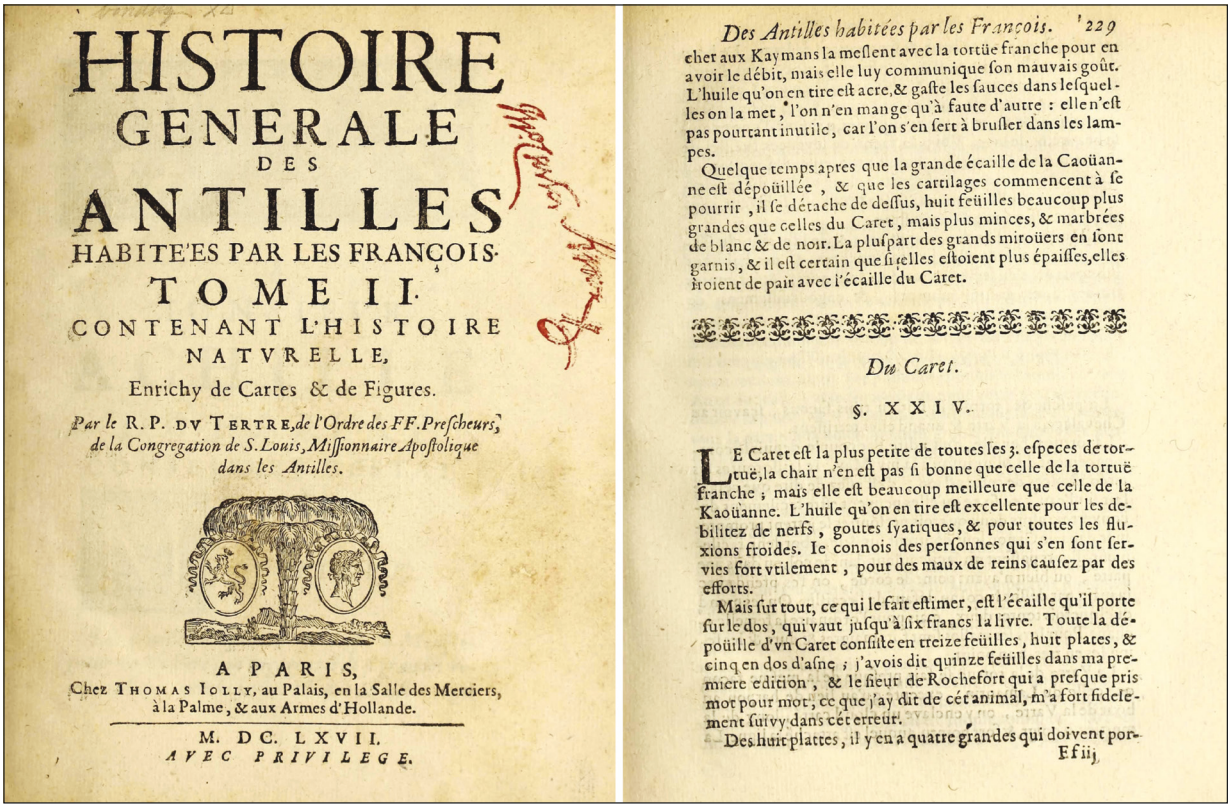
Acrell (1762: 17, 18; 1763: 213, 214): Several mentions, including (p. 17-18) "... *Progredimur igitur ad antidota Americana, quorum excellentissimum jure habeatur Radix* Senega *ad pulverem redactae. Innotuit, a multis retro temporibus, hujus usus radicis Americanis sylvestribus Borealibus, qui ejus beneficio illatam a Crotalo noxam ad miraculum usque profligarunt. Sed tanto hoc arcanum suum custodierunt silentio, Barbari pervicaces & invidi, ut ne auro quidem ejus potuerit obtineri cognitio: usque dum illud feliciter detexit Tennentius atque in humani generis solatium divulgavit...*" ["…We therefore proceed to the American antidotes, among which the most excellent is rightly considered the *Senega* root, reduced to powder. The use of this root became known from many times past among the wild peoples of Northern America, who, by its benefit, miraculously overcame the harm caused by the rattlesnake. But this secret was guarded so closely in silence by the stubborn and envious barbarians that knowledge of it could not be obtained even with gold—until Tennent happily discovered it and spread it for the consolation of mankind…"].

Balk (1746: 21; 1749: 299): Comments on p. 21/299: "... *Hoc ipsum sylvestrium virginianorum antidotum nuper detexit CL. Tennentius* ..." ["…This very antidote of the Virginian woods was recently discovered by the distinguished Tennent…"].

Hasselquist (1747: 15; 1749: 430): In page 15 wrote: "...Fuerat haec arcanum sylvestrium Virginiae incolarum contra morsus *Viperae Caudisonae, Pleitidem, Peripneumoniam,* aliasque varias *Febres Phlogisticas,* quae diu latuit, nullo premio revelanda; at detecta demum per *Tennentium* planta, genuinam Polygalae speciem esse hancce radicem consiitit..." ["…This had been a secret of the Virginian natives against the bite of *Vipera Caudisona*, pleurisy, pneumonia, and other various inflammatory fevers, which remained hidden for a long time, never to be revealed for any reward; but finally, when discovered by Tennent, it was confirmed that this root is a genuine species of *Polygala*…"].

Kiernander (1749: 5-6; 1751: 128-129): "...Rudes enim & sylvestres Pensylvani, in radice penes se crescente, donum ejusmodi reconditum esse divinum læti animadvertere; quam etjam arcani instar, nullo præmio Christianis Virginiam inhabitantibus detegendi, sibi reservarunt; donec Dn. Tennentius (præmio, ut fertur, a supremo Senatu Anglicano definito) e tenbris, in tot hominm salutem, eandem protraxit...". ["...For the rude and wild Pennsylvanians were glad to notice that in a root growing near them there was such a divine gift concealed; and, as if it were a secret, they reserved it for themselves, not revealing it for any reward to the Christians inhabiting Virginia, until Mr. Tennent (for a reward, as it is said, fixed by the supreme English Senate) brought it forth from obscurity for the salvation of so many people..."].

Nauclér (1745: 3; 1749: 173): "...*Ubi nuper in Pensylvania D. Tennent vires istius radicis expertus*



HISTOIRE GENERALE DES ANTILLES HABITE'ES PAR LES FRANÇOIS. TOME II. CONTENANT L'HISTOIRE NATVRELLE, Enrichy de Cartes & de Figures. Par le R. P. DV TERTRE, de l'Ordre des FF. Prescheurs, de la Congregation de S. Louis, Missionnaire Apostolique dans les Antilles.

A PARIS, Chez THOMAS IOLLY, au Palais, en la Salle des Merciers, à la Palme, & aux Armes d'Hollande.

M. DC. LXVII. AVEC PRIVILEGE.

Des Antilles habitées par les François. 229

cher aux Kaymans la meslent avec la tortüe franche pour en avoir le débit, mais elle luy communique son mauvais goût. L'huile qu'on en tire est acre, & gaste les sauces dans lesquelles on la met, l'on n'en mange qu'à faute d'autre : elle n'est pas pourtant inutile, car l'on s'en sert à brusler dans les lampes.

Quelque temps apres que la grande écaille de la Caoüanne est dépoüillée, & que les cartilages commencent à se pourrir, il se détache de dessus, huit feüilles beaucoup plus grandes que celles du Caret, mais plus minces, & marbrées de blanc & de noir. La plusparr des grands miroüers en sont garnis, & il est certain que si elles estoient plus épaisses, elles iroient de pair avec l'écaille du Caret.

Du Caret.

§. XXIV.

LE Caret est la plus petite de toutes les 3. especes de tortuë, la chair n'en est pas si bonne que celle de la tortuë franche ; mais elle est beaucoup meilleure que celle de la Kaoüanne. L'huile qu'on en tire est excellente pour les debilitez de nerfs, goutes syatiques, & pour toutes les fluxions froides. Ie connois des personnes qui s'en sont servies fort vtilement, pour des maux de reins causez par des efforts.

Mais sur tout, ce qui le fait estimer, est l'écaille qu'il porte sur le dos, qui vaut jusqu'à six francs la livre. Toute la dépoüille d'vn Caret consiste en treize feüilles, huit plates, & cinq en dos d'asne ; j'avois dit quinze feüilles dans ma premiere édition, & le sieur de Rochefort qui a presque pris mot pour mot, ce que j'ay dit de cét animal, m'a fort fidelement suivy dans cét erreur.

Des huit plattes, il y en a quatre grandes qui doivent por-

Ff iij

Figure 138. Volume 2 of *Histoire generale des Antilles* (1667) by Tertre.

fuit, quam habuere Nationes sylvestres, tanquam specificum aliquodsecretum adversus morsum Viperae caudisonae..." ["…Where recently in Pennsylvania Mr. Tennent tested the powers of this root as possessed by the wild nations, as some secret specific remedy against the bite of *Vipera caudisona*…".

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) did not discuss this reference. The number of independent citations suggest that the students and Linnaeus consulted the publication when the dissertations were written.

Tertre, J.B. du. 1667. *Histoire generale des Antilles habitées par les françois. Tome II. Contenant l'histoire naturelle, enrichy de cartes & de figures*. Paris, Thomas Iolly: [iv] + [vii] + [iii] +1–539, 3 map, 1 Pl. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.119250>. (Figure 138)

Abbreviated as Tertre antill.

Cited in Linnaeus (1766).

Contents: Amphibians and reptiles are included in Chapter *De tous les reptiles, amphibiens & vermines*, which cointains (1) *Des lezards* (pp. 308-312); (2) *Des cinq autres especes de petit lezards*, including *Des anolis* (p. 312), *Des Gobe-mouches* (p. 313), *Des roquets* (pp. 313-314), *Des scincs qui se trouvent dans les isles françoises* (pp. 314-315) and *Des mabouyes* (pp. 315-316); (3) Des coulevres & autres serpens, qui ne sont point nuisibles (pp. 316-318); (4) *Des coulevres de la Marinique, & de Sainte Alousie* (pp. 318-322); *Remedies contre les morsures de toute sortes de serpens* (pp. 323-326), and (5) *Des estranges grenoüilles de la Martinique* (pp. 326-328). Marine turtles are ranked among fish, in the chapter *Des trois sortes especes de tortües, sçavoir la tortüe franche, le Caret, & la Kaüanne,* including, aside the description of each one, a section on *De la façon de pescher les tortües* (227-233). Furthermore, two plates, one between pages 246-247 and other between p. 288-289 contain turtles and lizards, among several other animals, while a third, between pages 308-309, illustrates the lizards analyzed in pages 308-316.

Linnaeus (1766: 350): *Testudo imbricata* (*Tetre antill.* 2. p. 229. n. 24. Caret).

Comments: Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy

of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) did not discuss the work. Heller (2007) identified this edition as the source. Since the above was the single reference to the book by Tertre in the Linnaean publications, it is likely that it was a secondhand reference.

Theocritus. 1531. ***Theocriti Syracusani Eidyllia trigintasex, Latino carmine reddita, Helio Eobano Hesso interprete. Accesserunt recens Theocrati genus, ac vita. De inventione, ac discrimine Bucolicorum carminum. Item singulis Eidyllis singula argumenta. A quodam Graecè, latineq; erudito latinitate donata.*** **Basileae, Andreae Cratandri: [256 unnumbered pages]. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5326670273&seq=13>** (Figure 139)

Abbreviated as Sicilianska Poeten.

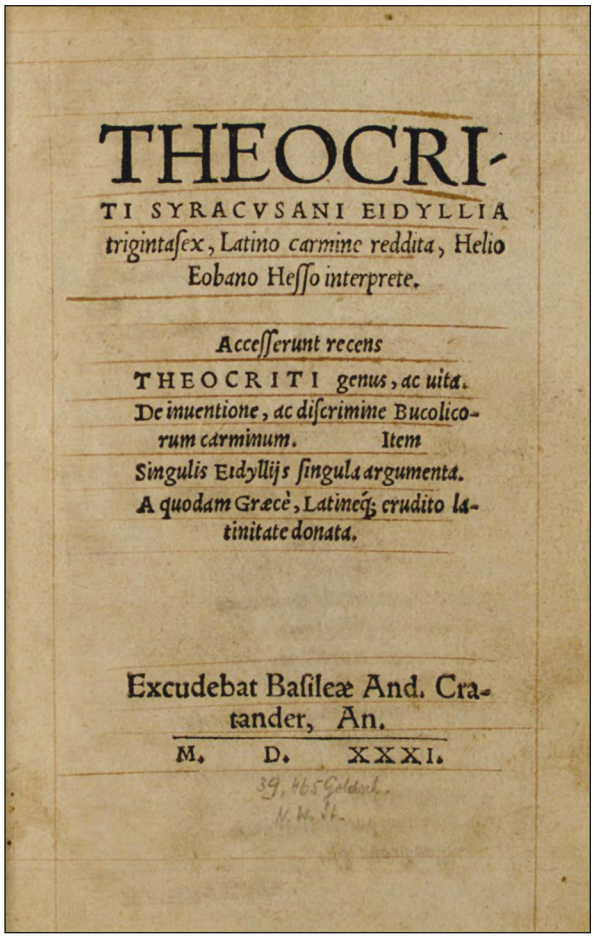
Cited in Linnaeus (1751a).

Contents: Idyll XIII refers to the apotheosis of Hylas, Hercules lover, kidnapped by the water nymphs.

Linnaeus (1751a: 123): On p. 123, under Korn-Grodorna, Linnaeus wrote: "...*Sicilianska Poeten berättar om Herculis dräng Hyla, som gick ut at taga sig et ämbar watten i källan; omen Nympherna, som blefwo kära uti honom, drogo honom ned i källan. Hercules begynte ropa efter drängen, som war så länge, då han swarade med så dum och swag röst; at han trodde honom wara hela 3 quarten ifrån sig, der dock kallan war in wid honom, äfwen som wåra korngrod*or..." ["…The Sicilian poet tells of Hercules's servant Hylas, who went out to fetch a bucket of water from the spring; but the nymphs, who fell in love with him, pulled him down into the spring. Hercules began calling for the servant, who was gone so long that when he finally answered, it was with such a dull and faint voice that Hercules thought he was three quarters of a mile away—though in fact the spring was right beside him, just like with our common frogs…"].

Comments: Not in Linnaeus's private library (Anonymous 1896). Not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007).

The Idylls of Theocritus had numerous editions, many of which were in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). We have been unable to determine conclusively which edition was the reviewed one, therefore we arbitrarily selected the oldest Latin edition housed in the library.


THEOCRI-
TI SYRACVSANI EIDYLLIA
trigintasex, Latino carmine reddita, Helio
Eobano Hesso interprete.

Accesserunt recens
THEOCRITI genus, ac uita.
De inuentione, ac discrimine Bucolicorum carminum. Item
Singulis Eidyllijs singula argumenta.
A quodam Græcè, Latineq; erudito latinitate donata.

Excudebat Basileæ And. Cratander, An.
M. D. XXXI.

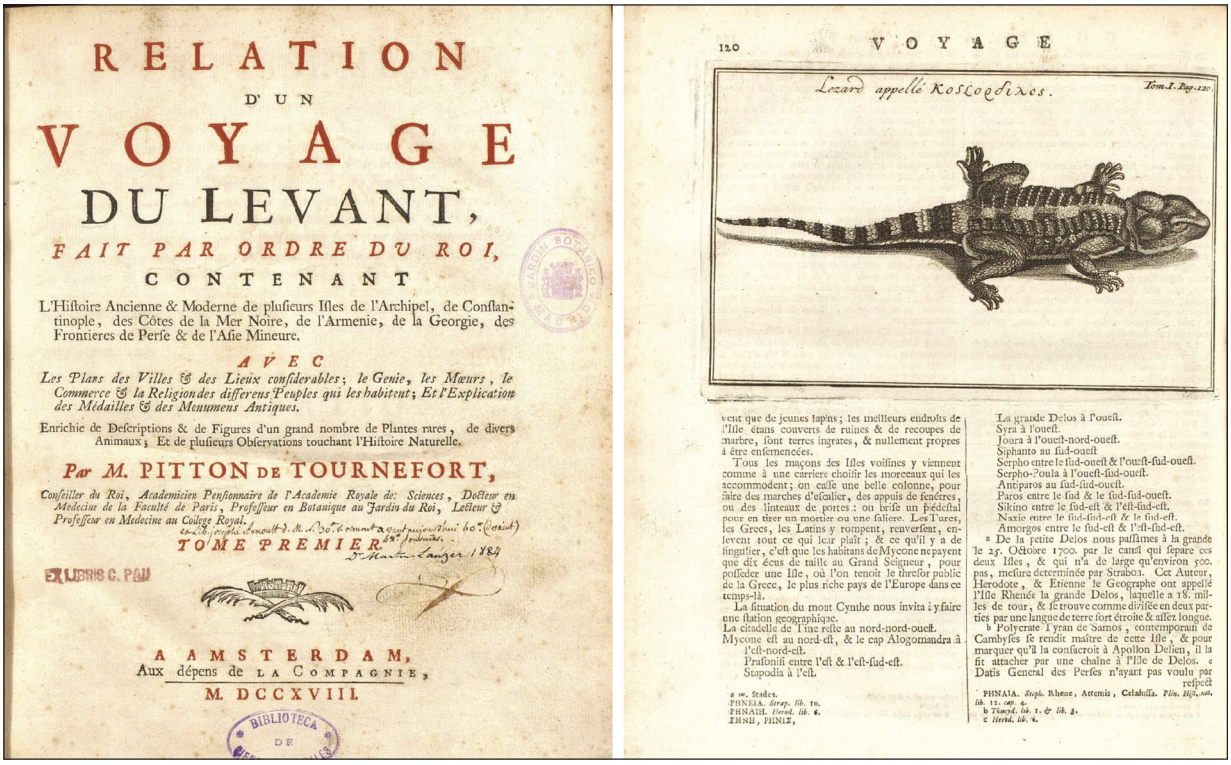
Figure 139. Title page of Theocritus's idylls (1531).

Tournefort, J. P. 1718. ***Relation d'un voyage du Levant: fait par ordre du Roi contenant l'histoire ancienne et moderne de plusieurs isles de l'archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontieres de Perse et de l'Asie Mineure: avec les plans des villes et des lieux considerables, le genie, les moeurs, le commerce et la religion des differens peuples qui les habitent; et l'explication des médailles et des monumens antiques: enrichie de descriptions et de figures d'un grand nombre de plantes rares, de divers animaux; et de plusieurs observations touchant l'histoire naturelle. Tome Premier.*** **Amsterdam. Aux dépens de la Compagnie. [i] + [viii] + [i] + [xvi] +1–188. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/13721>.** (Figure 140)

Abbreviated as: Tourn. it.; Tournef. itin.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758; 1759), Linné (1764a; 1766).

Contents: The narrrative of the journey to the Near East by Pitton de Tournefort has few references to amphibians and reptiles, including a comment, almost casually, about the call of the frogs



RELATION
D'UN
VOYAGE
DU LEVANT,
FAIT PAR ORDRE DU ROI,
CONTENANT
L'Histoire Ancienne & Moderne de plusieurs Isles de l'Archipel, de Constantinople, des Côtes de la Mer Noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des Frontieres de Perse & de l'Asie Mineure.
AVEC
Les Plans des Villes & des Lieux considerables; le Genie, les Mœurs, le Commerce & la Religion des differens Peuples qui les habitent; Et l'Explication des Médailles & des Monumens Antiques.
Enrichie de Descriptions & de Figures d'un grand nombre de Plantes rares, de divers Animaux; Et de plusieurs Observations touchant l'Histoire Naturelle.
Par M. PITTON DE TOURNEFORT,
Conseiller du Roi, Academicien Pensionnaire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, Docteur en Medecine de la Faculté de Paris, Professeur en Botanique au Jardin du Roi, Lecteur & Professeur en Medecine au College Royal.
TOME PREMIER.
EX LIBRIS C. PAU
A AMSTERDAM,
Aux dépens de LA COMPAGNIE,
M. DCCXVIII.
BIBLIOTECA

120 VOYAGE
Lezard appellé Kostogdixos. Tom. I. Pag. 120.
vent que de jeunes lapins; les meilleurs endroits de l'Isle étans couverts de ruines & de recoupes de marbre, sont terres ingrates, & nullement propres à être ensemencées.
Tous les maçons des Isles voisines y viennent comme à une carriere choisir les morceaux qui les accommodent; on casse une belle colonne, pour faire des marches d'escalier, des appuis de fenêtres, ou des linteaux de portes: on brise un piédestal pour en tirer un mortier ou une salliere. Les Turcs, les Grecs, les Latins y rompent, renversent, enlevent tout ce qui leur plaît; & ce qu'il y a de singulier, c'est que les habitans de Mycone ne payent que dix écus de taille au Grand Seigneur, pour posseder une Isle, où l'on tenoit le thresor public de la Grece, le plus riche pays de l'Europe dans ce temps-là.
La situation du mont Cynthe nous invita à y faire une station geographique.
La citadelle de l'Ine reste au nord-nord-ouest.
Mycone est au nord-est, & le cap Alogomandra à l'est-nord-est.
Prasonisi entre l'est & l'est-sud-est.
Stapodia à l'est.
La grande Delos à l'ouest.
Syra à l'ouest.
Joura à l'ouest-nord-ouest.
Siphanto au sud-ouest
Serpho entre le sud-ouest & l'ouest-sud-ouest.
Serpho-Poula à l'ouest-sud-ouest.
Antiparos au sud-sud-ouest.
Paros entre le sud & le sud-sud-ouest.
Sikino entre le sud-est & l'est-sud-est.
Naxie entre le sud-sud-est & le sud-est.
Amorgos entre le sud-est & l'est-sud-est.
a De la petite Delos nous passâmes à la grande le 25. Octobre 1700. par le canal qui separe ces deux Isles, & qui n'a de large qu'environ 500. pas, mesure determinée par Strabon. Cet Auteur, Herodote, & Etienne le Geographe ont appellé l'Isle Rhenée la grande Delos, laquelle a 18. milles de tour, & se trouve comme divisée en deux parties par une langue de terre fort étroite & assez longue.
b Polycrate Tyran de Samos, contemporain de Cambyses se rendit maître de cette Isle, & pour marquer qu'il la consacroit à Apollon Delien, il la fit attacher par une chaîne à l'Isle de Delos. c Datis General des Perses n'ayant pas voulu par respect
a 10. Stades.
PHNEIA. Strap. lib. 10.
PHSAIE. Herod. lib. 6.
PHNH, PHNIX,
PHNAIA. Steph. Rhene, Artemis, Celadussa. Plin. Hist. nat. lib. 12. cap. 4.
b Thucyd. lib. 1. & lib. 3.
c Herod. lib. 6.

Figure 140. Description of *Lacerta stellio* in *Relation d'un voyage du Levant* (1718) by Tournefort.

in Serphos (contradicting Pliny and Aelian) (Book 1, p. 70), and the characterization of a "land crocodile" from Delos (Book 1, p 119;. illustrated on p 120.).

Linnaeus (1758: 202), Linné (1766: 361): *Lacerta stellio* (*Tournef. itin.* 1. *p.* 119. *t.* 120 Lacerta Coslordilos dicta.).

Linnaeus (1759: 72): 10. L. cauda verticillata mediocri: squamis denticulatis, capite corporeque muricato (*Tourn. it.* 1. *p.* 119. *t.* 120).

Linné (1764a: 37): *Tournef. itin.* I. *p.* 119. *t.* 120. Lacerta dicta Coslordilos.

Comments: Bauer (2012) mentions the existence of two editions of this work from 1717, one printed in the Imprimerie Royale in Paris (Tournefort 1717a), and the other printed in Lyon by Anisson et Posuel (Tournefort 1717b). There is at least one further edition from that year, published in Lyon by Bruyset brothers (Tournefort 1717c).

The lizard cited by Linnaeus is described on page 313 and illustrated in a plate between pages 312-313 in Paris edition, and on pages 371/373, and illustrated in p. 372 in the two editions of Lyon (the plate in the Posuel et Anisson edition is not numbered). Linnaeus's reference is coincident with the edition of 1718, printed in Amsterdam, a copy of which was in his personal library (Anonymous 1986). The 1717 Paris edition (Tournefort 1717a) was held in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). by Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the 1717 Paris edition (Tournefort 1717a) as the source.

Tozzi, L. 1747. *In Hippocratis aphorismos comentaria. Pars prima. Ubi universae medicinae, cum theoretice, tum practicae celebriores quaestiones perpendutur, atque nedum recentiorum investis, sed & genuine ejusdem Hippocratis menti congruentes, quam dilucide explicantur. Tomus secundus.* Venetiis, Nicolaum Pezzana: 1–156. (Figure 141)

Abbreviated as Tozzi.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763).

Contents: Acrell refers to Aphorism XXV in pp. 66-67: "*...Hoc pacto venena viperarum, & scorpionum si bibantur, vel ingerantur, non intermunt: at vero inflicta furore, & sanguini immixta, statim exitialis excitat affectus. Non semel etiam animalcula venenosa forte fortuna deglutita nil mali attulerunt: de qua re multa referuntur exempla ab Auctoribus, sed praecipue abd Ephemeridum Germanicarum Colectoribus...*" ["…In this way, the venoms of vipers and scorpions, if drunk or ingested, do not kill; but when inflicted with rage and mixed with blood, they immediately excite a

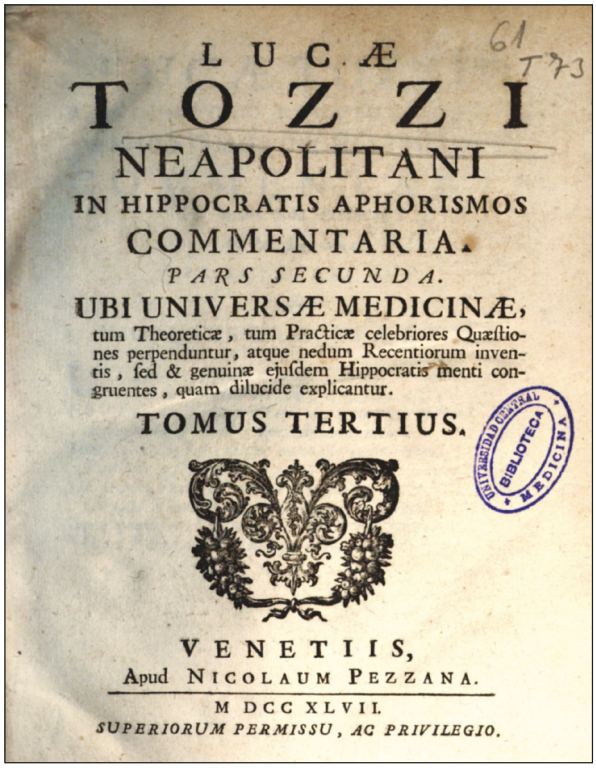

LUCÆ
TOZZI
NEAPOLITANI
IN HIPPOCRATIS APHORISMOS
COMMENTARIA.
PARS SECUNDA.
UBI UNIVERSÆ MEDICINÆ,
tum Theoreticæ, tum Practicæ celebriores Quæstiones perpenduntur, atque nedum Recentiorum inventis, sed & genuinæ ejusdem Hippocratis menti congruentes, quam dilucide explicantur.
TOMUS TERTIUS.
VENETIIS,
Apud NICOLAUM PEZZANA.
M DCC XLVII.
SUPERIORUM PERMISSU, AC PRIVILEGIO.

Figure 141. Title page of In *Hippocratis aphorismos comentaria* (1747) by Tozzi.

deadly effect. Not infrequently, even poisonous little animals, swallowed by chance, have caused no harm: many examples of this are reported by authors, especially by the collectors of the German *Ephemerides*…"].

Acrell (1762: 8, 9, 12; 1763: 204, 205, 209): Frequently cited in the section *VIRUS,* in pages 6-12.

Comments: Book originally published in 1693 (Tozzi 1693). There are not enough clues to establish which was the edition consulted by Acrell (1762; 1763), since the book was not present either in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), or in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Acrell might have issued the summary based on lecture notes he took during his medical studies. Not covered by Dundee (1994) or Heller (2007). The edition given above is only indicative and selected as it was contemporaneous with Acrell.

Tyson, E. 1683. Vipera caudi-sona Americana, or the anatomy of a rattle-snake, dissected at the repository of the Royal Society in January, 168$^2/_3$. *Philosophical Transactions,* 13 (144): 25–58, 2 Pl. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstl.1683.0010>. (Figure 142)

Abbreviated as: Tyson. Act. Angl. p. 144.; Tysone, Act. Londin. N. 144, Act. Angl. 144.

Cited in Acrell (1762; 1763), Kiernander (1749, 1751).

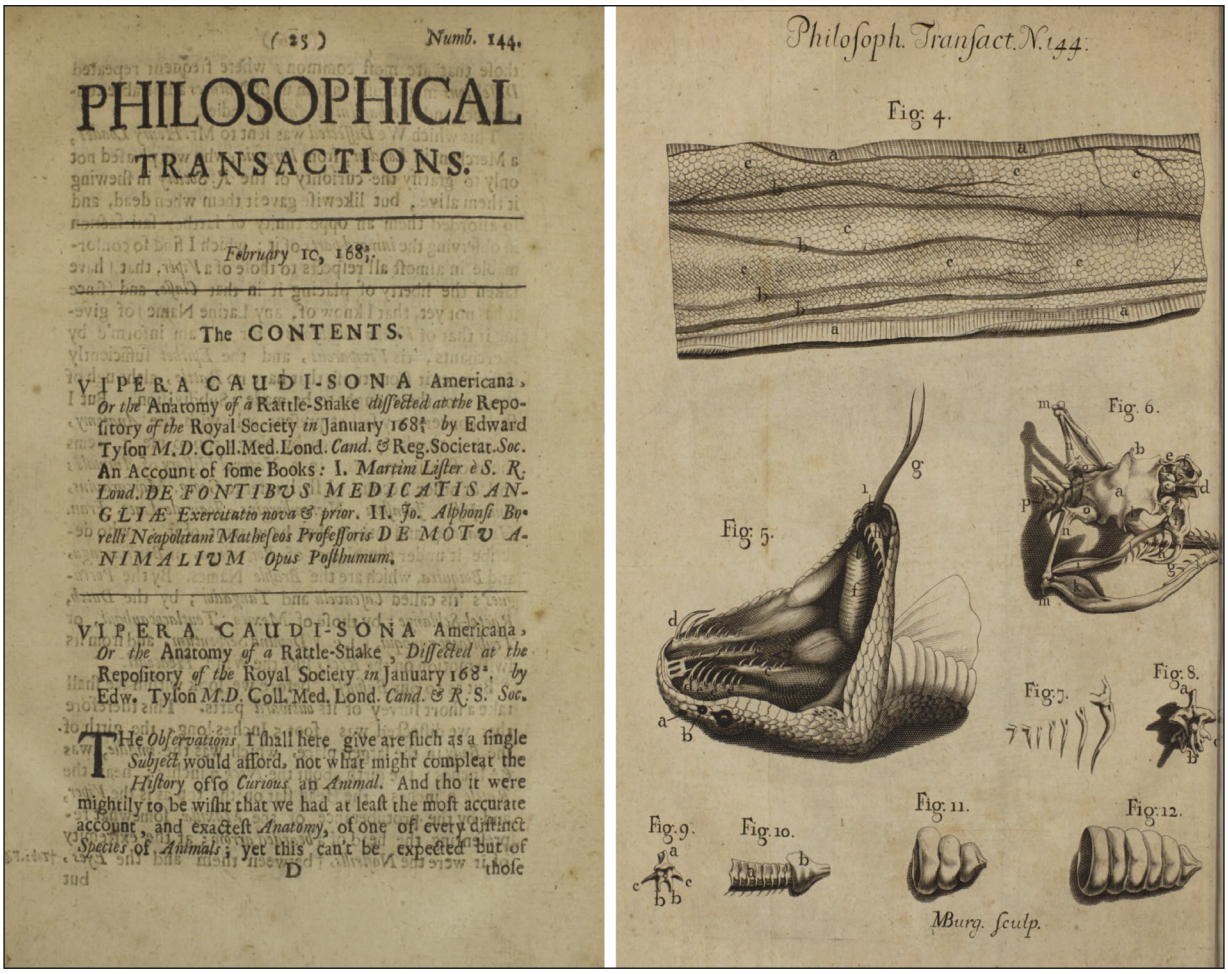
Contents: Article almost completely devoted to the anatomical description of *Vipera caudisona*.

Acrell (1762: 5; 1763: 202): "*...Has cuspides, quas Dentes majores serpentum vulgus vocat, egregie descripsit Tyson. Act. Angl. p. 144. in Anatome Crotali...*" ["…These points, which the common people call the larger teeth of serpents, were excellently described by Tyson in the *Philosophical Transactions* of London, p. 144, in his anatomy of the *Crotalus*…"].

Kiernander (1749: 7; 1751: 130): On p. 7: "*...10. DESCRIPTIONEM Animalium horum eo lubentius praetereo, quo magis in Diss. citatis sufficientissime eadem tradita est, eorumque Anatomia accurate exhibita a Tysone in Act. Londin. N. 144. posteaque recitata a Rajo de Quadrupedibus 291. & quidem mihi praeterea scopus sit, non Serpentem depingere, quin potius ideam tradere remedii contra vim illius veneni...*" ["…10. I all the more willingly omit the description of these animals, since it has been more than sufficiently given in the cited dissertations, and their anatomy accurately presented by Tyson in the *Philosophical Transactions of London*, no. 144, and later recited by Ray in *De Quadrupedibus*, p. 291. Moreover, my aim is not to depict the serpent, but rather to convey the idea of the remedy against the power of its venom…"].

Comments: The name *Vipera caudisona* is used for the first time in this paper. This paper was not in Linnaeus's personal library (Anonymous 1896), but the journal was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814a). Not covered by Dundee (1994). The journal and the author were covered by Heller (2007) but not in connection with *Vipera caudisona*.

Valentini, M. B. 1704. *Museum Museorum, oder vollständige Schau-Bühne aller Materialien und Specereÿen nebst deren natürlichen Beschreibung, Election, Nutzen und Gebrauch, aus andern Material- Kunst und Naturalien-Kammern, Oost- und West-Indischen Reiß-Beschreibungen, curiosen Zeit- und Tag-Registern, Natur-und Artzney-Kündigern, wie auch selbst-eigenen Erfahrung. Zum Vorschub der studirenden Jugend, Materialisten, Apothecker und deren*



(25) Numb. 144.

PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.

February 10, 168⅔.

The CONTENTS.

VIPERA CAUDI-SONA Americana, Or the Anatomy of a Rattle-Snake dissected at the Repository of the Royal Society in January 168⅔ by Edward Tyson M.D. Coll. Med. Lond. Cand. & Reg. Societat. Soc. An Account of some Books: I. Martini Lister è S. R. Lond. DE FONTIBUS MEDICATIS ANGLIÆ Exercitatio nova & prior. II. Jo. Alphonsi Borelli Neapolitani Matheseos Professoris DE MOTU ANIMALIUM Opus Posthumum.

VIPERA CAUDI-SONA Americana, Or the Anatomy of a Rattle-Snake, Dissected at the Repository of the Royal Society in January 168⅔. by Edw. Tyson M.D. Coll. Med. Lond. Cand. & R. S. Soc.

THe Observations I shall here give are such as a single Subject would afford, not what might compleat the History of so Curious an Animal. And tho it were mightily to be wisht that we had at least the most accurate account, and exactest Anatomy, of one of every distinct Species of Animals; yet this can't be expected but of those

D

Philosoph. Transact. N. 144.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

MBurg. sculp.

Figure 142. Journal article on the anatomical description of *Vipera caudisona* by Tyson (1683).

***Visitatoren, wie auch anderer Künstler, als Jubelirer, Mahler, Färber, u. s. w. also verfasset, und mit etlich hundert sauberen Kupfferstücken unter Augen geleget.* Franckfurt am Mäyn, Johann David Zunner: [iv] + [i] + [ii] + [iii] + [iv] + [iv] + [iv] + 1–520 + [i] + [i] + [ii] + 1–76 + [xii] + [v] + 3–119, Pl. I–IX. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.168483>.** (Figure 143)

Abbreviated as Valent. mus.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766)

Contents: Chapter XXV (pp. 471-472), *Scinci marini, Lapidis caymanum* and *Crocodilaster cristatus*. Chapter XXXI (pp. 484-485) *Testudines* (incluyendo *Testudines marinae*, *Testudines terrestres* and *Axungia testudinum*). Between pages 484-485 there is a plate, with the heading "ac. Lib. 3. Cap. 31", with illustrations of *Leguaan Ind. Orient.*, *Axane Indorum*, *Lacerta volans contractis alis*, *Lacerta volans expansis alis*, *Salamander seu Jecco*, *Lacertus Domesticus Ind. Bali dictus, Chamaeleon* and *Chamaeleon Amboricus.* Chapter XXXVIII (pp. 503-504) includes *Oleum lacertorum*, *Lacerta volantes*, *Salamander*, *Jecko* and *Chamaeleon*. Chapter XXXIX (pp. 504-506 + 1 pl.) includes illustrations of a section of a dry snake, its heart and liver, a whole snake and two "*trochisci de vipera*" (tablets made with dried snake meat) in page 504; the plate includes a snake charmer with his flute, *Pasjiri-panu serpen viridis Indiae Orientali; in arborb; latitans, Amphisbaena* and *Serpens Indiae Orientalis boven fugendo deglutiens*. The following pages contain descritions of *Trochischi de Viperis*, *Vipera exsiccatae, spinae viperum* and *Axungia viperina*. Finally, Chapter XL (pp. 507-509) deals with diverse snake stones and their properties.

Linnaeus (1758: 204), Linné (1766: 364): *Lacerta Chamaeleon* (*Valent. mus. l.* 3. *c.* 31)

Comments: Linnaeus's quote refers to the illustration of a chameleon on the plate with the heading "ac. Lib. 3. Cap. 31" (between pages 484–485), and not to the description of the species. The description is

MUSEUM MUSEORUM,
Oder
Vollständige
Schau-Bühne
Aller
Materialien und Specereyen
Nebst deren
Natürlichen Beschreibung / Election, Nutzen und Gebrauch /
Aus andern
MATERIAL-Kunst- und NATURA-
LIEN-Kammern / Ost- und West-Indischen Reiß-
Beschreibungen / Curiosen Zeit- und Tag-Registern / Natur- und
Artzney-Kündigern / wie auch selbst-eigenen Erfahrung /
Zum Vorschub
Der Studirenden Jugend / Materialisten /
Apothecker und deren Visitatoren / Wie auch anderer
Künstler / als Jubelirer / Mahler / Färber / u. s. w.
also verfasset / und
Mit etlich hundert sauberen Kupfferstücken
Unter Augen geleget
Von
D. MICHAEL BERNHARD VALENTINI,
Ihro Hoch-Fürstl. Durchl. der verwittibten Frau Landgräffin zu Hessen-
Darmstadt / Leib- und Hof-Medico, der Artzney und Natürl. Wissenschafften Prof.
Ord. zu Giessen / auch verschiedener Curiosen Academien
in Teutschland und Italien Collegä.
Franckfurt am Mäyn /
An Verlegung Johann David Zunners.
Im Jahr 1704.

Figure 143. Title page and illustration from Valentini's *Museum Museorum* (1704).

located in Chapter XXXVII, pages 503–504 in the first and second editions of *Museum Museorum* (Valentini 1704; 1714), and in Chapter XXXVII (p. 355) of the (abbreviated) Latin version of this work (Valentini 1716). A copy of the 1704 edition was in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Linnaeus did not own a copy (Anonymous 1896). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed this edition as the Linnaean source.

Vallisneri, A. 1733. *Opere fisico-mediche stampate e manoscritte del Kavalier Antonio Vallisneri raccolte da Antonio suo figliuolo. Corredate d'una prefazione in genere sopra tutte, e d'una in particolare sopra il vocabolario della storia naturale. Dedicate agli illustriss. ed eccell. Signori Riformatori dello studio di Padova. Tomo primo.* Venezia, Sebastiano Coleti: I-LXXXII + 1–469, 47 Pl. <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_AFZ9V57bxbkC>. (Figure 144)

Abbreviated as Vallisn. nat. 1.

Cited in Linnaeus (1758), Linné (1766).

Contents: Herpetological references are scattered in the text uner diverse Italian names, as *botta, rospo, ranocchio, salamandra, tartaruga, coccodrillo, serpente, vipera, lucertola, ramarri, camaleonte,* etc.

Linnaeus (1758: 200; 1766: 359): *Lacerta crocodilus* (*Vallisn. nat*. 1. *t*. 43) and *Rana pipa* (*Vallisn. nat*. 1. *t*. 41. *f*. 6).

Comments: This is the first of a three volume work, published three years after Vallisneri's death. Linnaeus refers to two drawings solely (not to the text!); the one on plate 41–fig. 6 (before p. 453), cited in the synonymy of *Rana pipa*, is a reproduction of the plate LIX of Merian (1726), and corresponds to the trasncription of the "*Istoria del camaleonte affricano, e di varj animali d'Italia*", originally published by Vallisnieri in 1715

Figure 144. *Opere fisico-mediche stampate e manoscritte* (1733) by Antonio Vallisneri (1661–1730).

(Vallisnieri 1715). The illustration of plate 43 (before p. 455), cited in the synonymy of *Lacerta crocodilus,* depicts a juvenile mexican crocodile and corresponds to the essay "*Quadrupedo del Messico preso per un piccolo Coccodrillo, della grandeza sua naturale*".

Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available at the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed this edition as the Linnaean source.

Vandelli, D. 1761. *Epistola de Holothurio*, et *Testudine coriacea ad Celeberrimum Carolum Linnæum Equitem Naturae Curiosum Dioscoridem II. Regiæ Majestatis Sveciæ Archiatrum, Medi. & Botan. Profess. Upsal., nec non Societatis Monsp., Berol, Ups. Stockol., Londin. Sodalem.* Patavii (Conzatti): 3–12, pl. I-II. <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_JF8LJo6Rao4C>. (Figure 145)

Abbreviated as Vandell. ad Linn. Patav. 1761.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: *Testudo coriacea*, described in pages 7-10 and depicted in plate 2.

Linné (1766: 350): *Testudo coriacea* (*Vandell. ad Linn. Patav*. 1761. 4.).

Comments: The description of *Testudo coriacea* was published as a letter, and Vandelli's (not Linnaeus's) authorship was revalidated by Bour and Dubois (1983), still this may need to be reviewed, because the letter is not consistently binominal. Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not available at the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) listed the edition as the Linnaean source.

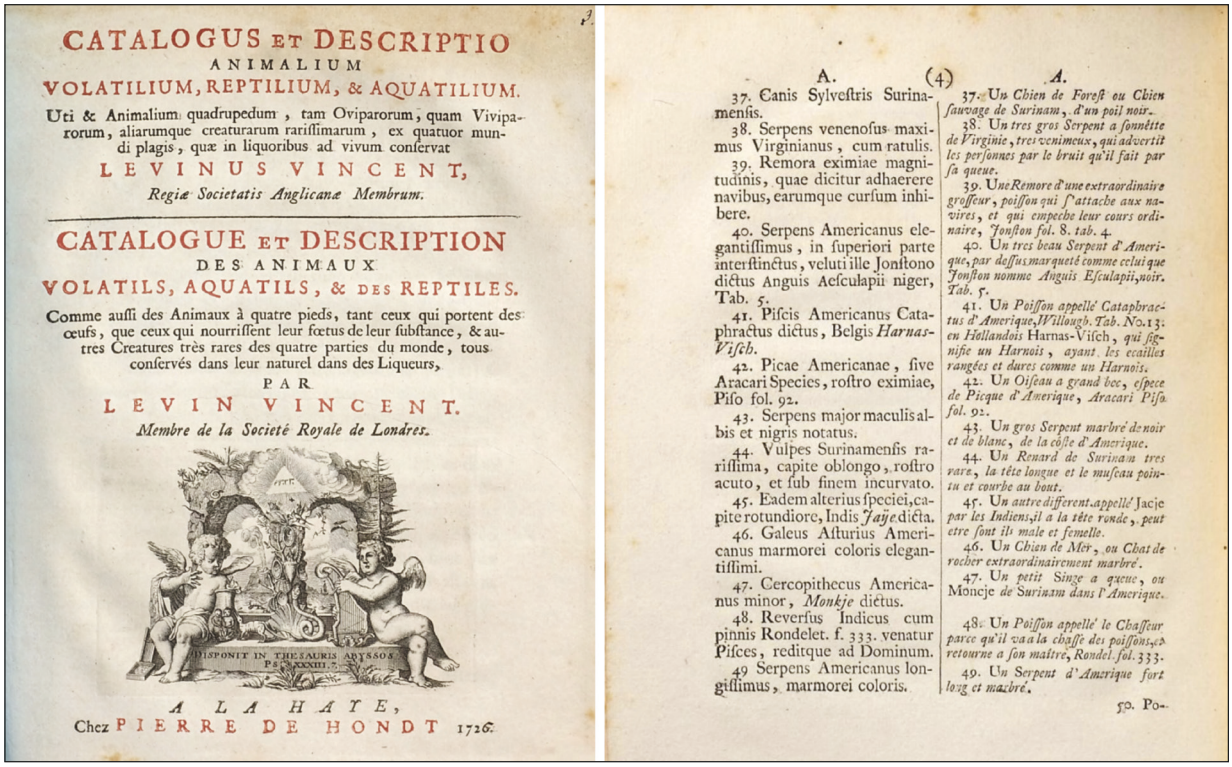
Vincent, L. 1726a. *Catalogus et descriptio animalium volatilium, reptilium, & aquatilium. Uti & Animalium quadrupedum, tam oviparum quam viviparorum, aliarumque creaturarum rarissimarum, ex quatuor mundi plagis, quæ in liquoribus ad vivum conservant. Levinus Vincent, Regiae Societatis Anglicae Membrum. catalog et description des animaux volatils, aquatils, & des reptiles. Comme aussi des Animaux à quatre pieds, tant ceux qui porte les œufs, que ceux qui nourrisent leur fœtus de leur substance,*

DOMINICI
VANDELLII
EPISTOLA
De Holothurio, et testudine coriacea
AD
CELEBERRIMUM
CAROLUM LINNÆUM
Equitem
Naturæ Curiosorum
Dioscoridem II.
Regiæ Majestatis Sveciæ Archiatrum, Medic. & Botan. Professf. Upsal., nec non Societatis Monsp., Berol., Upsf., Stockol., Londin. Sodalem.

PATAVII CIↃIↃCCLXI.
EX TYPOGRAPHIA CONZATTI.
SUPERIORUM PERMISSU.

ep: Tab: II.

Figure 145. Title page and illustration of *Testudo coriacea* by Vandelli (1761).



CATALOGUS ET DESCRIPTIO
ANIMALIUM
VOLATILIUM, REPTILIUM, & AQUATILIUM.
Uti & Animalium quadrupedum, tam Oviparorum, quam Viviparorum, aliarumque creaturarum rarissimarum, ex quatuor mundi plagis, quæ in liquoribus ad vivum conservat
LEVINUS VINCENT,
Regiæ Societatis Anglicanæ Membrum.

CATALOGUE ET DESCRIPTION
DES ANIMAUX
VOLATILS, AQUATILS, & DES REPTILES.
Comme aussi des Animaux à quatre pieds, tant ceux qui portent des œufs, que ceux qui nourrissent leur fœtus de leur substance, & autres Creatures très rares des quatre parties du monde, tous conservés dans leur naturel dans des Liqueurs,
PAR
LEVIN VINCENT.
Membre de la Societé Royale de Londres.

DISPONIT IN THESAURIS ABYSSOS
Ps. XXXIII. 7.

A LA HAYE,
Chez PIERRE DE HONDT 1726.

A. (4) A.

37. Canis Sylvestris Surinamensis.
38. Serpens venenosus maximus Virginianus, cum ratulis.
39. Remora eximiae magnitudinis, quae dicitur adhaerere navibus, earumque cursum inhibere.
40. Serpens Americanus elegantissimus, in superiori parte interstinctus, veluti ille Jonstono dictus Anguis Aesculapii niger, Tab. 5.
41. Piscis Americanus Cataphractus dictus, Belgis *Harnas-Visch.*
42. Picae Americanae, sive Aracari Species, rostro eximiae, Piso fol. 92.
43. Serpens major maculis albis et nigris notatus.
44. Vulpes Surinamensis rarissima, capite oblongo, rostro acuto, et sub finem incurvato.
45. Eadem alterius speciei, capite rotundiore, Indis *Jaije* dicta.
46. Galeus Asturius Americanus marmorei coloris elegantissimi.
47. Cercopithecus Americanus minor, *Monkje* dictus.
48. Reversus Indicus cum pinnis Rondelet. f. 333. venatur Pisces, reditque ad Dominum.
49 Serpens Americanus longissimus, marmorei coloris.

37. *Un Chien de Forest ou Chien sauvage de Surinam, d'un poil noir.*
38. *Un tres gros Serpent a sonnette de Virginie, tres venimeux, qui advertit les personnes par le bruit qu'il fait par sa queue.*
39. *Une Remore d'une extraordinaire grosseur, poisson qui s'attache aux navires, et qui empeche leur cours ordinaire, Jonston fol. 8. tab. 4.*
40. *Un tres beau Serpent d'Amerique, par dessus marqueté comme celui que Jonston nomme Anguis Esculapii, noir. Tab. 5.*
41. *Un Poisson appellé Cataphractus d'Amerique, Willough. Tab. No. 13. en Hollandois* Harnas-Visch, *qui signifie un Harnois, ayant les ecailles rangées et dures comme un Harnois.*
42. *Un Oiseau a grand bec, espece de Picque d'Amerique, Aracari Piso fol. 92.*
43. *Un gros Serpent marbré de noir et de blanc, de la côste d'Amerique.*
44. *Un Renard de Surinam tres rare, la tête longue et le museau pointu et courbe au bout.*
45. *Un autre different appellé* Jacje *par les Indiens, il a la tête ronde, peut etre sont ils male et femelle.*
46. *Un Chien de Mer, ou Chat de rocher extraordinairement marbré.*
47. *Un petit Singe a queue, ou* Monceje *de Surinam dans l'Amerique.*
48. *Un Poisson appellé le Chasseur parce qu'il va a la chasse des poissons, et retourne a son maître, Rondel. fol. 333.*
49. *Un Serpent d'Amerique fort long et marbré.*

50. Po-

Figure 146. *Catalogus et descriptio animalium volatilium, reptilium, & aquatilium* by Vincent (1726a).

& autres Creatures tres rares des quatre parties du monde, toutes conservés dans leur naturel dans les Liqueurs, par Levin Vincent, membre de la Socite Royale de Londres. **La Haye, Pierre de Hondt: [iv] + [iv] + 1–72. <https://books.google.at/books?id=0z1NLULL3V0C>** (Figure 146)

Abbreviated as: Vincent [a]; Vincent catal.

Cited in Dahlberg (1755, 1759), Sundius (1748, 1749).

Contents: References to amphibians and reptiles are scattered in the catalogue, under the title *Catalogus variorum animalium, in liquore elegantu conservatorum, in Gazophylacio Levini Vincentii*. Furthermore, some amphibians are described in other three sections: (a) *Descriptio, sive Catalogus diversorum Bufonum et Ranarum exoticarum*, (b) *Descriptio Ranarum et Bufonum caudatorum,* and (c) *Descriptio Bufonum, quorum foetus è tergo prodecunt, Indigenis Pipa vel Pipal dictorum*.

Dahlberg (1755: 6; 1759: 369): "... *Rana piscis, Surinamensis incola, de quo Vincent, Meriana, Seba & alii demonstrare conate sunt, rana in piscen transmutari, contrario plane modo ac in ranis fieri assolet*..." ["…The frog-fish, an inhabitant of Suriname, about which Vincent, Merian, Seba, and others have attempted to demonstrate that the frog is transformed into a fish—by a process entirely contrary to what usually happens in frogs…"].

Sundius (1748: 23; 1749: 500): CROTALOPHORUS scutis abdominalibus CLXXII, scutis caudalibus XXI, paribusque sqvamarum III (Serpens venenosus maximus virginianus cum ratulis. Vincent catal. 4. n. 38).

Comments: Dahlberg's (1755; 1759) reference may correspond either to this work by Vincent (1726a) or the one discussed next (Vincent 1726b). Linnaeus had a copy of Vincent (1726a) work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896), and it was also available at the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) itemized the edition as the Linnaean source.

Vincent, L. 1726b. ***Descriptio pipae, Seu Bufonis Aquatici Surinamensis, Foetus enitentis in dorso, unde videntur prodire; Addita Succincta Descriptione Ranarum, Earumque successiva mutatione; cui accedit Descriptio omnium diversorum generum Bufonum et Ranarum, tam Orientalium quam Occidentalium, conservatorum in Gazophylacio Levini Vincent, Membri Societatis Regalis. Description du Pipa, Ou Crapéau Aquatil de Surinam, Qui engendre ses petit s par le dos, & qui semble les en faire éclore; Avec une courte Description des Grenouilles, Touchant leurs changemens par degrés fuivie d'une Description de toutes les differentes especes de Crapeaux et de Grenouilles des Indes, contenus dans le Cabinet de Levinus Vincent, Membre de la Societé Royole.*** **Haarlem, Autheur & Pierre de Hondt: [i–xxvi] + 6–63 + [i] + 1-16, pl. I–II. <https://books.google.at/books?id=IypnAAAAcAAJ>.** (Figure 147)

Abbreviated as: Vincent [b]; Vincent. pip. 1726.

Cited in Dahlberg (1755, 1759), Linnaeus (1758) Linné (1766).

Contents: In addition to the comprehensive description of Pipa, and the correction of the error made by Ruysch (1710) in the plate IV of his Thesaurus Animaliun, Vincent included the characterization 46 individuals housed in his collection: *Ranula Surinamensis elegantissime variegata* (nº 1-2, p. 1), *Rana Surinamensis variegata cineraceis & fulvis maculis notata* (3, p. 1), *Ranula Americana superius fusco-variegata* (4-5, p. 1), *Ranula major* (6, p. 1-2), *Bufo minor americanus rarissimus coloris cineracei* (7, p. 2), *Ranula Surinamensis, superior caerulea, inferius alba, corpore oblongo et tenui* (8, p. 2), *Rana Surinamensis faemina rarissimis coloribus intersticta* (9, p. 2), *Ranula caerulea Surinamensis* (10-11, p. 2-3), *Rana intense fusca alba crepidine* (12, p. 3), *Rana Americana fuscorufa, corpore maculis seu flamis intense fuscis notato* (13, p. 3), *Bufo, dictus Bragoen-Pad, fusco-variegatus Promontorii Bonae Spei* (14-15, p. 3), *Bufo Americanus marmoreus, coloris fusco-cinericei* (16, p. 4), *Bufo Americanus crassissimus* (17, p. 4), *Rana caudata cum duobus pedibus posterioribus* (18, p. 4), *Bufo minor* (Belgis een Donderpaddetje) (19, p. 4), *Rana caudata sub-cinerea* (20, p. 4), *Pipa, sive Pipal, recens enixus* (21, p. 4), *Rana Americana fusco-marmorea* (22-23-24, p. 5), *Rana Americana major, intense fusco-marmorea in superiori, in inferiore parte sub-cinericea* (25, p. 6), *Rana Americana major, ruffi coloris* (26, p. 6), *Bufo Americanus rarissimus, corpore majusculo & rotundo* (27, p. 6-7), *Bufo Americanus major, tumidus, coloris cineracei* (28, p. 8), *Rana*

DESCRIPTIO PIPAE,
SEU
BUFONIS AQUATICI SURINAMENSIS,
Foetus enitentis in dorso, unde videntur prodire;
ADDITA SUCCINCTA
DESCRIPTIONE RANARUM,
Earumque successiva mutatione; cui accedit Descriptio omnium diversorum generum Bufonum et Ranarum, tam Orientalium quam Occidentalium, conservatorum in Gazophylacio Levini Vincent, Membri Societatis Regalis.

DESCRIPTION DU PIPA,
OU
CRAPEAU AQUATIL de SURINAM,
Qui engendre ses petits par le dos, & qui semble les en faire éclore;
AVEC UNE COURTE
DESCRIPTION DES GRENOUILLES,
Touchant leurs changemens par degrés suivie d'une Description de toutes les differentes especes de Crapeaux et de Grenouilles des Indes, contenus dans le Cabinet de Levinus Vincent, Membre de la Societé Royale.

A HAARLEM,
Imprimé au depens de l'Autheur, et se vendent chez Pierre de Hondt, Libraire a la Haye. 1726.

Figure 147. Title page and plate 2 from *Descriptio pipae, Seu Bufonis Aquatici Surinamensis* by Vincent (1726b).

Surinamensis rarissima (29, p. 8-9). Under the title *Descriptio Ranarum et Bufonum caudatorum* describes 11 individuals (numbers 30 to 40 on pages 8 to 11), followed by the description of five individuals (numbers 41 to 46) of *Pipa* under the title *Descriptio Bufonum, quorum foetus e tergo prodeunt, Indigenis Pipa vel Pipal dictorum* (12-14). Finally, pages 15-16 contain an extension of the description of *Bufonis terrestris Surinamensis rarissimi.*

Dahlberg (1755: 6; 1759: 369): "... *Rana piscis, Surinamensis incola, de quo Vincent, Meriana, Seba & alii demonstrare conate sunt, rana in piscen transmutari, contrario plane modo ac in ranis fieri assolet*..." ["…The frog-fish, an inhabitant of Suriname, about which Vincent, Merian, Seba, and others have attempted to demonstrate that the frog is transformed into a fish—by a process entirely contrary to what usually happens in frogs…"].

Linnaeus (1758: 210) Linné (1766: 354): *Rana Pipa* (*Vincent, pip.* 1726. *t.* 62).

Comments: Bauer (2012) considered the first edition of the *Descriptio Pipae, seu Bufonis Aquatici Surinamensis*... (Vincent 1725) as the Linnaeus source. Similarly Dundee (1994) references the 1725 edition, while Heller (2007) the 1726 edition. In Linnaeus personal library there were two books published by Levinus Vincent in 1726 (Anonymous 1896). The *Catalogus et descriptio animalium*... (Vincent 1726a, *vide supra*), mentions *Pipa* in page 62 but has no plate. The other, *Descriptio Pipae* (...) (Vincent 1726b), has two plates, one of them facing p. 62. The mention of *t.* (= *tabula*, or plate) by Linnaeus (1758) and Linné (1766) points out the second as the source he analyzed. Dahlberg's (1755; 1759) mention to Vincent could refer to either of the two works by Vincent (1726a; 1726b).

The book was not present in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b).

Wagner, C. P. 1762. *Abbildungen der seltensten und schönsten Stücke des Hochfürstlichen Naturalienkabinets in Bayreuth*. Leipzig and Nuremberg. Fritsch. [iv] + 1–24, Pl. I–XVI [Pl. XIV–XV on one sheet]. (Figure 148)

Abbreviated as Wagn. mus.

Cited in Linné (1766).

Contents: Of herpetological interest are *Keyman, oder ei, ägyptisches junges Krocodill*, depicted in plate V, and the *grosse amerikanische Kröte, Pipa, oder*

Figure 148. Plate 7 from Wagner's *Abbildungen der seltensten und schönsten Stücke des Hochfürstlichen Naturalienkabinets* in Bayreuth (1762).

Pipal, in plate VII.

Linné (1766: 354): *Rana Pipa* (*Wagn. mus*. 15. t. 7. Bufo major surinamensis).

Comments: Not seen; included information from Ledermüller (1762). Neither in Linnaeus personal library (Anonymous 1896), nor in that of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). We can reasonably assume that Linnaeus received a copy from the author Peter Christian Wagner (1703-1764), with whom he communicated and exchanged seeds as the correspondence available on the ALVIN platform for digital collections and digitized cultural heritage (https://www.alvin-portal.org/) shows, but the work was not among the scientific effects purchased by James Edward Smith. Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) discussed the 1762 edition as the Linnaean source.

Worm, O. 1655. *Museum Wormianum. Seu historia rerum rariorum, tam naturalium, quam artificialium, tam domesticarum, quam exoticarum, quae Hafniae Danorum in aedibus authoris servantur. Variis & accuratis iconibus illustrata*. Amstelodami. Ludovicum & Danielem Elzevirios. [iv] + [iii] + [i] + [ii] + 1–389 + [iii]. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11689241>. (Figure 149)

Abbreviated as Worm. mus.

Cited in Hast (1745; 1749), Linnaeus (1754; 1758), Linné (1766).

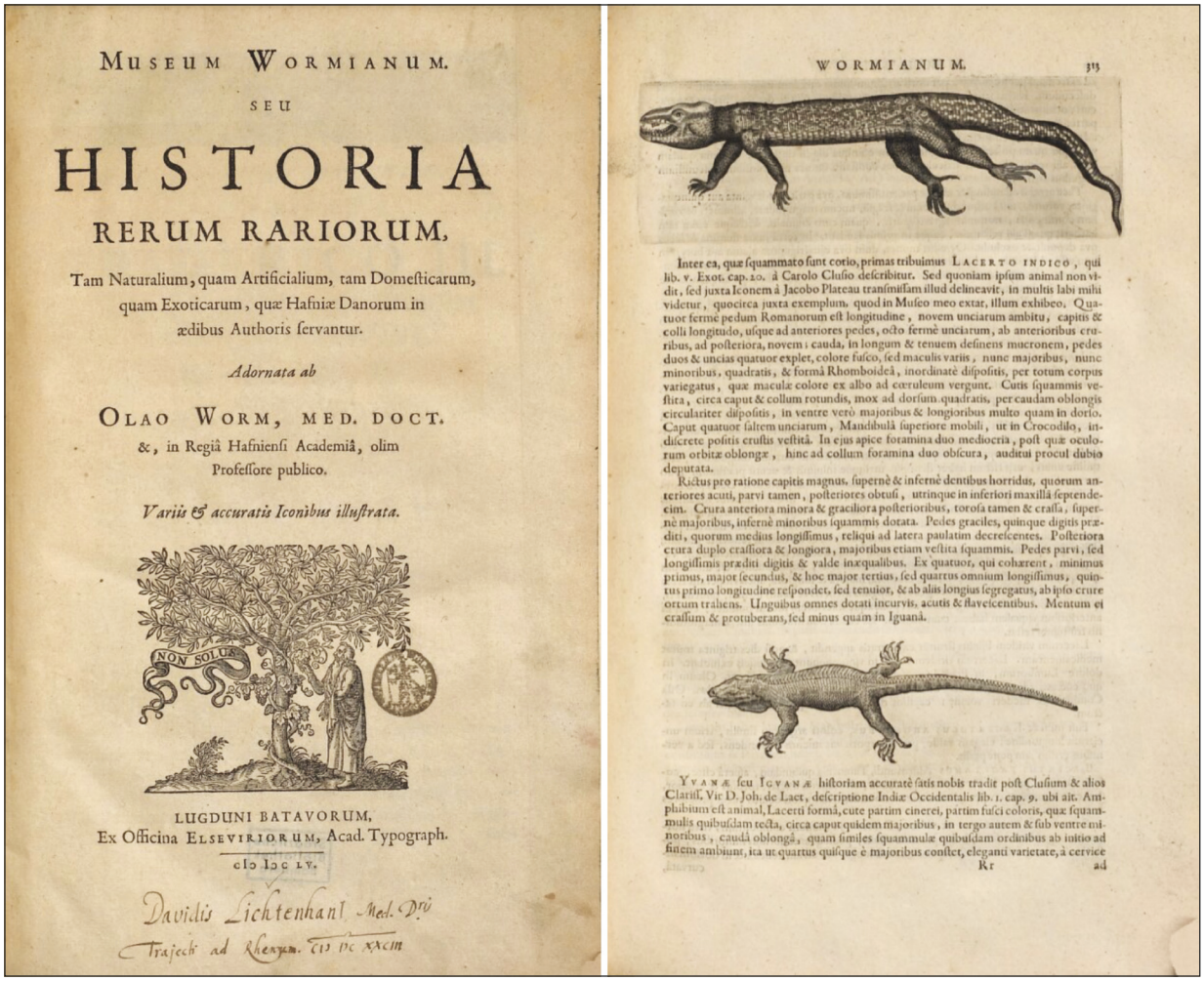
Contents: Chapter IX, on snakes and toads, includes a skin of *Serpentis Americani from Brasil* (p. 263), a moult of *Brachiani Serpentes* (pp. 263-264) and *Rubeta seu Bufones* (p. 265). Chapter XXII, on lizards, crocodiles and turtles, includes *Lacerto Indico* (p. 313), *Yvanae seu Iguanae* (313-314), *Lacertus viridis* (p. 314), *Lacertus argenteus* (p. 314), *Lacertus facetanus* (p. 314), *Scincus, seu Crocodilus terrestris* (p. 315), *Crocodilus* (p. 315), *Chamaeleon* (pp. 315-316), *Testudinis marinae* (p. 316), *Testudinis terrestris* (pp. 316-317), and *Testudo picta vel stellata* (p. 317).

Hast (1745: 18, 33, 34; 1749: 124, 139): 11. LACERTA *cauda tereti, pedibus pentadactylis, crista dorsi longitudinali, gulae pendula antice dentata* (Worm. mus. p. 313. *Yvana seu Iguana*), 23. TESTUDO *unguibus acuminatis, palmarum plantarumque quaternis* (Worm. mus. p. 313. *Testudo terrestris pusilla ex india orientali*), 24. TESTUDO *picta vel stellata* (Worm. mus. 317. 24. TESTUDO *picta vel stellata*).

Linnaeus (1754: 43, 45): *Lacerta iguana* (Worm. Mus. 313) and *Lacerta ameira* (Worm. mus. 313. t. 313).

Linnaeus (1758: 199, 203, 207) Linné (1766: 353, 362, 366): *Lacerta Ameiva* (*Worm. mus.* 313 f. 313), *Lacerta igvana* (*Worm. mus.* 313), *Testudo geometrica* (*Worm. mus.* 317), and *T. pusilla* (*Worm. mus.* 313).

Comments: Two identical editions of the *Museum Wormianum* were published in 1665, one in Amsterdam by Ludovicum & Danielem Elzevirios, and the other in Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden) by Ioannem Elzevirium. Dundee (1994) and Heller (2007) listed the Leiden edition as the source. Linnaeus did not own a copy of the book (Anonymous 1896). A copy of the Amsterdam edition was probably consulted by Linnaeus since it was accessible to him through the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b). The turtle mentioned by Linnaeus (1758, 1766) as "*Ex India Orientali pusillum, sed genus Testudinis elegans terrestris*" is described on pages 316-317.



MUSEUM WORMIANUM.
SEU
HISTORIA
RERUM RARIORUM,
Tam Naturalium, quam Artificialium, tam Domesticarum, quam Exoticarum, quæ Hafniæ Danorum in ædibus Authoris servantur.
Adornata ab
OLAO WORM, MED. DOCT.
&, in Regiâ Hafniensi Academiâ, olim Professore publico.
Variis & accuratis Iconibus illustrata.
NON SOLUS
LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Ex Officina ELSEVIRIORUM, Acad. Typograph.
cIↃ IↃC LV.
Davidis Lichtenhant Med. Dri
Trajecti ad Rhenum. CIↃ IↃC XXCIII

WORMIANUM. 313

Inter ea, quæ squammato sunt corio, primas tribuimus LACERTO INDICO, qui lib. v. Exot. cap. 20. à Carolo Clusio describitur. Sed quoniam ipsum animal non vidit, sed juxta Iconem à Jacobo Plateau transmissam illud delineavit, in multis labi mihi videtur, quocirca juxta exemplum, quod in Museo meo extat, illum exhibeo. Quatuor fermè pedum Romanorum est longitudine, novem unciarum ambitu, capitis & colli longitudo, usque ad anteriores pedes, octo fermè unciarum, ab anterioribus cruribus, ad posteriora, novem; cauda, in longum & tenuem desinens mucronem, pedes duos & uncias quatuor explet, colore fusco, sed maculis variis, nunc majoribus, nunc minoribus, quadratis, & formâ Rhomboideâ, inordinatè dispositis, per totum corpus variegatus, quæ maculæ colore ex albo ad cœruleum vergunt. Cutis squammis vestita, circa caput & collum rotundis, mox ad dorsum quadratis, per caudam oblongis circulariter dispositis, in ventre verò majoribus & longioribus multo quam in dorso. Caput quatuor saltem unciarum, Mandibulâ superiore mobili, ut in Crocodilo, indiscrete positis crustis vestitâ. In ejus apice foramina duo mediocria, post quæ oculorum orbitæ oblongæ, hinc ad collum foramina duo obscura, auditui procul dubio deputata.

Rictus pro ratione capitis magnus, supernè & infernè dentibus horridus, quorum anteriores acuti, parvi tamen, posteriores obtusi, utrinque in inferiori maxillâ septendecim. Crura anteriora minora & graciliora posterioribus, torosa tamen & crassa, supernè majoribus, infernè minoribus squammis dotata. Pedes graciles, quinque digitis præditi, quorum medius longissimus, reliqui ad latera paulatim decrescentes. Posteriora crura duplo crassiora & longiora, majoribus etiam vestita squammis. Pedes parvi, sed longissimis præditi digitis & valde inæqualibus. Ex quatuor, qui cohærent, minimus primus, major secundus, & hoc major tertius, sed quartus omnium longissimus, quintus primo longitudine respondet, sed tenuior, & ab aliis longius segregatus, ab ipso crure ortum trahens. Unguibus omnes dotati incurvis, acutis & flavescentibus. Mentum et crassum & protuberans, sed minus quam in Iguanâ.

YVANÆ seu IGVANÆ historiam accuratè satis nobis tradit post Clusium & alios Clariss. Vir D. Joh. de Laet, descriptione Indiæ Occidentalis lib. 1. cap. 9. ubi ait. Amphibium est animal, Lacerti formâ, cute partim cinerei, partim fusci coloris, quæ squammulis quibusdam tecta, circa caput quidem majoribus, in tergo autem & sub ventre minoribus, caudâ oblongâ, quam similes squammulæ quibusdam ordinibus ab initio ad finem ambiunt, ita ut quartus quisque è majoribus constet, eleganti varietate, à cervice

Rr ad

Figure 149. Title page and page 313 of *Museum Wormianum* (Worm 1655).

Wurffbainii, J. P. 1683. *Salamandrologia, h.e. Descriptio Historico-Philologico-Philosophico-Medica Salamandrae quae vulgè in igne vivere creditur, S. R. J. Academiae Naturae Curiosis exhibita, atq´. novis aliquot Capitibus, Experimentis, Figurisq´; aeri eleganter incisis, nec non Rerum & Verbum Indice adaucta.* Norimbergae. Georgii Scheureri: 1–133 + [xv], Pl. I–V. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.5123>. (Figure 150)

Abbreviated as: Wurffbain. Salamandrol.; Wurffbainus Salamandrologia.

Cited in Linnaeus (1746a; 1761), Linné (1766).

Contents: Monograph on salamanders; some of the included names are *lacertarum* (16; 49; 56; 65), *serpentibus* (29), *lacerta venenaria* (35), *Stellio* (35; 58), *scincorum*, *scinci* (36; 56; 57), *reptilibus* (47), *aquaticam salamandras* (52), *terrestres salamandras* (53), *Batrachon* (54), *Cordylus* (57; 58), *Chamaeleon* (59; 89), *ranarum* (78), *testudinum* (78), *viperarum* (92) and *stellata dicta salamandra* (140).

Linnaeus (1746a: 96): 256. LACERTA pedibus inermibus fissis (*Wurffbain*. *Salamandrol*. 52. t. 2. f. 3. 3. Salamandra aquatica).

Linnaeus (1761: 102): 281. LACERTA *palustris* cauda ancipiti lanceolata (*Wurffbain*. *Salamandrol*. 52. t. 2. f. 3. Salamandra aquatica).

Linné (1766: 371): Comments at the end of *Lacerta salamandra* (*Wurffbainus* Salamandrologia. *Norib.* 1683. quart.).

Comments: Reference not covered by Dundee (1994). Heller (2007) listed the 1683 edition as the Linnaean source. Linnaeus had a copy of this work in his personal library (Anonymous 1896). The book was not present in the library of the Academy of Uppsala (Aurivillius 1814b).

Figure 150. Title page and plate 2 of Wurffbainii's 1683 monograph on salamanders.

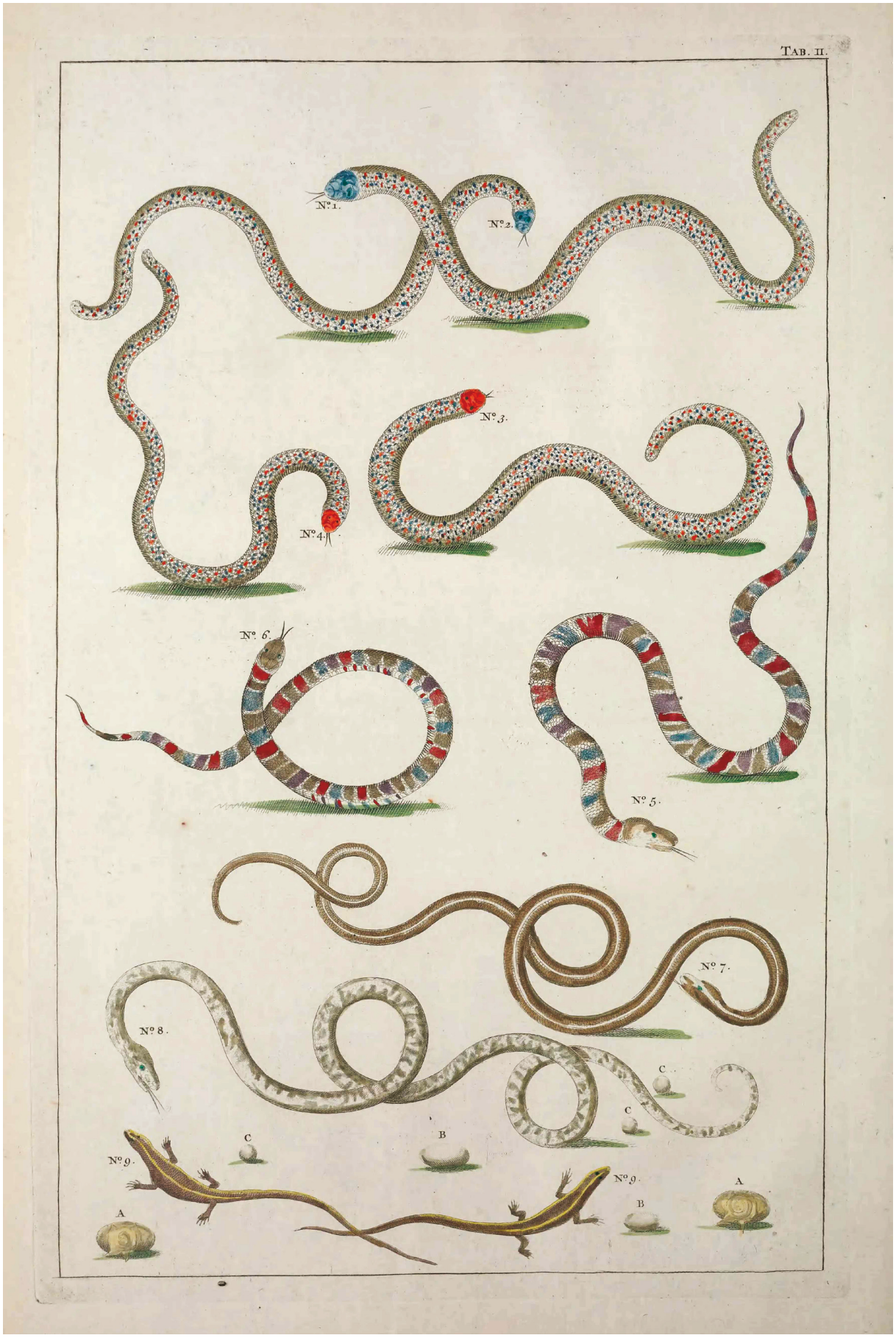


Plate 2 from Seba 1735.

References

Publications not discussed in details in the chapter "Primary literature sources" but referenced in the text. Works cited by Linnaeus and therefore discussed in details above (e.g. Seba 1734) were not repeated in the list below.

Acrell, J. G. 1762. *Q.F.F.S. Disputatio Medica, de Morsura Serpentum, quam indultu Nob. atque Exper. Ord. Med. in Supremo ad Salam Lycæo, sub præsidio viri nobilissimi nec non experientissimi D:ni. Doct. Caroli Linnæi, Equit. Aurat. de Stella Polari, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatri, Medic. et Botan. Prof. Reg. et Ord. Acad. Scient. Upsaliens. Holmiens. Petropol. Berol. Imp. Nat. Cur. Lond. Monspel. Tolos. et Florent. Socii, publice ventilandam exhibet, stipendiarius regius, Joh. Gustavus Acrell, Regiæ Academiæ Scientiarium Adseriptus, Holmensis. In Aud. Car. MAj. ad d. XVI. Junii, MDCCLXII. Hortis Ante Meridiem Consvetis.* Upsaliæ: [iii] + [1]–19 + [i]. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-119.pdf>.

Adler, K. 1989. Herpetologists of the past. Pp. 5–141 *in* Adler, K. (Ed.), *Contributions to the history of herpetology*. Oxford, Ohio. Society for the Study of Amphibians and Reptiles 5: 1–202.

Adler, K. 2012. Herpetological exploration in the 18th century: spanning the globe with Linnaeus's students. *In*: Bell, C. J. (editor), The herpetological legacy of Linnaeus: A celebration of the Linnaean tercentenary. *Bibliotheca herpetologica*, 9 (1–2): 39–52.

Aldrovandi, U. 1645. De qvadrvpedib.' digitatis viviparis libri tres et de qvadrvpedib' digitatis oviparis libri duo. Bonon., Nicolau Tebaldinum: [ii] + 1–718 + [xv] + [i]. <https://books.google.at/books?id=t4NNAQAAMAAJ>.

Andersson, L. G. 1899. Catalog of Linnean type-specimens of snakes in the Royal Museum in Stockholm. *Bihang till Kongliga Svenska Vetenskaps-Akademiens Handlingar*, 24 (IV) 6: 1–35. < https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/48741>.

Anonymous. 1896. [Linnaean Society of London]. Catalog of the library of the Linnean Society of London. New edition. London, Taylor and Francis: [i] + [1]–727. <https://archive.org/details/catalogueoflibra00linniala>.

Aphonin, M. 1766. *F. D. dissertatio academica demonstans Usum Historiæ Naturalis in vita communi, quam Consent. Experient. Facult. Med. in illustri Academia Upsaliensi, præside D:no. Doct. Carolo v. Linné, Equite Aurato de Stella Polari; S:æ R:æ M:tis Suec. Archiatro; Med. et Botan. Professore Reg. et Ord. Acad. Imper. Petropol. Imper. N. C. Reg. Paris Stoch. Upsal. Lond. Angl. Flor Berol. Monsp Tol. Bernens. Edinb. Nidros. Membro, publice examinandam submittit auctor et respondens Matheus Aphonin, Nobil. Moscov. Rossus. In Audit. Car. Maj. d. XVII. Maji. Anni MDCCLXVI. H.A.M.S.* Upsaliæ, [ii] + [ii] + [1–2]–30 + [i] + [i], 1 Pl. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-145.pdf>.

Aphonin, M. 1769. CXLVII. Usus historiæ naturalis, quem, præside D. D. Car. v. Linné, proposuit Matheus Aphonin, Nobil. Moscov. Rossus. Upsaliæ 1766. Maji 17. *Amœnitates Academicæ* (*Holmiæ*), 7: 409–437, Tab. VI. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Aurivillius, P. F. 1814a. *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Academiae Upsaliensis. Sector Prior. Fasciculus*

I. A-L. Upsaliae Stenhammar et Palmblad: I–LXVII + 1–530. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951001994008o&seq=7>.

Aurivillius, P. F. 1814b. *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Academiae Upsaliensis. Sector Prior. Fasciculus II. M-Z*. Upsaliae, Stenhammar et Palmblad: 531–1040. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951001994009m&seq=7>.

Baldaeus, P. 1703. *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East-India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as also of the Isle of Ceylon. With all the adjacent Kingdoms, Principalities, Provinces, Cities, Chief Harbors, Structures, Pagan Temples, Products, and living Creatures. The Manners, Habits, Oeconomies and Ceremonies of the Inhabitants; as likewise the most remarkable Warlike Exploits, Sieges, Sea and Field-Engagements betwixt the Portugueses and Dutch; with their Traffick and Commerce. The Whole adorn'd with new Maps and Draughts of the chief Cities, Forts, Habits, Living Creatures, Fruits, &c. of the Product of the Indies, drawn to the Life, and cut in Copper Plates. Also a most Circumstantial and Compleat Account of the Idolatry of the Pagans in the East-Indies, the Malabars, Benjans, Gentives, Brahmans, &c. Taken partly from their own Vedam or Law-Book, and Authentick Manuscripts; partly from frequent Conversation with their Priests and Divines: With the Draughts of their Idols, done after their Originals. Translated from the High-Dutch printed at Amsterdam, 1672. Vol. III.* London, Awnsham and John Churchil: 563–901 + [xvii]. <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-115743451/view?partId=nla.obj-248415538>.

Balk, L. 1749. XI. Museum Adolpho-Fridericianum, sub præsidio Dn. D. Caroli Linnæi, Med. & Botan. Prof. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper. Regg. Monspel. Stockholm. & Upsal. Socii hujusque Secretarii, propositum a Laurent. Balk, Fil. Gevalia-Gestrie. Upsaliæ 1746. Maj. 31. in Audit. Carol. maj. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ et Lipsiæ*, 1: 277–326, Pl. XIII–XIV. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Bartholini, T. 1654. Historiarum anatomicarum rariorum Centuria I et II. Amstelodami. Ioannem Henrici. [vi] + [vi] + [ii] + 1–326 + [ix]. <https://books.google.be/books?vid=GENT900000103723>.

Bauer, A.M. 2003. Early German Herpetological Observations and Explorations in Southern Africa, With Special Reference to the Zoological Museum of Berlin. *Bonner zoologische Beiträge*, 52(3/4): 193–214.

Bauer, A. M. 2012. Linnaean names and pre-linnaean sources in Herpetology. *In*: Bell, C. J. (editor), The herpetological legacy of Linnaeus: A celebration of the Linnaean tercentenary. *Bibliotheca Herpetologica*, 9 (1–2): 53–79. <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1eWWXfQJ2heJG5GSFWjAzwZCVWjzsmMvF/view?usp=sharing>.

Biberg, I. J. 1749. *D. D. Specimen Academicum de Oeconomia Naturæ, quod, Consense Ampliss. Facult. Med. in Reg. Academia Upsaliensi præside viro celeberrimo et experientissimo Dn. Doct. Carolo Linnæo, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatro, Med. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ord. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Berolin. Stockholm. et Upsal Socio; publico examini modeste submittit Isacus J. Biberg, Medelpadus. In Audit. Carol. Maj. ad diem IV. Mart. Anni MDCCXLIX. H. A. M. S.* Upsaliæ: [ii] + [ii] + [i] + [ii] + [1]–48. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-020.pdf>.

Biberg, I. J. 1751. XIX. Oeconomia Naturæ, quam præside Dn. D. Carolo Linnæo, S:æ Reg. Maj:s Archiatro, Med. & Botan. Profess. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Berolin. Stockholm. & Upsal. Socio; Publico examini submisit Isacus J. Biberg, Medelpadus. Upsaliæ 1749. Mart. 4. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 2: 1–58. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Bontius, I. 1642. *De Medicina Indorv[m]. Lib. IV. 1. Notae in Garciam ab Orta. 2. De diaeta sanorum. 3. Meth. medendi Indica. 4. Observationes e cadaveribus*. Lugduni Batav., F. Hack: [iv] + 1–212 + [iv]. <https://books.google.be/books?id=CsJbAAAAQAAJ>.

Bour, R. & A. Dubois. 1983. Nomenclatorial availability of *Testudo coriacea* Vandelli, 1761: a case against a rigid application of the rules to old, well-known zoological names. *Journal of Herpetology* 17 (4): 356–361.

Brand, F. J. 1781. Select dissertations from the *Amoenitates Academicae*, a supplement to Mr. Stillingfleet's Tracts relating to Natural History. In two volumes. Volume I. London, G. Robinson / J. Roeson: [xv] + 1-483. <https://books.google.at/books?id=2gcAAAAAQAAJ>.

Broberg, G. 2023. The Man Who Organized Nature: The Life of Linnaeus. Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press: vi (v–x) + 484 pp. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691248196>.

Bruce, M. 2003. Foreword. A brief history of classifying birds. Pp. 11-43 *in* Joseph del Hoyo, Andrew Elliott & David A. Christie (eds.). *Handbook of the birds of the world. Vol. 8.* Barcelona, Lynx Ediciones.

Catesby, M. 1754. *The natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama islands: containing the figures of birds, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects and plants: particularly the forest-trees, shrubs, and other plants, not hitherto described, or very incorrectly figured by authors. Together with their descriptions in English and French. To which are added, observations on the air, soil, and waters: with remarks upon agriculture, grain, pulse, roots, &c. To the whole is prefixed a new and correct map of the countries treated of. (...) Revis'd by Mr. Edwards, of the Royal College of Physicians, London. Vol. II. -Histoire naturelle de la Caroline, la Floride, & les Isles Bahama: Contenant les desseins des oiseaux, animaux, poissons, serpents, insectes, & plantes. Et en particulier, des arbres des forets, arbrisseaux, & autres plantes, qui n'ont point été decrits, jusques à present par les auteurs, ou peu exactement dessinés. Avec leur descriptions en françois et en anglois. A quoi on a ajouté, des observations sur l'air, le sol, & les eaux, avec les remarques sur l'agriculture, les grains, les legumes, les racines, &c. Le tout est precedé d'un carte nouvelle & exacte des païs dont il s'agît. (...) Et revu par Monsieur Edwards, du College Royal des Médecins de Londres. Tome II.* London, Marin, Wilcox & Stichall: [xii] + 1–100, Pl. 1–. <https://archive.org/details/A216160>

Choate, H. 1912. The origin and development of the binominal system of nomenclature. *The Plant World*, 15(11):257–263.

Columna, F. 1606. *Minvs cognitarvm stirpivm aliqvot, ac etiam rariorvm nostro coelo orientivm ΈΚΦΡΑΣΗΣ: qua non paucae ab antiquioribus, Theophrasto, Dioscoride, Plinio, Galeno, aliisque memoratae declarantur, officinarum vsui perquam vtiles / Fabio Colvmna avctore ; item, de aquatilibus, aliisq; animalibus quisbusdam paucis libellus eodem avctore ; omnia fideliter ad viuum delineata, aereisq; typis expressa ; quae verb continentur hoc volumine in eius calce omnia locupletiss ; indice descripta reperies*. Romae, Guilielmum Facciottum: 1–340. <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/kbfy7gtk/images?id=e5qhme6h>.

Cuba, J. de [Johann Wonnecke von Kaub]. 1485. *Gart der Gesundheit.* Augsburg, Johann Schönsperger: 358 unnumbered folios.

Cuba, J. de. 1500. *Jardin de santé: herbes, arbres et choses qui de iceuly coqueurent et conviennet alusage de medecine. Translaté de latin par Jehan Cuba en françois.* Paris, Antoine Verard: cclxxv folios numbered in recto.

Cuba, J. de. 1511. *Ortus Sanitatis. De herbis et plantis. De Animalibus et reptilibus. De Avibus et volatilibus. De Piscibus et natatilibus. De Lapidibus et in terre venis nascentibus. De Urinis et earum speciebus. De facile acquisibilibus. Tabula medicinalis cum directorio generali per omnes tractatus*. Venetiis, Bernadinum Bernalium, et Joannem de Cereto de Tridinio alias Tacuinum: [740 unnumbered pages]. <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_0LIeqtXYd8IC>.

Dahlberg, N. E. 1755. *N. D. Dissertatio botanica Metamorphoses Plantarum Sistens, quam, Consent. Experientiss. Facultate Medica in Reg. Acad. Upsaliensi, sub præsidio viri nobilissimi Dn. Doct. Carolo Linnæi, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatri, Medic. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ordin. Eqvitis Aurati de Stella Polari; nec. non. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Berol. Tolos. Lond. Florent. Upsal. et Stockholm. Socii, naturæ curiosorum censuræ subjicit Nicolaus E. Dahlberg, Ostrogothus. In Audit Carol. Maj. die III. Junii, An. 1755. H. A. M. S.* Holmiæ, E Typographia Regia: [ii] + [5]–26. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-067.pdf>.

Dahlberg, N. E. 1759. LXVI. Metamorphoses Plantarum, sub præsidio D. D. Car. Linnæi, proposita a Nicol. E. Dahlberg, Orthogotho. Upsaliæ 1755. Junii 3. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 4: 368–386. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Darelius, J. A. 1749. *D. A. Lignum Colubrinum leviter delineatum, ex consensu Ampliss. Facult. Med. in Reg. Academia Upsaliensis præside viro celeberrimo et experientissimo Dn. Doct. Caroli Linnæo, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatro, Med. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ord. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Berolin. Stockholm. et Upsal. Socio, pro gradu doctoris rite obtinendo, publico examini submittit stipendiarius regius Johan. Andr. Darelius, W-Gothus. In Audit. Carol.*

Maj. ad diem XI. Mart. Anni MDCCXLIX. H. A. & P. M. S. Upsaliæ: [2]–22. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-021.pdf>.

Das, I. 2023. Snakes of a Continental Island. History and Patterns of Discovery of the Snake Fauna of Borneo to the Start of the Anthropocene. Pp. 1–21. *In*: Harvey B. Lillywhite H. B. & Martins M. (ed.): *Islands and Snakes. Volume II: Diversity and Conservation.* New York, Oxford University Press.

de Asúa, M. & R. French. 2005. *A new world of animals. Early modern europeans on the creatures of Iberian America*. Hants, Ashgate Publishing Limited: I–XVI + 1-257, 2 maps.

Dundee, H. A. 1994. The literature cited by Linnaeus in the amphibian and reptile section of Systema Naturae X. Pp. 54–61 *In*: K. Kitchell, Jr. & H. A. Dundee, *A Trilogy on the Herpetology of Linnaeus's Systema Naturae X*. Smithsonian Herpetological Information Service No. 100.<https://hdl.handle.net/10088/98246>.

Edwards, G. 1760. *Gleanings of Natural History, exhibiting figures of quadrupeds, birds, insects, plants, &c. Most of which have not, till now, been either figured or described. With descriptions of seventy different subjects, designed, engraved and coloured after nature, on fifty copper-plate prints. Part II.* London, Author-Royal College of Physicians: [vii] + i-xxxv + 109–220, Pl. 261–310. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/265585>.

Falck, J. P. 1763. CXIV. Planta Alströmeria, quam, præside D. D. Car. Linnæo, Proposuit Johannes Petrus Falck, Vestrogothus. Upsaliæ 1762. Junii 23. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 6: 247–262, 1 pl. (pp. 247). <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz, G. 1526. *Sumario de la natural y general hystoria delas Indias. que escriuio Goçalo Fernández de Ouiedo alias de Valdes natural dela villa de Madrid vezino y regidor dela cibdad de santa Maria antigua del Darien: en tierra firme. dando relacion ala S. C. C. M. del Emperador don Carlos nuestro señor de algunas cosas que el dicho autor vido y ay en las índías. Loqual visto y esaminado en el consejo real delas Indias su. M. mando que fuesse impresso porque a todos los hombres fuesen notorias tan grandes y maravillosas y nuevas cosas: y que ninguna otra persona lo pudiesse imprimir ni vender ni traer de fuera destos reynos sino el dicho Goçalo fernandez o quien su poder ouiere so graves penas: como mas largamente se contiene en el priuilegio real que para esto ay de su Magestad*. Toledo, Remo de Petras: LII folios numbered in recto + [v.

Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdéz, G. 1547. *Coronica de las Indias: la hystoria general de las Indias agora nueuamente impressa corregida y emendada; y con la conquista del Peru. [Primera parte de la hystoria natural y general de las Indias yslas y tierra firme del mar oceano: escripta por el capitán Gonçalo hernādez de Oviedo y valdes: alcayde de la fortaleza de la ciudad de sancto Domingo dela ysla Española / y cronista de la sacra cesarea y catholicas magestades del emperador don Carlos quinto de tal nombre: rey de España: y de la serenissima y muy podarosa reyna doña Juana su madre nuestros señores. Por cuyo mandado el auctor escriuio las cosas maravillosas que ay en diversas yslas y partes destas Indias y imperio dela corona real de Castilla: segun lo vido y supo en veynte y dos años y mas que ha que bive y reside en aquellas partes. la qul hystoria comiença en el primero descubrimiento destas Indias: y se contiene en veynte libros este primero volumen*. Salamanca, Juan de Junta: [iv] + cxcii folios numbered in recto.

Fernholm, B. & A. Wheeler. 1983. Linnaean fish specimens in the Swedish Museum of Natural History, Stockholm. *Zoological Journal of the Linnaean Society*, 78: 199–286.

Feuillé, L. 1714. *Journal des observations physiques, mathematiques et botaniques. Faites par l'ordre du Roy sur les Côtes Orientales de l'Amerique Meridionale, & dans les Indies Occidentales, depuis l'année 1707. jusques en 1712. Tome Sécond*. Paris, Pierre Giffart: [vi] + 503–767 + [i], 6 map, Pl. I–L. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/9795>.

Forskål, P. 1775. *Flora Aegyptiaco-Arabica. Sive descriptiones plantarum, quas per Aegyptum inferiorem et Arabiam Felicem detexit, illustravit Petrus Forskål. Prof. Haun. Post mortem auctoris edidit Carsten Niebuhr. Accedit tabula Arabiae Felicis geographico-botanica*. Hauniae,. Mölleri. [i] + [ii] +[5]–29 + [i], 1 map. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.41>.

Fries, E. & Th. M. Fries. 1878. *Carl von Linnés anteckningar öfver Nemesis Divina. Upsala,* Lundequistska Bokhandeln: [ii] + [1]–72. https://runeberg.org/friesnem/index.html

Fries, Th. M. 1907. *Bref och skrifvelser af och*

till Carl von Linné Första Afdelningen Del. I Skrifvelser till offentliga myndigheter och till Kungl. Vetenskapssocieteten i Upsala. Stockholm, Aktiebolaget Ljus: I–III + 1–447. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.1353>

Gesner, C. 1587. *Historiae animalium lib. V qui est de serpentium natura: ex variis schedis et collectaneis eiusdem compositus per Iacobum Carronum Francofurtensen. Adiecta est ad calcem, scorpionis insecti historia à D. Casparo Vuolphio Tigurino Medico, ex eiusdem Paralimpomelis conscripto.* Tiguri, In Officina Froschoviana: [ix] + 1–85 folios numbered in recto + [i]. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/337533>.

Gråberg, J. M. 1762. *Q. F. F. Q. S. Fundamentum Fructificationis, quod, Consens. Nobil. et Exper. Facult. Med. in illustri, ad Salam Svionum, Athenæo sub præsidio viri nobilissimi et experientissimi D:ni. Doct. Caroli Linnæi, Eqvitis Aurati de Stella Polari, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatri, Medic. et Botan. Professoris Reg. et Ord. Academ. Scient. Upsal. Holmiens. Petropol. Berol. Imp. Nat. Cur. Londin. Monspel. Tolos. et Florent. Socii, publico eruditorum examini submittit, stipendiarius regius Johannes Mart. Gräberg, Gothoburgensis. In Audit. Carol. Maj. die XVI. Octobr. Anni MDCCLXII.* Upsaliæ: [i] + [ii] + [1]–24. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-123.pdf>.

Gråberg, J. M. 1763. CXVI. Fundamentum Fructificationis, quod, sub præsidio D. D. Car. Linnæi, proposuit Johannes Mart. Gräberg, Gothoburgensis. Upsaliæ 1762. October. 16. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 6: 279–304. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Hager, H. 1757. *D. D. Natura Pelagi, quam Consens. Experient. Facult. Medic. in illustri Academia Upsaliensi, sub præsidio viri nobilissimi et experientissimi Dn. Doct. Caroli Linnæi, Equitis de Stella Polari, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatri, Med. et Bot. Professoris Reg. et Ord. Acad. Ups. Holmiensis. Petropol. Berol. Imperial. Londin. Monspel. Tolos. Florent. Socii, publicæ ventilationi offert stipendiarius regius, Johannes Henric Hager, Smolandus, In Audit. carol. Maj. d. XVIII. Junii, Anni MDCCLVII. H. A. M. S.* Excud. L.M. Höjer, Upsaliæ, [i] + [ii] + [5]–15 + [i]. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-084.pdf>.

Hager, H. 1760. LXXX. Natura Pelagi, quam, sub præsidio D. D. Car. Linnæi, proposuit Johannes Henric. Hager, Smolandus. Upsaliæ 1757. Junii 18. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 5: 68–77. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Hasselquist, F. 1747. *B. c. D. Vires Plantarum, dissertatione academica cum Cons. Ampliss. Facult. Medicæ in Regia Academia Upsaliensi, sub præsidio, viri experientissimi et celeberrimi Dn. Doct. Caroli Linnæi, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatri, Med. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ordin. Socc. Imperial. Monspel. Stockholm. Upsaliens. et Berolin. Socii, examini publico subjectæ a Friderico Hasselquist, O-Gothe. Stipendiar. regio. In Auditor. Gustaviano, die Junii Anni MDCCXLVII. Horis Ante Meridiem Solitis.* Upsaliæ: [i] + [3]–37 + [i] + [i] + [i]. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-013.pdf>.

Hasselquist, F. 1749. XIV. Vires Plantarum, sub præsidio Dn. D. Caroli Linnæi, Sac. Reg. Maj. Archiatri, Med. & Botan. Prof. Reg. & Ord. Socc. Imper. Monspel. Stockh. Upsal. & Berol. Socii, propositæ a Friderico Hasselquist, O-Gotho. Upsaliæ 1747. Junii . . in Audit. Gustav. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ et Lipsiæ*, 1: 418–453. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Hast, B. R. 1749. V. Amphibia Gyllenborgiana, præside Dn. D. Carolo Linnæo, Med. & Botan. Profess. Reg. & Ord. descripta a Barth. Rudolpho Hast, Ostrobothniensi, Stipendiario Regio. Upsaliæ 1745. Jun. 18. in Audit Carol. maj. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ et Lipsiæ*, 1: 107–140. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>

Heller, J. L. 1957. Index auctorum et librorum a Linnaeo (*Species Plantarum*, 1753) citatorum. Pp. 3–60. . *In*: *Carl Linnaeus Species Plantarum A Facsimile of the first edition 1753. Volume II*. London, Ray Society.

Heller, J. L. 1964. The early history of binomial nomenclature. *Huntia*, 1, 33–70.

Heller, J. L. 1976. Linnaeus on Sumptuous Books. *Taxon*, 25(1): 33–52. https://doi.org/10.2307/1220404

Heller, J. L. 1980. Bibliotheca zoologica linnaeana. *In*: G. Broberg (ed.): *Linnaeus progress and prospects in Linnaean research*. Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell: 240–264.

Heller, J. L. 2007. *Index of the books and authors cited in the zoological works of Linnaeus* (*Index librorum et auctorum in operibus zoologicis Linnaeis citatorum*). Edited by John M. Penhallirick. London, Ray Society: I–XLIX + 1–174 + LIII–LXII.

Hulth, J. M. 1907. *Bibliographia Linnaeana; Matériaux pour servir à une bibliographie Linnéenne*. Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B.: [i] + [i] + [1]–170, Ol. 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.1438>.

Hulth, J. M. 1916. *Bref och skrifvelser af och till Carl von Linné. Andra afdelningen utländska brefväxlingen Del I Adanson–Brünnich*. Uppsala, A.-B. Akademiska Boktryckeriet: v–viii + 1–429. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.26471>.

Hultman, D. 1753. *D. A. G. Instructio Musei Rerum Naturalium, quam, Consensu Experient. et Nobiliss. Facult. Medic. Upsal. sub præsidio viri nobilissimi atque experientissimi Dn. Doct. Caroli Linnæi, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatri, Med. et Botan. Prof. Reg. et Ord. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Stockh. Upsal. Berol. Tol. et Londin. Socii, Nec non Equitis Aurati de Stella Polari. Placidæ bonorum censuræ subjicit alumnus regius, David Hultman, Uplandus. In Aud. Car. Maj. d. XIV. Nov. An. MDCCLIII. H. A. M. S.* Upsaliæ, Exc. Laur. Magnus Höjer: [i] + [i] + [i] + [1]–19 + [i]. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-051.pdf>.

Hultman, D. 1756. L. Instructio Musei Rerum Naturalium, quam sub præsidio, D:no. Doct. Caroli Linnæi, Proponit David Hultman. Uplandus. Upsaliæ 1753. Novemb. 14. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 3: 446–464. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Imperato, F. 1599. *Dell´historia natvrale. Libri XXVIII. Nella quale ordinatamente si tratta della diversa condition di miniere, e pietre. Con alcune historie di piante, & animali; fin'hora a non date in luce*. Napoli, Vitale [ii] + [i] + [xiii] + [ii] + 1-791, 1 Pl. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.102903>.

Imperato, F. 1695b. *Historiae naturalis libri XXIIX* (sic). *Accesserunt nonnullae Johannis Mariae Ferro adnotationes ad librum vigesimum octavum. Nunc primum ex Italica in linguam conversa Latinam. Cum indic locupletissimo*. Lipsiae, Bibliopol. Bremensis: [iii] + [iii] + [1]–-928 + [xxiii]. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10051142>.

Jackson, B. D. 1890. History of the Linnean collections prepared for the centenary anniversary of the Linnean Society by the Senior Secretary. *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London* 1887-1888: 18–34. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/34367#page/480/mode/1up>.

Jackson, B. D. 1923. *Linnaeus (afterwards Carl von Linné), the history of his life, adapted from the swedish of Theodor Magnus Fries, emeritus pfofessor of botany in the University of Uppsala, and brought down to the present time in the light of recent research*. London, H. F. & G. Witherby: iii–xi + [i] + [1]–416, 1 Map. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.161511>.

Jonston, J. 1650. *Historiae naturalis de quadrupetibus libri cum aeneis figuris*. Francofurti ad Moenum, Haeredum Math. Meriane: [i] +4–231 + [v], Pl. I–LXXX. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.64232>.

Karamyschew, A. 1766. *Dissertation academica demonstrans Necessitatem promovendæ historiae naturalis in Rossia, cujus partem primam Cons. Experient. Fac. Med. Ad Acad. Upsal. præside viro generoso atque nobilissimo D:no. Doct. Carolo v. Linné. Equite Aurato de Stella Polari S:æ R:æ M:tis Suec. Archiatro, Med. et Botan. Professore Reg. et Ord. Acad. Imper. Petropol. Imper. N. C. Reg. Paris. Stockh. Upsal. Lond. Flor. Berol. Monsp. Tol. Bernens. Edinb. Membro, publico examinandam submittit auctor et respondens Alexan. De Karamyschew, Nobil. Rosso-Sibir. Acad. Scient. Stockh. Adscriptus et Caes. Mosc. Univers. Studiosus. In Audit. Carol. Maj. d. XVI. Maji. Anni MDCCLX[I]VI. H. A. M. S.* Upsaliæ: [i] + [1]–34 + [i] + [i–iii] + [i] + [i] + [i] +[i] +[i–ii] pp., 1 Pl. [Dissertation issued originally in 1764, but was not publicly submitted until 1766.] <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-144.1_0.pdf>.

Karamyschew, A. 1769. CXLVIII. Necessitas historiæ naturalis in Rossiæ, quam, præside D. D. Car. v. Linné, proposuit Alexan. De Karamyschew, Nobil. Rosso-Sibir. Acad. Scient. Stockh. Adscriptus & Caes. Mosc. Univers. Studiosus. Upsaliæ 1766 Maji 15. *Amœnitates Academicæ* (*Holmiæ*), 7: 438–465, Pl. VII. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Kiernander, J. 1749. *D. D. Radix Senega, quam, Consens. Amplissim. Facult. Medic. in Regio ad Salam Lyceo, præside viro celeberrimo & experientissimo Dn. Doct. Carolo Linnæo, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatro, Med. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ord. Acad. Imper. Monsp. Berolin. Stockholm. Ups. Socio. Pro summis in medicina honoribus obtinendis, publicæ censuræ submittit Jonas Kiernander, And. Fil. O-Gothus. In Audit. Carol. Major. ad*

diem April. Anni MDCCXLIX. H. A. & P. M. S. Holmiæ, Typis Laurentii Salvii: [i] + [3]–32, 1 Pl. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-023.pdf>.

Kircher, A. 1678. *Mundi Subterranei. Tomus II.us. In V. Libros digestus, quibus Mundi Subterranei fructus exponuntur, et quidquid tandem rarum, insolitum, et portentosum in foecundo Naturae utero continetur, ante oculos ponitur curiosi Lectoris.* Amstelodami. Officina Janssonio-Waesbergiana. [ii] + [ii] + [iv] + 1–507 + [ix]. <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=kzXmTom9CygC>.

Kolb, P. 1727. *Naaukeurige en uitvoerige beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop : behelzende een zeer omstandig verhaal van den tegenwoordigen toestant van dat vermaarde gewest, deszelfs gelegenheit, haven, sterkt, regerings-vorm, uitgestrektheit, en onlangs ontdekte aanleggende landen; nevens een geleerde beschryving van het klimaat en aart van dat landschap; van deszelfs dieren, visschen, vogelen, planten, kruiden; mitsgaders verscheide wonderen der natuur, daar te lande ontdekt; waar by nog komt, een zeer nette ein uit eige ondervinding opgemaakte beschryving van den oorsprong der Hottentotten: vervattende een merkawaardig bericht van derzelver tale, godsdienst, levenswyze, zeldzame overleveringe, gewoonten, manier van trouwen, besnydenis, opvoeding; als mede veele andere kurieuse waarnemingen aangaande de zeden van die natie; den toestant van die colonie en Europeaansche inwoners: in gene andere beschryving van dit gewest te vinden. Alles, geduurende een lang verblyf aan de gemelde kaap, na waarheit beschreven*. Te Amsterdam, Balthazar Lakeman: [ii] + [ii] + [ii] + [iv] + 1–529 + [ii] + [i] + [ii] + 1–449 + [lxxix], 7 map, Pl. 1, 45 Pl.–<https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.29363>.

Kolb, P. 1741. Description du cap de Bonne-Espérance : où l'on trouve tout ce qui concerne l'histoire naturelle du pays, la religion ... des Hottentots et l'établissement des Hollan. Tome Troisieme. Amsterdam, J. Catuffe: [xvi] + 1–280, 14 pl. <https://archive.org/details/descriptionducap03kolb/page/n5/mode/2up>.

Kolb, P. 1742. Description du cap de Bonne-Espérance : où l'on trouve tout ce qui concerne l'histoire naturelle du pays, la religion ... des Hottentots et l'établissement des Hollan. Tome Troisieme. Amsterdam, J. Catuffe, [xii] +1–262, 5 map, 2 Pl. <https://books.google.at/books?id=FO9iScZEwNIC>.

Kolb, P. 1745. *Beschreibung des Vorgebürges der Guten Hoffnung, und derer darauf wohnenden Hottentotten : Worinnen von der natürlichen Beschaffenheit des Landes, von den Gebräuchen der Einwohner, ingleichen von der Einrichtung dasiger Holländischer Colonien zuverlässige Nachricht gegeben wird.* Franckfurt, Peter Conrad Monath: [ii] + [x] +[xii] + 1–452, 38 Pl. < https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb11062204>.

Krecsák, L. 2006. Copyright in the 18th century: Linnaean drawings of *Coluber* in *Museum S:æ R:æ M:tis Adolphi Friderici Regis* (1754) reproduced in Bonnaterre's *Tableau encyclopédique et méthodique, Ophiologie* (1790). *Bibliotheca Herpetologica*, 6:21–27.

Krecsák, L. 2024. Hans Strøm's Norwegian Asp Viper (*Coluber aspis*): a misdiagnosed 18th century *Vipera berus*. *Bibliotheca Herpetologica*, 18 (2), 30–35.

Krecsák, L. 2025a. Review of the literature sources for the class Amphibia in the early editions of Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae*. *Bionomina*, 41: 25–52.

Krecsák, L. 2025b. Opinion on the evolution of the Linnaean animal species concept, with discussion on his views on the Amphibia. *North-Western Journal of Zoology,* 25(1): 78–89.

Krecsák, L. & A. M. Bauer. 2025. Carl Linnaeus the herpetologist: a review of his complete herpetological activity and legacy. *Zootaxa*, 5594 (2): 201‑257.

Krecsák, L., A. M. Bauer, A. Westerström, R. Wahlgren, L. Tomović, B. Stille & E. Åhlander. 2024. Assessment of the Linnaean type material of the Nose-horned viper, *Vipera ammodytes* (Linnaeus, 1758). *Zootaxa*, 5537(1): 24–48.

Krecsák, L., P. Golay, E. Åhlander & P. Cárdenas. 2025. Taxonomic detectives: unravelling the origins of Linnaeus's Aspic viper (*Vipera aspis*). *Zootaxa*, 5653 (1): 080–096.

Krecsák, L. & R. Wahlgren. 2008. A survey of the Linnaean type material of *Coluber berus*, *Coluber chersea* and *Coluber prester* (Serpentes, Viperidae). *Journal of Natural History*, 42 (33–36): 2343–2377.

Krecsák, L., Ş. Zamfirescu, & O. Zamfirescu. 2025a. What can we learn from the Linnaean name selection for amphibians and reptiles? An assessment

of Amphibia by Carl Linnaeus. *Russian Journal of Herpetology*, 32 (2): 138–166.

L'Escluse, C. 1619. *Histoire des drogues espisceries, et de certains medicamens simples, qui naissent és Indes & en l'Amerique. Ceste matiere comprise en six lieurs: dont il y en a cinq tirés du Latin de Charles de l'Escluse: & l'Histoire du Baulme adioustee de nouveau: où il est prové, que nous avons le vray Baulme d'Arabie, contre l'opinion des anciens & modernes. Le tour fidellement translaté en Francois, par Antoine Colin (…). Seconde edition reveuë & augmentée.* Lyon, Iean Phillehotte: [xiii] + 1–369 + [xv]. <https://books.google.es/books?id=07xqfBqQ7k0C>.

Laet, I. de. 1625. *Nieuvve Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien: Wt veelderhande Schriften ende Aen-teeckeninghen van verscheyden natien (…); ende met noodighe kaerten ende tafels voorsien*. Leyden, Haack Elzevier: [xxii] + 1–510 + [xvi], 1 map, 10 Pl. <https://archive.org/details/nieuvvewereldtof00laetrich/nieuvvewereldtof00laetrich/>.

Larsen, E. L. (editor and translator). 1957. Pehr Kalm's account of the North American Rattlesnake and the medicines used in the treatment of its sting. *The American Midland Naturalist*, 57 (2): 502–511.

Lavilla, E. O. 2012. Skepticism and gullibility in Linnaeus' Herpetological Contributions. *Herpetologia Brasileira*, 1 (2): 65–81.

Lavilla, E.O. 2025. Science, Myth, and Otherness: Herpetological Readings of Linnaeus's Lapland Journal. *Bibliotheca Herpetologica*, 19 (9):116–121.

Lavilla, E.O. 2026. On Amphibians and Reptiles in Linnaeus's Student's Dissertations. *Wahlgreniana,* 4: vi + 1–136..

Lavilla, E. O., J. A. Langone, U. Caramaschi, W. R. Heyer & R. de Sá. 2010. The identification of *Rana ocellata* Linnaeus, 1758. Nomenclatural impact on the species currently known as *Leptodactylus ocellatus* (Leptodactylildae) and *Osteopilus brunneus* (Gosse, 1851) (Hylidae). *Zootaxa*, 2346: 1–16.

Ledermüller, L. F. 1762. Nachricht von einer Ausgabe der Abbildungen der seltensten und schönsten Stücke des hochfürstlichen Naturaliencabinets in Baireuth. *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit, Wintermond*. 1762: 243-253.

Lemery, N. 1698. Traité universel des drogues simples, mises en ordre alphabetique. Où l'on trouve leurs differens noms, leur origine, leur choix, les principes qu'elles renferment, leus qualitez, leur ethymologie, & tout ce qu'il y a de particulier dans les animaux, dans les vegetaux & dans les mineraux. Ouvrage dépendant de la pharmacopée universelle. Paris, Laurent d'Houry: [xiv] + 1-838. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k87061527.texteImage>.

Letter 223397. Letter from Franciscus Ernst Brückmann, Wolfenbüttel to Carl Linnaeus, dated May, 4 1742. alvin-record:223397; L0463. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:223397>.

Letter 227438. Letter from François Boissier de La Croix de Sauvages, [Montpellier], to Carl Linnaeus, Uppsala, dated July 10, 1759. alvin-record:227438; L2557. https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:227438

Letter 227443. Letter Carl Linnaeus, Uppsala, to Nicolaus Joseph, baron von Jacquin, Wien, dated August 1, 1759. alvin-record:227443; L2573. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:227443>.

Lindell, T. 2012. *Lignum colubrinum* and *Radix senega* - Two dissertations on snakebite treatments published by Linnaeus in 1749. In Bell, C. J. (editor), The Herpetological Legacy of Linnaeus: A Celebration of the Linnaean Tercentenary. *Bibliotheca Herpetologica,* 9 (1–2): 80–86. <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1eWWXfQJ2heJG5GSFWjAzwZCVWjzsmMvF/view?usp=sharing>.

Linnaeus, C. 1735. *Systema naturæ, sive regna tria naturæ systematice proposita per classes, ordines, genera, & species*. Theodorum Haak, Lugduni Batavorum: [12 unnumbered pages]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.877>.

Linnaeus, C. 1737a. *Flora Lapponica Exhibens Plantas Per Lapponiam Crescentes, secundum Systema Sexuale Collectas in Itinere Impensis Soc. Reg. Litter. et Scient. Sueciæ A. MDCCXXXII. Instituto. Additis Synonymis, & Locis Natalibus Omnium, Descriptionibus & Figuris Rariorum, Viribus Medicatis & Oeconomicis Plurimarum*. Amstelædami, Salomonem Schouten: [i] + [x] + [xii] + [xiii] + [1]–372 + [xii], Tab. I–XII. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/11540>.

Linnaeus, C. 1737b. *Critica botanica in qua nomina plantarum generica, specifica, & variantia examini subjiciuntur, selectiora confirmantur, indigna*

rejiciuntur; Simulque doctrina circa denominatione plantarum traditor. Seu Fundamentorum Botanicorum pars IV. Accedit Johannis Bronwallii De Necessitate Historiæ Naturalis Discursus. Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Conradum Wishoff: [i] + [ii] + [ix] + [ii] + 1–270 + [xxxv] + I + [i] + [vi] + 1–24 + [viii]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.109408>

Linnaeus, C. 1737c. Hortus Cliffortianus Plantas exhibens quas In Hortis tam Vivis quam Siccis, Hartecampi in Hollandia, coluit viri nobilissumus & generosissimus Georgius Clifford juris utrisque doctor, Reductis Varietatibus ad Species, Speciebus ad Genera, Generibus ad Classes, Adjectis Locis Plantarum natalibus Differentiisque Specierum. Cum tabulis æneis. Amstelædami: [vi] + [ii]+ [xviii]+ I–X + 1–501 + [i] + [xvi], Pl. I–XXXVII. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.690>.

Linnaeus, C. 1738. *Bibliotheca Botanica referens Libros plus mille de plantis huc usque editos secundum Systema Auctorum Naturale in Classes, Ordines, Genera & Species dispositos, additis Editionis Loco, Tempore, Forma, Lingua &c. cum explicatione Fundamentorum Botanicorum pars I^ma^*. Amstelodami, Salomonem Schouten: [i] + [i] + [ix] +[i] + [i] + [i] + 1–153 + [ii] + [xi] +[i]. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/11533>.

Linnaeus, C. 1740a. Caroli Linnaei Naturae Curiosorum Dioscorides Secundi. Systema Naturae in quo Regna Tria, secundum Classes, Ordines, Genera, Species, Systematice proponuntur. Editio Secunda, Auctior. Stockholmiae, Gottfr. Kiesewwetter. [3] + 2-80. <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_oXsZAAAAYAAJ>.

Linnaeus, C. 1740b. *Caroli Linnaei, Sveci, doct. Medic. Systema Natvrae, sive regna tria natvrae systematice proposita per classes, ordines, genera et species. Caroli Linnaei aus Schweden, M.D. Natur-Systema, oder die in ordentlichem zusammenhange vorgetragene drey reiche der natur nach ihren classen, ordnungen, geschlechtern und arten, in die deutsche sprache übersetzet und mit einer Vorrede herausgegeben von Johann Joachim Langen*. Halle, Gebauerichen Schriften: [viii] +1–70 + i. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb11689671>.

Linnaeus, C. 1743a. *Oratio de necessitate peregrinationum intra patriam. ejusque Elenchus animalium per Sueciam observatorum. Accedunt Johannis Browallii Examen Epicriseos Siegesbeckianæ in Systema Plantarum Sexuale. Et Johannis Gesneri Med. Doct. Phys. & Math. Prof. Ord. Dissertationes de partium vegetationis et fructificationis structura, differentia et usu, in quibus Elementa botanica dilucide explicantur*. Apud Cornelium Haak, Lugduni Batavorum, [ii] + 3–36 + [i] + 39–94 + [i] + 3–54 + [i] + 57–108. <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_Rkqco4MwVnkC>.

Linnaeus, C. 1744a. Systema Naturae. In quo propununtur Naturae regna tria secundum Classes, Ordines, Genera, & Species. Editio quarta ab Auctore emendata & aucta. Accesserunt nomina Gallica. Parisiis, Michaelis-Antonii David: 1-108. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.119572>.

Linnaeus, C. 1744b. *Oratio de telluris habitabilis incremento [habita cum Medicinae Licenciatum Johannem Westmannum Medicinae Doctorem in Academia regia Upsaliensi anno MDCCXLIII Aprilis 12 More majorum renunciaret]. Et Andreae Celsii Oratio de Mutationibus generalioriborusque in superficie corporum coelestiium contigunt [habita Upsaliae die XXII Junii, Anni MDCCLIII. In solemni promotione magisteriali]*. Lugdumi Batavorum, Cornelium Haak: 1-84 + 85-104. < https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/11546>.

Linnaeus, C. 1746b. *Fauna Svecica. Sistens animalia Sueciae Regni: Quadrupedia, Aves, Amphibia, Pisces, Insecta, Vermes. Distributa per Classes & Ordines, Genera & Species. Cum differentiis specierum, synonymis autorum, nominibus incolarum, locis habitationum, descriptionibus insectorum*. Leiden, Conrad et Georg Jacob Wishoff: [xxvii] + 1–411.

Linnaeus, C. 1747a. *Caroli Linnaei Natvræ Cvriosorvm Dioscoridis Secvni Systema Natvræ in qvo Natvræ regna Tria, Secvndvm Classes, Ordines, Genera, Species, Systematice Proponvntvr. Recvsvm et Societatis, qvæ Impensas Contvlit, vsvi Accommodatvm. Editio altera avctior et emendatior*. Halæ Magdebvrgicæ: [i] + [i] + [5]–87 + [i]. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10076011>.

Linnaeus, C. 1748b. *Systema naturae sistens regna tria naturae, in classes et ordines genera et species redacta tabulisque aeneis illustrata. Secundum sextam Stockholmiensis emendatam & auctam editionem*. Lipsiae, Godofr. Kiesewetteri: [v] + 2–224 + [xxx], Pl. I–VIII.

Linnaeus, C. 1748c. *Flora Zeylanica sistens plantas indicas Zeylonae Insulae, quæ olim 1670-1677, lectæ fuere a Paulo Hermanno Prof. Bot. Leydensi; Demum, Post 70 annos Ab Augusto Gunthero, Pharmacop. Hafniensi, Orbi redditæ; hoc vero opere Revisæ, Examinatæ, Determinatæ & Illustratæ Generibus certis, Differentiis specificis, Synonymis propriis, Descriptionibus, Compendiosis, Iconibus paucis*. Amstelædami, J. Wetstenium: [ii] + [5]–19 + [iv] + [v] + 1–240 + [xx] + [1–3]–14 + [i], Pl. I–IV.<https://books.google.at/books?id=gqBSAAAAcAAJ>.

Linnaeus, C. (ed.). 1749b. *Amoenitates Academicae seu dissertationes variae physicae, medicae botanicae antehac seorsim editae nunc collectae et auctae cum tabulis aeneis. Accedit Hypothesis Nova de Febrium Intermittentium Causa. Volumen Primum*. Lugduni Batavorum, Cornelium Haak: [i] + [ii] + [i] + 1–610 + [ix], Pl. I–XIII. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/viewer/11559>.

Linnaeus, C. 1749c. Materia medica. Liber I. De Plantis. Secundum genera, differentias, synonyma, loca, durationes, culturas, nomina, simplicia, praeparata, qualitates, modos, potentias, vires, usus, composita, digestus. Holmiae, Laurentii Salvii: [xxxiii] + 1–252. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k966169.image>.

Linnaeus, C. 1751b. Oratio de Telluris habitabilis incremento habita, cum medicinae licentiatum Iohannen Westmannum medicinae doctorem in Academia Regia Upsaliensi. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ,* 2: 430–459. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Linnaeus, C. 1751c. *Philosophia botanica in qua explicantur fundamenta botanica cum definitionibus partium, exemplis terminorum, observationibus rariorum, adjectis figuris aeneis.* Stockholmiæ, Apud Godofr. Kiesewetter: [i] + [ii] + [1]–362. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.37652>.

Linnaeus, C. 1753. *Species Plantarum: exhibentes plantas rite cognitas ad genera relatas, cum diferentiis specificis, nominibus trivialibus, synonymis selectis, locis natalibus, secundum systema sexuale digestas. Tomus I.* Holmiæ, Imprensis Laurentii Salvii: [i] + [iii] + [v] + [ii] + 1–560. https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.37656

Linnaeus, C. 1759. Animalium Specierum in Classes, Ordines, Genera, Species methodica dispositio, additis characteribus, differentiis atque synonymis, accomodata as Systema Naturae & in forman enchyridii redacta, secundum decimam Holmensem editionem. Lugduni Batavorum, Theodorum Haak: [ii] + [1]–253 + [ii]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.14254>.

Linnaeus, C. 1763. *Materies Medica Liber II. De animalibus. Et III. De mineralibus. Secundvm genera, differentias, synonyma, loca, nomina, simplicia, praeparata, potentias, qualitates, vires, usus, composita digesti*. Holmiae. Laurentii Salvii. [iv] + 5–20 + 1–19 + i–ix + [i]. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5316543575&seq=7>.

Linnaeus, C. 1889 [1732]. Iter Lapponicum Dei gratia institutum 1732. Pp. 1-201 *in* E. Ährling (ed.) "*Carl von Linnés ungdomsskrifter*". Andra Serien. Stockholm, P. A. Norstedt & Söners. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.143378>.

Linnaeus, C. 1973. Linnaeus's Öland and Gotland Journey 1741. Translated from the Swedish edition 1745 by Marie Åsberg and William T. Stearn. *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society* 5 (1): 1–107 + 109–220.

Linné, C. 1766. *Systema Naturæ per Regna Tria Naturæ, Secundum Classes, Ordines, Genera, Species, cum Characteribus, Differentiis, Synonymis, Locis. Tomus I. Editio duodecima, reformata.* Impensis Direct. Laur. Salvii, Holmiæ, [i] +[i] + [i] + [v] + 11–532. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.68927>.

Linné, C. 1767. *Systema Naturæ. Tom. I Pars II. Editio duodecima, reformata.* Impensis Direct. Laur. Salvii, Holmiæ, [i] + 533–1327 + [i] + [iii] + [xiii] + [x] + [viii] + [ii]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.68927>.

Linné, C. 1771. *Mantissa Plantarum Altera.Generum editionis VI & Specierum editionis II.* Laurentii Salvii, Holmiæ, [i] + [ii] + [ii] + [143]–578 + [iii] + [vi] + [i] + [ii] + [i]. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.69083>.

Linné, C. 1772. *Materia medica per regna tria naturae secundum genera differentia synonyma loca durationes culturas nomina simplicia praeparata qualitates modos potentias vires usus composita digesta. Editio alter auctior. Curante Io. Christiano Dan. Schrebero* (...). Lipsiae et Erlangae, Wolfgang Walthervm: [xliv] + [1–3]–266 + [lxxvii] + 1 Pl. <https://books.google.at/books?id=sA5aAAAAcAAJ>.

Lönnberg, E. 1896. Linnean type-specimens of birds, reptiles, batrachians and fishes in the Zoological

Museum of the R. University in Uppsala. *Bihang till Kongliga Svenska Vetenskaps-Akademiens Handlingar*, 22 (4/1): 3–45.

Löwegren, Y. 1952. *Naturaliekabinett i Sverige under 1700-talet*. Lund (Skånska centraltryckeriet): 407 pp.

Matthioli, P. A. 1554. *Commentarii, in libros sex pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei, de medica materia. Adiectis quam plurimis plantarum & animalium imaginibus, eodem auctore.* Venetiis, Officina Erasmiana: [xlvii] + 1–707.

Meriaen, M. S. 1719. *Over de voortteeling en wonderbaerlyke veranderingen der Surinaemsche insecten, waer in de Surinaemsche rupsen en wormen, met alle derzelfer veranderingen, naer het leeven afgebeeldt, en beschreeven worden; zijnde elk geplaest op dezelfde gewassen, bloemen en vruchten, daer ze op gevonden zjin; beneffens de beschrijving dier gewassen. Waer in ook de wonderbare padden, hagedissen, slangen, spinnen, en andere zeltzame gediertens worden vertoont, en beschreeven. Alles in Amerika door den zelve M. S. Meriaen naer het leeven, en leevensgrootte geschildert, en nu in't koper overgebracht. Benevens een aanhangsel van de veranderingen van visschen in kikvorschen, en van kikvorschen in visschen*. Amsterdam, Joannes Oosterwyk: [vi] + 1-72 + 72 Pl. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.69889>.

Merian, M. S. 1705. *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium. Of te verandering der Surinaamsche insecten. Waar in de Surinaamsche rupsen en wormen met alle des zelfs veranderingen, na het leven afgebeeld en beschreeven worden, zynde elk geplaast op die gewassen, bloemen en vruchten, daar sy op gevonden zyn; waar in ook de generatie der kikvorschen, wonderbaare padden, hagedissen, slangen, spinnen en mieren werden vertoond en beschreeven, alles in America na het leven en levensgroote geschildert en beschreeven*. Amsterdam, Voor den Auteur: [iv] + 1–60, 60 Pl. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129308>.

Merian, M. S. 1719. *Dissertatio de generatione et metamorphosibus insectorum Surinamensium: In quá, praeter vermes & erucas Surinamenses, earumque admirarnram metamorphosin, plantae, flores & fructus, quibus vescuntur, & in quibus fuerunt inventae, exhibentur. His adjunguntur bufones, lacerti, serpentes, aranae, aliaque admiranda istius regionis animalcula; omnia manu ejusdem Matronae in America ad vivum accurate depicta, & nunc aeri incisa. Accedit Appendix Transformationum Piscium in Ranas, & Ranarum in Pisces*. Amstelaedami, apud Joannem Oosterwyk: [vi] + 1–72, 72 Pl. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/337040>.

Moravec, J., M. Franzen & W. Böhme. 2006. Notes on the taxonomy, nomenclature and distribution of the *Trachylepis* (formerly *Mabuya*) *aurata* (Linnaeus, 1758) complex. Pp. 89-93 In: Vences, M., Köhler, J., Ziegler, T., and Böhme, W. (eds.), *Herpetologia Bonnensis II, Proceedings of the 13th Congress of the Societas Europaea Herpetologica*. Societas Europaea Herpetologica, Bonn.

Murray, D. 1904. *Museums. Their history and their use. With a bibliography and list of Museums in the United Kingdom. Volume II*. Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons: 1–363.

Myers, Ch. W. & R. B. Slothers. 2006. The myth of Hylas revisited: the frog name *Hyla* and other commentary on *Specimen medicum* (1768) of J. N. Laurenti, the "father of herpetology". *Archives of Natural History*, 33 (2): 241–266.

Nauclér, S. 1745. S. D. L. N. *Hortus Upsaliensis, quemcum consensu Ampliss. Facult. Medicæ in regio ad Salam Lyceo, sub præsidio, viri celeberrimi, D:ni Doct. Caroli Linnæi, Med. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ord. Acad. Imper. Regg. Monspel. Stoch. et Upsal. Socio, hujusque Secretario. Speciminis Academici Loco, publicæ disquisitioni subjicit Samuel Nauclér, Olavi Filius, Helsingus. In Audit. Carol. Maj. AD. d. XVI Decemb. Anni MDCCXLV. Hortis Ante Meridiem Solitis.* Upsaliæ: [ii] + [i] +[1]–45 + [ii] + [i], Tab. I–IV. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-007.pdf>.

Nauclér, S. 1749. VII. Hortus Upsaliensis, quem sub præsidio Dn. D. Caroli Linnæi, Med. & Botan. Prof. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper. Regg. Monspel. Stockh. & Upsal. Socii, hujusque Secretarii, proposuit Samuel Naucler, Helsingus, Upsaliæ 1745. Dec. 16. in Audit. Carol. maj. *Amœnitates Academicæ* (*Holmiæ et Lipsiæ*), 1: 172–210. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Niekisch, M. 2007. Die Vignetten der „Historia Naturalis Ranarum Nostratium" (1758): Einblicke in das Leben und Werk des August Johann Rösel von Rosenhof und seine herpetologischen Pionierleistungen. - *Sekretär. Beiträge zur*

Literatur und Geschichte der Herpetologie und Terrarienkunde. DGHT-AG „LGHT“, 7(1): 33–60.

Olearius, A. 1674. *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer worinnen allerhand ungemeine Sachen so theils die Natur theils kuenstliche Haende hervorgebracht und bereitet. Vor diesem aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammen getragen und vor einigen Jahren beschrieben Auch mit behörigen Kupffern gezieret. An jetzo aber übersehen und zum andern mal gedruckt.* Schleßwig, Gottfriedt Schultze: [viii] + 1–80, Pl. I–XXXVI. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.127552>.

Orto, G. de 1567. *Aromatum, et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia: Ante biennium quidem Lusitanica lingua per dialogos conscripta, D. Garcia ab Horto, Proregis Indię Medico, auctore: Nunc verò primùm Latina facta, & in Epitomen contracta a Carolo Clusio Atrebate*. Antverpiae, Christophori Plantini: 1–250 + [ix]. <https://archive.org/details/aromatumetsimpli00orta>.

Osbeck, P. 1765. *Reise nach Ostindien und China. Nebst O. Toreens Reise nach Suratte und C. G. Ekebergs Nachricht von der Landwirthschaft der Chineser. Aus dem Schwedischen übersetzt von J. G. Georgi*. Rostock. Johann Christian Koppe. [iii] + i–xxiv + [ii] + 1–552 + [xxvi], 13 Pl. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/210138>.

Osbeck, P. 1771. *A voyage to China and the East Indies (...). Together with a voyage to Suratte, by Olof Torren (...). And an account of the Chinese Husbandry, by Captain Charles Gustavus Eckberg. Translated from German, by John Reinhold Forster, F.A.S. To which are added, a Faunula and Flora Sinensis. In two volumes.* London, Benjamin White: Vol. 1: i–xx + 1–396; vol. 2: 1–367 + [xxxi]. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/26840>.

Osbeck, P. 2009. Pehr Osbeck's Journal. Sweden, Spain, Java, China, Ascension. Transcribed by Viveka Hansen. Pp. 15–226 *in* Lars Hansen (ed.), *The Linnaeus Apostles - Global Science & Adventure*. Volume seven. London & Whitby, The IK Foundation & Co.

Österdam, A. 1769. CXLII. Siren Lacertina, quam, Præside D. D. Car. v. Linné, proposuit Abrahamus Österdam, Holmensis. Upsaliæ 1766. Junii 21. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 7: 311–325, Pl. V. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Redi, F. 1664. *Osservazioni intorno alle vipere fatte da Francesco Redi Gentiluomo Aretino, Accademico della Crusca. E da lui scritte in una lettera all' illustrissimo signor Lorenzo Magalotti gentilhuomo della camera del Ser. mo G. Duca di Tosc. na*. Firenze, All'Insegna della Stella: 5–91 + [iv]. <https://books.google.at/books?id=_gDdKJuDbuwC>.

Richter, H. E. 1835. *Caroli Linnaei systema, genera, species plantarum uno volumine. Editio critica, adstricta, conferta sive Codex botanicus linnaeanus textum Linnaeanum integrum ex omnibus systematis, generum, specierum plantarum editionibus, mantissis, additamentis, selectumque ex ceteris ejus botanicis libris digestum, collatum, contractum, cum plena editionum discrepantia exhibens. In usum botanicorum practicum ediditque brevique adnotatione explicavit Hermannus Eberhardus Richter.*Lipsiae, Sumptum Fecit Otto Wigand: [V] –XXXII + [1]–1102 + [I]–IV + [1]–202. https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/12615

Ruysch, F. [Ruischii, F.]. 1710. *Thesaurus Animalium Primus // Het Eerste Cabinet der Dieren*. Amstelaedami, Joannem Wolters: [liii] + 1–42, Pl. I–VII. < https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/94885>.

Sandermann Olsen, S.-E. 1997. *Bibliographia discipuli Linnæi. Bibliographies of the 331 pupils of Linnaeus.* Bibliotheca Linnæana Danica, Copenhagen (9): 1–458.

Scheuchzer, J. J. 1735b. *Kupfer-Bibel, In welcher Die Physica Sacra, Oder Geheligte Natur-Wissenschafft Derer in heil. Schrifft vorkommenden Natürlichen Sachen, Deutlich erklärt und bewärt. Bd. 4. DLXXVI-DCCL.* Augspurg und Ulm, Christian Ulrich Wagner: [vi] + 741–1426, 79 Pl.<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10212425>.

Sepibus, G. 1678. *Romani Collegii Societatis Jesu Musaeum Celeberrimum: Cujus magnum Antiquariae rei, statuarum, imaginum, picturarumque partem Ex Legato Alphonsi Donini, ... A Secretis, munificâ Liberalitate relictum ; P. Athanasius Kircherus ... novis & raris inventis locupletatum, compluriumque Principum curiosis donariis magno rerum apparatu instruxit; Innumeris insuper rebus ditatum, ad plurimorum, maxime exterorum, curiositatisque doctrinae avidorum instantiam urgentesque preces novis compluribusque machinis, tum peregrinis es Indiis*

allatis rebus publicae luci votisque exponit Georgius de Sepibus Valesius, authoris in Machinis concinnandis Excecutor. Amstelodami, Officina Jassonio-Waesbergiana: [iv] + 1–66 + [vi], 17 Pl. <https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012933277>.

Sidrén, J. 1750. *D. D. Dissertatio de Materia Medica in Regno Animali, quam, Consent. Amplissima Facultate Medica in Regia Academia Upsaliensi, præside, viro experientissimo, Dn. Doct. Caroli Linnæo, S:æ R:æ M:tis Archiatro, Med. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ord. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Stockholm. Upsal. et Berolinens. Socio, Pro Gradu Doctoris, publico examini modeste subjicit, Jonas Sidrén, W. Gothus. In Audit. Carol. Maj. d. XXV Junii, Anni MDCCL. Horis Ante et Post Meridiem, Consvertis.* s.n., Upsaliæ: [2]–20. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-029.pdf>.

Sidrén, J. 1751. XXVIII. Materia medica e regno animali, quam præside D. D. Carolo Linnæo, S:æ R:æ. Maj:s Archiatro, Med. & Botan. Profess. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper. Monspel. Berolin. Stockholm. & Upsal. Socio; Pro Gradu Doctoris Publico Examini modeste subjicit Alumnus Kåhreanus, Jonas Sidrén, W-Gothus. Upsaliæ 1750. Maj. 25. *Amoenitates Academicæ, Holmiæ*, 2: 307–332. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Smith, J. E. 1821. *A selection of the correspondence of Linnaeus and other naturalists, from the original manuscripts. In two volumes. Vol. I.* London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown: I–XIV + 1–605.<https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.141275>.

Stearn, W. T. 1957. An Introduction to the Species Plantarum and Cognate Botanical Works of Carl Linnaeus. pp. 1–176. *In*: *Carl Linnaeus Species Plantarum A Facsimile of the first edition 1753. Volume I*. London, Ray Society.

Stearn, W. T. 1959. The Background of Linnaeus's Contributions to the Nomenclature and Methods of Systematic Biology. *Systematic Zoology*, 8 (1): 4–22. <https://doi.org/10.2307/sysbio/8.1.4>.

Thomson, A. 1859. Biographical sketch of David Skene, M. D. of Aberdeen. *The Edinburgh new Philosophical Journal*, 10 (N. S: July-October 1859): 315–336. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/82024>.

Tournefort, J. P. 1717a. *Relation d'un voyage du Levant: fait par ordre du Roi contenant l'histoire ancienne et moderne de plusieurs isles de l'archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontieres de Perse et de l'Asie Mineure. Avec les plans des villes et des lieux considerables, le genie, les moeurs, le commerce et la religion des differens peuples qui les habitent ; et l'explication des médailles et des monumens antiques. Enrichie de descriptions et de figures d'un grand nombre de plantes rares, de divers animaux ; et de plusieurs observations touchant l'histoire naturelle. Tome Premier*. Paris, Imprimerie Royale: [xvi] + 1–544 + several unnumbered plates. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k85336n.image>.

Tournefort, J. P. 1717b. *Relation d'un voyage du Levant: fait par ordre du Roi contenant l'histoire ancienne et moderne de plusieurs isles de l'archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontieres de Perse et de l'Asie Mineure. Avec les plans des villes et des lieux considerables, le genie, les moeurs, le commerce et la religion des differens peuples qui les habitent ; et l'explication des médailles et des monumens antiques. Enrichie de descriptions et de figures d'un grand nombre de plantes rares, de divers animaux ; et de plusieurs observations touchant l'histoire naturelle. Tome Premier.* Lyon, Anisson et Posuel: [xx] + 1–379 + several unnumbered plates. <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/124953>.

Tournefort, J. P. 1717c. *Relation d'un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy. Contenant l'histoire ancienne et moderne de plusieurs isles de l'archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontieres de Perse et de l'Asie Mineure. Avec les plans des villes et des lieux considerables, le genie, les moeurs, le commerce et la religion des differens peuples qui les habitent ; et l'explication des médailles et des monumens antiques. Enrichie de descriptions et de figures d'un grand nombre de plantes rares, de divers animaux ; et de plusieurs observations touchant l'histoire naturelle. Tome Premier*. Lyon, Freres Bruyset: [xx] + 1–379 + [4] + unnumbered plates. <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/13723>. Tozzi, L. 1693. *In Hippocratis Aphorismos commentaria; ubi universae medicinae, tùm theoreticae, tùm practicae celebriores quaestiones perpenduntur, atquè nedùm recentiorum inventis, sed & genuinae ejusdem Hippocratis menti congruentes, quàm dilucidè explicantur*. Neap., Dom. Ant. Parrino & Michaèlis Aloysii Mutii: : 1–156.

Uddman, I. 1765. *D. D. Lepra, quam Dissertatione Medica, Venia Exper. Facult. Med. as Reg. Acad. Upsal. præside viro generissimo Carolo von Linné, M. D. Equite Aurato de Stella Polari, Medicin. et Botan. Professore Reg. et Ord. Acad. Scient. Paris. Upsal. Holm. Petropol. Berol. Imper. Londin. Anglic. Edinb. Monspel. Tolos. et Florent. Membro, Pro Gradu Doctoris publico examini submittit Isacus Uddman, Ostrobotniensis in Audit. Carol. Maj. die XVII. Junii, Anni MDCCLXV. Horis, Ante & Post Meridiem, Solitis.* Upsaliæ: [1]–14. < https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-140.pdf>.

Uddman, I. 1769. CXXXI. Lepra, quam præside D. D. Car. v. Linné, proposuit Isacus Uddman, Ostrobotniensis. Upsaliæ 1763. Junii 17. *Amœnitates Academicæ* (*Holmiæ*), 7: 94–108. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Valentini, M. B. 1714. *Museum Museorum, oder vollständige Schau-Bühne aller Materialien und Specereÿen nebst deren natürlichen Beschreibung, Election, Nutzen und Gebrauch, aus andern Material-Kunst und Naturalien-Kammern, Oost-und West-Indischen Reiß-Beschreibungen, curiosen Zeit-und Tag-Registern, Natur-und Artzney-Kündigern, wie auch selbst-eigenen Erfahrung. Zum Vorschub der studirenden Jugend, Materialisten, Apothecker und deren Visitatoren, wie auch anderer Künstler, als Jubelirer, Mahler, Färber, u. s. w. also verfasset, und mit etlich hundert sauberen Kupfferstücken unter Augen geleget.* Franckfurt am Mäyn, Hered. David Zunner and Johann Adam Jungen: [xxviii] + 1–520 + [iv] + 1–76 + [iv] + 1–119. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11200350>.

Valentini, M. B. 1716. *Michaelis Bernhardi Valentini … Historia simplicium reformata, sub Musei Museorum titulo antehâc in Vernaculâ edita, jam autem in gratiam Exterorum, sub directione, emendatione & locupletatione autoris, à D. Joh. Conrado Beckero, medico alsfeldensi, latio restituta, accedit India Literata, E Lingua Belgica primum in Germanicam translata, nunc verò, ad desiderium Exterorum Latinitate donata, longe auctior reddita, novisque Figuris aeneis illustrata à Christophoro Bernhardo Valentini, M. B. Filio.* Francofurti ad Moenum, Officina Zunneriana, apud Johannem Adamum Jungium: [xliv] + 1–664 + [xvi], 30 Pl. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.532903145x&seq=7>.

Vallisnieri, A. 1715. *Opere Diverse del Sig. Antonio Vallisnieri. Cioe: 1. Istoria del Camaleonte Afficano, e di varj Animali d'Italia. 2. Lezione Accademica intorno all' Origine delle Fontane. 3. Raccolta di varj Trattati accrefciuti con Annotazioni e con Giunte.* Venezia, Gio. Babbriello Ertz: [vi] + 1–200, Pl. I–VIII. <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_u74q8xVUsSMC>.

Vincent, L. 1725. *Descriptio Pipae, seu Bufonis Aquatici Surinamensis, addita Succincta Descriptione Ranarum quam Excipit Nova et Succincta Descriptio Theatri Mirabilium Naturae Collectorum per L. V. et A. Breda. Description du Pipa ou Crapeau Aquatil de Surinam avec une Courte Description des Grenouilles.* Harlemi Batavorum. [Not seen]

Wahlbom, J. G. 1746. *D. D. Sponsalia Plantarum, quæ, cum consensu Ampl. Facult. Medicæ in Regia Acad. Upsaliensi, sub præsidio, viro celeberrimi et experientissimi, D. D. Caroli Linnæi, Medic. et Botan. Profess. Reg. et Ordin. Acad. Imper. Monsp. Stockh. et Upsal. Socii, hujusque secretarii, specimenis academici loco, publico bonorum examine submittit Johannes Gustavus Wahlbom, Calmariensis, In Audit. Carol. Majori die Junii Anni MDCCXLVI. Horis Ante Meridiem Solitis.* Stockholmiæ, Typis Laurentii Salvii: [ii] + [ii] + [i] + [vi] + [7]–60+ [i] +[i], Pl. 1. <https://db.huntbot.org/media/linndiss/Liden-012.pdf>.

Wahlbom, J. G. 1749. XII. Sponsalia Plantarum, sub præsidio Dn. D. Caroli Linnæi, Med. & Botan. Prof. Reg. & Ord. Acad. Imper. Regg. Monspel. Stockholm. & Upsal. Socii, hujusque Secretarii, proposita a Johann. Gustav. Wahlbom, Calmariensi. Upsaliæ 1746. Jun. 11. in Audit. Carol. maj. *Amœnitates Academicæ* (*Holmiæ et Lipsiæ*), 1: 327–380. <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.910>.

Wahlgren, R. 1999. Herpetology in the Transactions of The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. A listing of titles 1739-1825, translated into English, with annotations and unabridged translations of selected contributions and a brief history of the Academy. *International Society for the History and Bibliography of Herpetology Newsletter and Bulletin*, 1(2): 7–26. < https://drive.google.com/file/d/1771kcJzN-NXrpJTO9TB3c_Ck0dEQE7h2/view?usp=sharing>y

Wahlgren, R. 2012. Carl Linnaeus and the Amphibia. *In*: Bell, C. J. (editor), The herpetological legacy of Linnaeus: A celebration of the Linnaean tercentenary. *Bibliotheca Herpetologica*, 9 (1–2): 5–38. <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1eWWXfQJ2heJG5GSFWjAzwZCVWjzsmMvF/view?usp=sharing>.

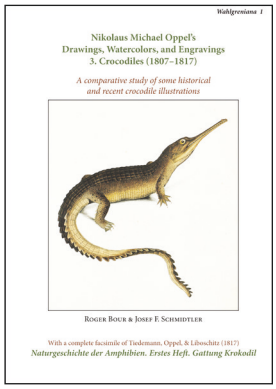
Wheeler, A. 1980. The sources of Linnaeus's knowledge of fishes. *In*: G. Broberg (ed.), *Linnaeus progress and prospects in Linnaean research*. Uppsala (Almqvist & Wiksell): 156–211.

Wheeler, A. 1991. The Linnaean fish collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Uppsala. *Zoological Journal of the Linnaean Society*, 103: 145–195.

International Society for the History and Bibliography of Herpetology

The International Society for the History and Bibliography of Herpetology (ISHBH) was founded in 1998 to promote research into, and disseminate information about, the history of herpetology. In addition to their role in science, amphibians and reptiles, as well as those who study them, have played an important role in human culture. ISHBH strives to explore all aspects of herpetological history. Papers in *Bibliotheca Herpetologica* have covered diverse topics from the snake logo used on airplanes in World War II, snakes in Dante's *Inferno*, and turtles in paintings, to more traditional herpetological histories such as the Dutch East Indies expeditions to New Guinea, and little-known details in early herpetological publications. In our effort to give complete histories and biblographies, *Bibliotheca Herpetologica* does not have any page or illustration limits or author charges—our goal is to give complete details rather than trim down important details that other journals may feel are extraneous.

The book series, *Wahlgreniana*, publishes longer contributions. *Bibliotheca Herpetologica* and *Wahlgreniana* are published as both open access (at www.ISHBH.com and Archive.org) and as print copies. More information about these publications and membership can be found at www.ISHBH.com.



Wahlgreniana, Volume 1—*Nikolaus Michael Oppel's Drawings, Watercolors, and Engravings 3. Crocodiles (1807–1817): A Comparative Study of Some Historical and Recent Crocodile Illustrations.* By Roger Bour & Josef F. Schmidtler with a foreword by Kraig Adler. ISHBH, 2022. Hardcover, x + 184 pages, full color. ISBN: 978-0-578-29399-8

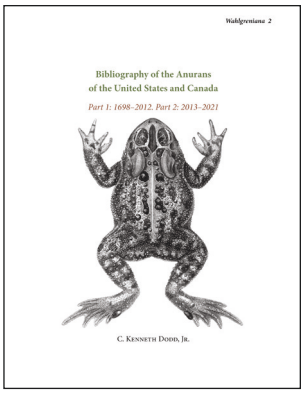
Oppel was sent to the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris in 1807 by the King of Bavaria, under the patronage of Alexander von Humboldt, where he studied under the leading naturalists of the Napoleonic era — including Georges Cuvier and Constant Duméril. During his two years in Paris he produced 392 drawings and watercolors of amphibians and reptiles, of which eleven depict crocodilians. These stunning, previously unpublished watercolors — long preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and rediscovered by Josef Schmidtler in 2008 — form the heart of this volume. Authors Bour and Schmidtler analyze each plate in depth, identifying the specimens Oppel likely studied and assessing the scientific accuracy of his portrayals through comparison with modern identification references.

The book covers all ten crocodilian species Oppel illustrated, including the American Alligator, several caiman species, the Nile and Indo-Pacific Crocodiles, the Cuban Crocodile, and the Gharial, placing each within the context of the fierce scientific debates of the era over crocodilian classification and nomenclature.

Included in this volume is the complete facsimile reproduction of the exceedingly rare 1817 publication *Naturgeschichte der Amphibien. Erstes Heft. Gattung Krokodil* by Tiedemann, Oppel, and Liboschitz — widely considered the first comprehensive, color-illustrated monograph on the crocodilians of the world. Oppel not only drew but personally etched and hand-colored all fifteen plates for this atlas, a labor that ultimately cost him his life: exposure to the etching chemicals led to his death in 1820 at age 37.

Retail: $65.00 | ISHBH members: $39.00 (plus postage).

Wahlgreniana, Volume 2—*Bibliography of the Anurans of the United States and Canada. Version 3. Part 1: 1698–2012. Part 2: 2013–2021.* By C. Kenneth Dodd, Jr. with a foreword by Christopher Bell. ISHBH, 2022. Hardcover, x + 282 pages. ISBN: 979-8-218-06245-3.

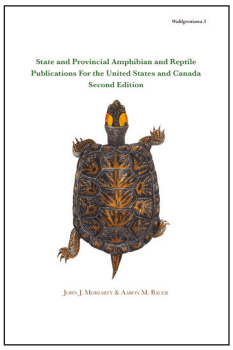


This is the definitive bibliography of published literature on the natural history of frogs and toads (Anura) of the United States and Canada, spanning more than three centuries — from Gabriel Thomas's 1698 mention of the bullfrog through the end of 2021.

The bibliography encompasses books and monographs, government reports, doctoral dissertations, master's theses, and journal articles drawn from over 700 serial publications. Coverage focuses on field ecology and natural history, including life history, ecology, systematics, behavior, physiological ecology, diseases, parasites, and conservation biology. Together the two parts document an extraordinary body of literature: from early travelogues and 19th-century natural history catalogs to the surge of research on amphibian population declines that transformed the field from the 1990s onward.

Retail: $35.00 | ISHBH members: $21.00 (plus postage).

Wahlgreniana, Volume 3—*State and Provincial Amphibian and Reptile Publications for the United States and Canada, Second Edition.* By John J. Moriarty & Aaron M. Bauer. ISHBH, 2024. Paperback, vi + 85 pages. ISBN: 979-8-218-44771-7



This thoroughly updated second edition is the definitive finding guide to regional herpetological literature across North America. The volume catalogs publications dealing with the amphibians and reptiles of all fifty U.S. states, the District of Columbia, and the Canadian provinces and territories — from early 19th-century natural history surveys through 2023.

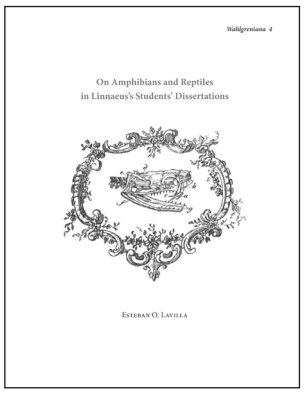
The bibliography contains 1,323 entries (440 more than the first edition), spanning field guides, atlases, checklists, keys, status surveys, and comprehensive faunal treatments. Coverage ranges from foundational early works — such as Storer's 1839 report on the reptiles of Massachusetts and De Kay's 1842 zoology of New York — to the most recent state and provincial publications. The bibliography focuses on publications treating single states or provinces, or substantial portions thereof.

Retail: $20.00 | ISHBH members: $12.00 (plus postage).

Wahlgreniana, Volume 4—*On Amphibians and Reptiles in Linnaeus's Students' Dissertations.* By Esteban O. Lavilla

ISHBH, 2026. Hardcover, vi + 136 pages. ISBN: 979-8-218-88776-6

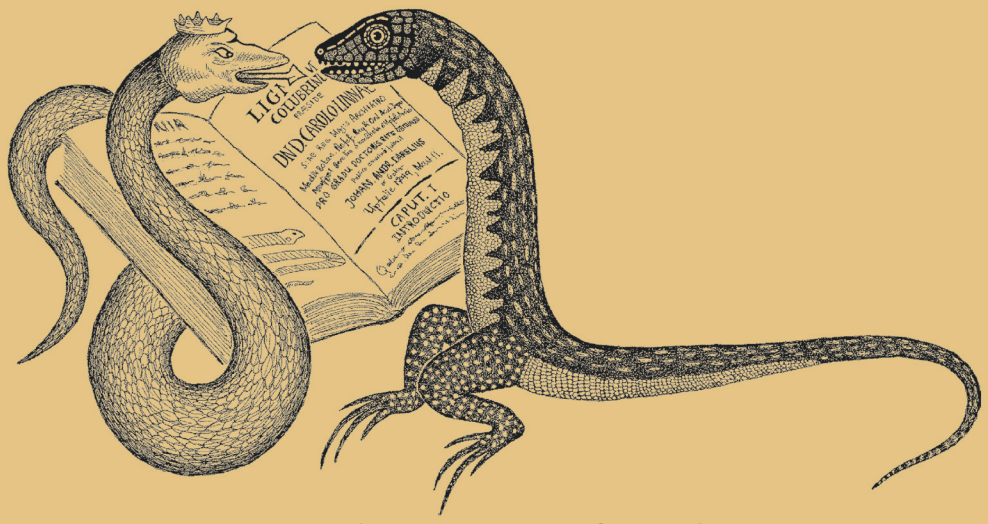
Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) presided over 185 doctoral dissertations — theses that, while formally credited to the student respondents who defended them, bear the unmistakable intellectual stamp of the great Swedish naturalist. Despite their importance, these works have rarely been consulted by modern herpetologists.



Esteban O. Lavilla provides the first comprehensive English translations of the dissertation content relevant to amphibians and reptiles. Seven of these dissertations deal substantively with amphibians and reptiles. Two — *Siren lacertina* (Österdam, 1766) and *De Morsura serpentum* (Acrell, 1762) — treat these animals as their central subject. Three more — *Amphibia Gyllenborgiana* (Hast, 1745), *Museum Adolpho-Fridericianum* (Balk, 1746), and *Surinamensia Grilliana* (Sundius, 1748) — describe natural history collections donated to Uppsala University, each with a significant herpetological component. Two additional dissertations, *Lignum Colubrinum leviter delineatum* (Darelius, 1749) and *Radix Senega* (Kiernander, 1749), examine plant-based antivenins then believed to counteract snakebite. Beyond these seven, amphibians and reptiles receive mention in a further twenty-five dissertations, the herpetological passages of which are also translated and presented here.

The volume includes 466 explanatory footnotes that place the translations in their original scientific and historical context, along with an extensive bibliography. The result is an indispensable resource for Linnaean scholars and herpetologists working with 18th-century taxonomy and nomenclature.

Retail: $40.00 | ISHBH members: $24.00 (plus postage).



International Society for the History and Bibliography of Herpetology

ISBN 979-8-234-09728-6